

MATSYA PURĀṆA-A STUDY

[मत्स्यपुराणानुशीलनम्]

By
VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA
Professor
BĀNARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY



ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

RAMNAGAR, VARANASI

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(AN EXPOSITION OF THE ANCIENT PURĀṆA-VIDYĀ)



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तपश्च दानं च शमो दमश्च ह्रीराजं सर्वभूतानुकम्पा ।
स्वर्गस्य लोकस्य वदन्ति सन्तो द्वाराणि सप्तैव महान्ति पुंसाम् ॥

(मत्स्य ३१. २२)

Fervour, Gifts, Tranquility, Self-Control, Modesty,
Uprightness and Compassion for All Creatures—
These are the Seven Doors to Heaven,—so the
Wise Men say.

OUR TRIBUTE TO
LATE SHRI MURARI LAL MEHTA

Late Shri Murarilal Mehta, a distinguished citizen of Varanasi, was a great lover of Sanskrit learning. He devoted his life in organising the premier Sanskrit Institution of Varanasi, the Sāṅga Veda Vidyālaya founded by his ancestors under the patronage of His Highness late Maharaja Sir Prabhu Narain Singh Bahadur of Benaras.

Late Shri Mehta was one of the first Trustees of the All-India Kashiraj Trust and took keen interest in the activities of the Trust. The Trust took up the work of publishing the critical edition of the Matsya Purāṇa with his generous and munificent donation of Rs. 50,000/-

Dr. V. Raghavan, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Madras University and a member of the Purāṇa Committee of the Trust has taken up the work of editing the Matsya Purāṇa and the work is well in progress.

We would have been very happy if the work could be published during the life-time of Shri Mehta, but the task being onerous was to take some more time and Shri Mehta left us suddenly on 28th February 1963.

Through the kindness of Dr. Vasudeva Sharana Agrawala, Professor, Banaras Hindu University and a member of the Purāṇa Committee of the Trust, we are able to publish this interpretative study of the Matsya Purāṇa and we record our grateful thanks to Dr. Agrawala for the great trouble he has taken to complete the work in such a short time.

The All-India Kashiraj Trust dedicates this volume to the sacred memory of Late Shri Murari Lal Mehta as a token of its regard.

Vyāsa Pūrṇimā, Samvat 2020.
[6th July, 1963]
Fort Ramnagar, Varanasi.

RAMESH CHANDRA DE
General Secretary
All-India Kashiraj Trust

PREFACE

The Matsya Purāṇa is one of the 18 Mahā-Purāṇas consisting of 291 chapters in 14,000 Ślokas as printed in the Ānanda Āśrama Edn., Poona. It is one of the three oldest Purāṇas, two others being Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu. In point of time these three texts may be placed near one another and it appears that they have benefitted from mutual borrowing in course of time. Pargiter thought that the compilation of the Matsya was begun in the latter part of the 2nd century in the reign of the Āndhra king, Yajña-Śrī Sātakarṇi, for 5 manuscripts of the Matsya speak of him reigning in the 9th or 10th year (*Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. xiii, Footnote 1). Hazra taking Matsya to be originally a Vaishṇava Purāṇa ascribes its first compilation to the last quarter of the third or first quarter of the 4th century A. D., of course, subject to insertions or additional matter from time to time. Kane thinks that the Matsya cannot be later than the 6th century A. D. Dikshitar discusses the date of this Purāṇa on the basis of the data on architecture and iconography. Of course, these learned analytical disquisitions help us in clarifying our view-points of studying the contents of the Matsya and we should be grateful to these early writers.

• UPABRIMHANA OR AUGMENTING—But the problem of the Purāṇa literature is not in the hands of chronology, for it should be clearly understood that in almost all the Purāṇas the process of *Upabrimhana* was operative from the very beginning and upto later times. It is pejorative to speak of it as interpolation. It is legitimate to understand *Upabrimhana* as a sacred obligation of authorship to keep the text up to date by revising its contents as often as necessary—an approved method applicable to our Encyclopædias in modern times. The hand of editing or redacting is visible in all the Purāṇas. It should therefore be accepted that the existing Purāṇic texts have gained in size and scope by the deliberate technique.

of *Upabṛīṃhaṇa*. The doorway to the admission of new matter was thrown wide open with zest and seemingly with a well approved technique. The first was to append *Phala-śruti* to the new composition grafted on the old. Secondly, the new portions were emboxed in the lap of other existing portions in such a manner that the later text does not form a coherent part of the theme in which it is placed. For example, the *Madana-Dvādaśī-Vrata* in the midst of *Śiṣṭi-Vidyā* is hardly congenial to its present context. Thirdly, some legends or topics already once disposed of are repeated for a different purposes and with different motifs, e.g. the story of *Varāha* incarnation, or the *Ekāṇṇava* doctrine with *Rishi Mārkaṇḍeya*, or the *Tārakāmaya* battle as a counterpart to the earlier *Śaiva* account of *Skanda-Tārakāsura* battle, or introducing an altogether new version while retaining the semblance of the old one, e. g. the story of *Bāṇa* and *Tṛipura* assailed by *Śiva*. All these methods may be distinctly seen in the augmenting process of the *Matsya* to its present form.

EXPANSION OF PAÑCHA-LAKSHAṆAS— It is well known that the original *Purāṇa* dealt with five topics, viz. *Sarga*, *Pratisarga*, *Manvantara*, *Varṇāśa* and *Varṇāśanucharita*. In the present text of the *Matsya* all these five topics are found, but the *Purāṇas* were required to play a new role in the lives of the people, i.e. they were not to be restricted to metaphysical or dynastic accounts only, but to serve as authoritative texts for instructing people in matters of *Varṇāśrama-Dharma*, *Sadācāra*, *Vrata*, *Upavāsa*, *Tithi-kalpa*, *Dāna*, *Tīrtha*, *Śrāddha*, *Rājadharmā*, *Devārcha-pūjā* i.e. worship of Gods and Goddesses in the form of images installed in temples and accompanied by detailed ritual etc. All these topics attained major importance and it may be said that the bulk of the *Purāṇas* as it came out at the hands of subsequent redactors is a comprehensive document on above matters.

PROCESS OF UPABṚĪṀHAṆA—An essential question in this connection relates to the agency of *Upabṛīṃhaṇa*. As stated in the *Vāyu* there was an original *Purāṇa-Saṃhitā* equal in extent to 4,000 ślokaś that became the source of several other *Saṃhitās*

at the hands of the six disciples of the original founder-teacher of *Purāṇa-Vidyā* who was Veda-Vyāsa himself. At present all the 18 Purāṇas, 18 Upan-Purāṇas and some other kindred texts go under the name of Veda-Vyāsa. He was the compiler of the four Vedas, author of the Brahma-Sūtras, of the Mahābhārata, the Bhāgavata and the 18 Mahā-Purāṇas. The Bhāgavata teachers therefore eulogise him as the incarnation of Viṣṇu, or son of Vāṇī, the Goddess of Speech and therefore known as Rishi Vāchyāyana as given in the Abhirūdhya Saṁhitā (वाच्यायनाद्वेषः पूर्वं विष्णोर्वर्णोऽसमुद्भवात्, 12. 17). Whatever the Bhāgavata teachers had to say was incorporated in the Purāṇas. Their philosophy, religious beliefs, practices of cult worship, art and many other items of social and political thought etc. are preserved in the extant, Purāṇic texts. Not only the Pañcha-Rātra Bhāgavatas but with them the Māheśvara-Śaivas or Pāśupatas, the Sāṁkhyāchāryas, the Yogāchāryas joined in a common endeavour and movement to rehabilitate the ancient tradition of the Vedas. These five were known as *Kṛitānta-Pañchaka*.¹ The Vedas which included the Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Upanishads and Vedāṅgas were accepted by all to be of the highest authority. The Vedic tradition was also known by such names as *Trayi*, *Vadānta*, *Vedāranya-ka* and *Śruti*. The followers of Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Vaishṇava and Śaiva disciplines accepted whole-heartedly the Vedas, but at the same time added quite a lot of new elements to their cults and philosophies taken from contemporary society that are truly reflected in the present constitution of the Purāṇic texts. On the one hand there is copious material from the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas

¹(a) सांख्यं योगः पाशुपतं वेदा वै पंचरात्रकम् ।

कृतान्तपंचकं ह्येतद्गायत्री च शिवा तथा ॥ (अग्नि २१६।६१)

(b) सांख्यं योगं पंचरात्रं वेदाः पाशुपतं तथा ।

ज्ञानान्येतानि राजर्षे विद्धि नानामतानि वै ॥ (शान्तिपर्व २३७।५६)

(c) सांख्यं योगं पंचरात्रं वेदारण्यकमेव च ।

ज्ञानान्येतानि ब्रह्मर्षे लोकेषु प्रचरन्ति ह ॥ (शान्ति० ३३७।१)

(d) सांख्यं योगः पंचरात्रं वेदाः पाशुपतं तथा ।

कृतान्तपञ्चकं ह्येतच्छास्त्राणि विविधानि च ॥ (विष्णुधर्म २।२१।११३)

and the Upanishads and on the other social rites and customs, beliefs and institutions that were coming into existence in the new times, have gone into the making of the Purāṇas.

ŚRUTI AND SMṚITI— The present extent of the 18 Mahā-Purāṇas is four lacs of ślokas as stated in the *Purāṇa-Saṅkhyā* chapter of the Matsya and in several other Purāṇas. This hundred-fold augmentation in the Purāṇic corpus was the outcome of *Upabṛimhaṇa* which has been zealously commended in the dictum—इतिहास-पुराणान्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत्. The Veda was *Śruti* and the Purāṇa was *Smṛiti*. The contents of *Śruti* were flowing into the *Smṛitis* in the period of Sanskrit renaissance as stated by Kālidāsa :—

श्रुतेरिवार्थं स्मृतिरन्वगच्छत् (Raghu. 2.2).

The same is testified by Māgha :—

उद्धृत्य मेघैस्तत एव तोयमर्थं मुनीन्द्रैरिव संप्रणीताः ।

आलोकयामास हरिः पतन्तीर्नदीः स्मृतीर्वेदमिवाम्बुराशिम ॥ (शिशु० ३:७५)

°स्मृतयश्च श्रुतेरर्थं गृहीत्वैव च निर्गताः । (देवीभागवत ७:३६:१७)

This was the spirit of the new age inspiring all the three great religions. The Buddhists and the Jainas thought alike with the Hindus that the new commentaries, Āgamas, Samhitās, Tantras, Bhāshyas which they were formulating had the sanction of the ancient scriptures and religious canons and it was in fact the old meaning being put into new words.

PURĀṆA AS FIFTH VEDA— So far as the Purāṇas are concerned they were regarded as the fifth Veda. In the performance of the *Mahābhūta-Ghaṭa Mahādāna* (Ch. 289), it is first said that Five Vedas have to be put inside the golden Jar at the time of the *Mahādāna* and then it is quietly stated that the Fifth Veda was the Purāṇa. This belief in the high scriptural authority of the Purāṇas had several implications, the most important of which was about the nature of these texts and about their authorship.

AUTHORSHIP— All the Purāṇas are of the nature of a *Samhitā* and the author of all of them is Veda-Vyāsa. The key to this two-fold phenomenon lies in the technique of naming books

and authors in the case of ancient Vedic texts. Each Vedic Śākhā was called a *Samhitā*, which had its origin in a Vedic academy known as *Charaṇa*. The rule was that all the literature produced under the aegis of a *Charaṇa* was named after the founder-teacher. Only institutional authorship was admitted and no individual name as an author. For example, Tittiri was the founder of a Vedic *Charaṇa* which was known after him by the name *Taittirīya*. The *Taittirīyas* flourished as a community of teachers and pupils all going by that name. The *Samhitā*, *Bṛāhmaṇa*, *Āraṇyaka*, *Upanishad*, *Prātiśākhya* and all other literature produced under the *Taittirīya Charaṇa* or Academy of teachers and pupils were known by the name *Taittirīya*. Similar was the case with regard to *Aitareya*, *Āśvalāyana*, *Śākala* and other Vedic Schools. Thus the original Purāṇa *Samhitā* which developed as a special branch of study under the great teacher Pārāśarya Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa was given the rank of a *Samhitā* and derived its name from the founder-teacher of that particular *Charaṇa* who was Veda-Vyāsa. This fact once established could not be changed and the rule of institutional authorship as applied to the Purāṇa *Samhitā* did stand for ever.

PURĀṆA MOVEMENT— The *Purāṇa-Vidyā* had come into existence in the Vedic period itself as shown by the reference to *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* in the Vṛātya Sūkta of Atharva Veda and by the subsequent references in the *Chhāṇḍogya Upanishad* and other places. The nucleus of Purāṇic tradition was gradually developing and this field of knowledge was being cultivated like several other branches. By the turn of the millennium when the Bhāgavata movement centring round Viṣṇu gained new momentum, need was felt for a special class of literature which should become the focus of both *Veda* and *Loka*, that is a reconciled presentation of the older tradition with the new institutional developments in society. The *Purāṇa* was found to be the most convenient vehicle of this movement for more reasons than one. The first advantage was that of language which was reinforced by all the force of the Classical Sanskrit

speech. The second point was that the Purāṇas were not a closed literature like the Vedas or Upanishads which had completed their cycle. But there was something in them with the possibility of endless augmentation. The elastic nature of the Purāṇic texts as reconstituted almost at every new turn of a cultural cycle is unparalleled in the history of world-literature. The enthusiasm and the inspiration with which the compilation of the Purāṇas was undertaken were recurrent facts of a resurgent religious movement being renovated from age to age. The Purāṇas have preserved a wonderful record of these changes.

PAURĀṆIKA REDACTORS— It may now be seen with some clarity that the process of subsequent redaction undertaken in the name of the original author of the Purāṇa Samhitā, Veda-Vyāsa, was fulfilled by long generations of authors who were known as the *Paurāṇikas*. They were quite an honourable class. Just as Veda, Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya etc. were being cultivated by specialists who derived their names after the *Śāstra* or knowledge in which they were expert, similarly the Purāṇa-Vidyā was preserved through a succession of teachers and pupils who studied this *Śāstra*. They were also known as *Vyāsa* and we still have a number of families famous as *Vyāsa* in north India and as *Paurāṇika* (Purāṇī) in Gujarat and Mahārāshṭra. It is natural that most of the Paurāṇic teachers were *Kathā*-reciters, i. e. they took their classes in the form of *Kathā*-recitations, but as happens, there were a few amongst them who had the gift of authorship and original composition. They versified the new material and incorporated the same in the manuscripts preserved in their families. Thus they were both *Vāchaka* and *Upabrinḥaka*. From their personal copies new manuscripts would be ordered and thus the new composition or edition went into circulation and set up a regular chain of transmission. The new Purāṇic material spread with the old over a wide area and the scope of the subject underwent expansion as dictated by practical needs and considerations. This presents to us a background and picture in which *Upabrinḥana* of the Purāṇic literature was brought about for the people

(*Loka*) taking a living interest in the creation of such literature. This process of literary augmentation was operative at all centres of learning in the country, and therefore we naturally find a vivid cross section of the cultural life of many regions in the Purāṇa literature. An analysis of the Purāṇic contents from this point of view is worthy of being taken up with patience and industry. The author of the *Ahīrbudhnaya Saṁhitā* gives a lead by offering a detailed analysis of the contents of the *Kṛitānta-Pāñchaka* embodied in Purāṇas (Chs. 11-12 ; also Vāyu I. 1. 54-178 ; Matsya 291 ; Vishṇu I. 4-11).

PURĀṆA-VIDYĀ— The point of view which has inspired the present study of the Matsya Purāṇa is an investigation not of chronology or of canons of authorship but of the real secrets of what once was known as the *Purāṇa-Vidyā*. Like other Vidyās as Vyākaraṇa, Jyotiṣa, Nirūkta etc., Purāṇa also was a subject of intensive purposive study in which serious teachers and pupils were engaged. What that purpose was is often stated in the Purāṇas themselves. The objective was to present, amplify and preserve the meaning of the Vedic *Sṛiṣṭi-Vidyā* or the science of cosmogony. That was the meaning of *Sarga* and *Pratisarga*, *Saṁchāra* and *Pratisaṁchāra*, *Vijñāna* and *Jñāna*, on which the Purāṇas lay so much emphasis. Some of these hoary Vedic topics were as follows :—

Chatuṣhapād Brahma, *Ekārṇava Samudra*, *Hiranyagarbha*, *Prajāpati Bruhmā*, *Trayī-Vidyā*, Divine Motherhood, creation of the Devas and Asuras, *Yajña-vidyā*, *Sūrya-vidyā*, *Gāyatrī*, triadic patterns of creation, exemplified as Three Devas, Three Lokas, Three Guṇas, etc. Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva, these are the three Devas which the Purāṇas have accepted as the foundation of *Purāṇa-Vidyā*. When they mention the three Devas it appears that every thing worth saying in Indian metaphysics has been fully said. It is surprising to see how profoundly the Purāṇa-writers were conscious of this solemn truth as part of their cosmic and individual consciousness :—

एत एव त्रयो देवा एत एव त्रयो गुणाः ॥

एत एव त्रयो वेदा एत एव त्रयोऽङ्गनयः ।

(ब्रह्माण्ड, प्रक्रियापाद ४।६)

The principle of synthesis is writ large on the visage of the Purāṇas ; their whole approach is of synthesis and understanding. It was a great vision and a supreme message which became so vital for the building of an intergrated thought and life-pattern in a country like India which always had been a land of many peoples, many languages and many religious denominations, as stated in the Atharva Veda :—

जनं बिभ्रती बहुधा विवाचसं नाना धर्माणं पृथिवी यथोक्तम् ।
(अथर्व० १२।१।४५)

There is the stark fact of diversity present in the life of Man in India, but the genius of the people and of the leaders of thought had a vision of the underlying unity which brings men together and binds them in inner solidarity. The secret was that no point of view need be rejected and that whatever exists in the life of the people is worthy of acceptance at one level or the other. The dictum of *Anirākaraṇam* is vindicated at its best and in the most dynamic form in Purāṇas.

VEDIC SYMBOLISM IN THE PURĀṆA— In the present study we have endeavoured to bring home the truth of many a legend (*Upākhyānas*) in the light of Vedic symbolism. We are told that the meaning of Veda is the quint-essence or soul of the Purāṇas. The truth of this statement may be clear in the present study. What is *Ekāraṇava Samudra* ? Who is *Nārāyaṇa* ? What is the meaning of Boar incarnation ? What is *Sūrya* as *Trayī-Vidyā* ? What is the meaning of four-faced *Brahmā* ? Who are the 10 mind-born *Ṛishis* ? What is the Golden Egg (*Hiranyāṇḍa*) ? How life is created from the egg ? What are its seven sheaths ? What are the Seven Manifestations of *Avyakata* ? What is the basic meaning of the Triads and Heptads both in the Vedas and Purāṇas ? What are the *Devas*, *Rishis* and *Pitris* ? What is the meaning of *Soma* ? What is *Śrāddha* ? Who is *Mārkaṇḍeya* ? What is *Tāraka*, the great Asura ? What is the meaning of marriage of *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* ? What is the esoteric significance of *Kumāra* which was essentially a Vedic doctrine named *Kumāra-Vidyā*, but was amplified in the Purāṇas as

Skanda-Tāraka-Saṅgrāma ? What is the meaning of Vishṇu sleeping in the ocean ? Who are Madhu-Kaiṭabha ? What is the distinction between the ocean of water and the ocean of milk ? What is meant by the imagery of *Samudra-Manthana* ? What are the *Ratnas* ? Who are the *Rudras* ? What is the meaning of *Gaṇeśa* ?

These and many other similar problems of symbolism have been faced in the present study explaining the terminology of the Purāṇas and of the Vedas as part of an integrated system of thought. It may be taken for granted that these who were responsible for formulating the present text of the Matsya or of the other Purāṇas were adepts in the tradition. It cannot be believed for a moment that those who had written all this did not know the meaning of what they were writing. It cannot be believed that the inner meaning of Veda was absent from the minds of those who adumbrated in such glowing and clear terms the Vedic thought in the Purāṇas by both the method of direct statement and by creating new legends or amplifying the old ones. If one would some day compile a dictionary of Purāṇic terms in relation to Vedic terminology for expressing the cosmogonical and metaphysical concepts it would be clear how closely the Purāṇas have moved with the Vedas and in what wholesale manner they have drawn upon the inexhaustible source of the Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇa literature in framing new definitions or broadening the scope of the old ones. But what goes to the credit and originality of the Purāṇic thinkers is how they have advanced the nucleus of the Vedic thought and cast it into the new mould of legends and descriptions.

The Purāṇas as they stand today need interpretation. There are a hundred facets to this task. Not only Vedic metaphysics, mythology or cosmogony, not only the great legends of the Brāhmaṇas, not only the accumulated religious tradition of India, not only the multiple cults, but also history, culture, chronology, life, polity, sociology, geography, topography, art, architecture, painting, government, administration, cattle-wealth,

economic life and a thousand other similar topics, mapping the entire canvas of a nation's life have gone into the making of the Purāṇa literature.

PRESENT STUDY—The present study permits us to state with confidence that the Matsya Purāṇa is completely soaked in a cultural mould of this type as the commentary in many places elucidates. How intensely the Purāṇic writer was interested in contemporary events will become clear from the account he has left of the personality and achievements of Chandragupta Vikramāditya under the pseudonym of Pramaṇi. It is here for the first time that we are told that the emperor ruled for 32 years, that he spent 20 years in military campaigns, that he went on a conquering expedition up to Bālhika, that his army included a contingent of Brāhmaṇa soldiery who were no other than the Licchavis, and that he belonged to the family bearing the dynastic name of Chandra, etc.

The Matsya Purāṇa has all the fire of the great Bhāgavata movement and the vivid inspiration with which those teachers were working on many fronts in order to create amongst the people a living sense of the higher ideals of religion, philosophy and life, dedicated at the feet of God Mahā-Nārāyaṇa Viṣṇu :

विष्णोजिष्णोश्च भ्राजिष्णोस्तेजसा समलंकृतः ।

BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY

6-7-63

V. S. AGRAWALA

[*Vyāsa-Pūrṇimā Day*]

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It was the wish of his Highness and of the Purāṇa Committee that this Study of the Matsya Purāṇa be dedicated to the memory of late Shri Murari Lal Mehta, the donor of a liberal sum of Rs. 50,000/- for work on the Matsya Purāṇa, and I gladly concurred to fulfil that proposal. I am happy that the work is being released for publication on the sacred Vyāsa Pūrṇimā Day.

6th July, 1963
 Āshāḍha Śukla Pūrṇimā, 2020. }

V. S. AGRAWALA



The Fish Incarnation and the four Vedas. From a Kangra Painting, c. 1809 A.D. By Courtesy Bharat Kala Bhawan, R.H.V.

ॐ तत्सद् ब्रह्मणे नमः ।

MATSYA PURĀṆA—A STUDY

[मत्स्यपुराण—एक अध्ययन]

THE PURĀṆA— The Matsya Purāṇa, or the Ancient Scripture of the Fish Deity, is one of the most valuable documents of the Purāṇa Literature. Its range of subjects is vast and its antiquity is admitted as being a very early attempt in the composition of Purāṇic texts. As available in the printed edition of Anand Ashram it is comprised of 291 chapters in about fourteen thousand ślokas. Its material covers many topics dealing with ancient Vedic subjects of Cosmogony (*śṛiṣṭi-vidyā*), Manvantara, Daivāsura, and a number of new Purāṇic subjects like Tīrtha-yātrā, Dāna, Bhuvanakośa, Skanda-Charita, Tīrtha-Māhātmya, and several chapters on Rājadharmā, Śrāddha, and some important material on the Gotras and Pravara, etc. Its language has the merit of being couched in special Purāṇic terminology and its treatment of topics is distinguished by a happy mastery over the subject-matter. It appears on closer examination to be a document brought together under the inspiration of the Bhāgavata teachers.

How much of its contents was the original kernel and how much was grafted later is a question that will engage our attention during the course of this study. However, the main point in our approach is to provide a cultural commentary that will explain the hundred and one topics contained in the Purāṇa as it is available to us today. We are aware that a critical edition of the text is under preparation by the Kashiraj Trust under the able editorship of Dr. V. Raghavan, but whatever be the form of the critical text the fact remains that there is no likelihood of its contents being appreciably altered, and therefore the basis for a cultural interpretation being offered now is likely to stand.

SŪTA AND NAIMISHĪYAS— The interlocutors of the Purāṇa are the Sūta on one side and the sages who lived in the Naimisha Forest whose leader was Śaunāka on the other (1.4-5). Reference is made to the beautiful ancient legends expounding Dharma which the Sūta had once recited and which he was requested to reiterate.

The inmates of the Naimishāranya Forest were known as *Naimishīya*. It is stated in the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa that there was a special sacrifice which lasted for twelve years known as *Dvādaśa-samvatsara Sattrā* of Prajāpati. It consisted of four sessions of three years each ; (1) three years for Trivṛt Stoma, (2) three years for Pañchadaśa Stoma, (3) three years for Saptadaśa Stoma and (4) three years for Ekaviṃśa Stoma. With this Sacrifice Prajāpati attained to the full possibilities of his creativity (Tāṇḍya, 25.6.1-2). The Dīrgha-Sattrā of the Naimishīyas (1.4) should have lasted for twelve years but it seems that there was some interruption and they brought to an end their sacrifice after nine years only, wishing that some descendants of theirs should conclude the final session of twelve years. Thus desiring to complete the full course of twelve years, the Brāhmaṇas in Naimiśa were holding subsequently their session (Tāṇḍya, 25.6.5, *Tadetaḍ samīpsanto Brāhmaṇāḥ sattram āsate*). It appears that the word *Dīrgha-sattrānte*, i. e. at the end of the Dīrgha-Sattrā, has reference to some such incident and the resumption of the session under the leadership of some Sūta or Purāṇic Reciter.

THREE QUESTIONS— The Purāṇa opens with three major questions, viz. (1) how the Creator created these worlds with their animate and inanimate creatures ; (2) why Lord Viṣṇu assumed the form of Fish ; and (3) why Śiva became Bhairava, i. e. assumed a terrific form and became Kapālin, with the symbol of a *kapāla* or human skull on his body (1.7.8). These three form the basic strands round which the fabric of the Purāṇa is woven, but a large number of other topics have been introduced in the body of the text as we find it today.

The first question clearly relates to the traditional subject of Cosmogony as propounded in the Vedas and elaborated in the Purāṇas. The later texts have fully utilised the Vedic evidence and given it a new formulation reinforced by their original interpretation. This was a subject very dear to the heart of the Purāṇic writers and they have taken infinite pains in its exposition by creating a new terminology as the vehicle of the ancient lore with which we will deal in the course of our study.

THE FISH INCARNATION

ITS STORY— The story goes that a certain king named Manu leaving his kingdom went out to the Malaya country to perform penances and there obtained a boon from Brahmā that he should be able to protect all the creatures at the time of dissolution. The boon was granted and then the king one day at the time of offering oblation to the Pitṛis noticed a small fish in the palm of his hand. He put it in the water-pot which the fish fully occupied by waxing during the course of the day. Then the king threw it in a jar and the same thing happened again. The fish was then thrown into a well, and when it could not be contained there then into a pond, after which into a river, and finally the fish was consigned to the ocean. When the piscine form filled the whole ocean by its giant size the king became perplexed, and asked him as to his real identity, saying, "Are you the lord of the Asuras, or God Nārāyaṇa himself? How can any one else behave like this? O, I have known the truth; you are certainly Lord Viṣṇu, the cosmic deity in the form of the Fish." The Fish replied, "Verily, O king, you have known the truth. Soon the earth will be submerged under water. Look here at this boat which all the hosts of Devas have improvised for the protection of living beings; place them on the ship and when the same is rocked convulsively by the furious winds of dissolution, then fasten it to my horn or cranial protuberance. When the storm is over you will have saved the creatures and then be crowned as Prajāpati of the world."

AEON OF DISSOLUTION— Manu further asked as to how such a state of things would take place and was told that for hundreds of years there would be a severe famine and the solar orb would emit such intense heat as would reduce every thing on earth to ashes. The sea would emit the fury of its submarine fire and the nether world would throw up poisonous fumes from the thousand mouths of the cosmic serpent so that the three worlds, the sky, the gods and the stars would all be consumed. Then would appear the clouds which are produced at the end of time. They are of seven kinds, viz. *Samvarta*, *Bhīmanāda*, *Droṇa*, *Chañḍa*, *Balāhaka*, *Vidyut-patāka* and *Śoṇa*. There would be condensation in all space and even the oceans transcend their limits creating a condition of watery flood technically named as *Ekārṇava*?—

एतदेकार्णवं सर्वं करिष्यन्ति जगत् त्रयम् ।

(2. 10).

BOAT, ROPE AND ANCHOR— The king was also told that the boat which would come to him was the Ship of the Vedas (*Veda-nāvam*), that he should stock there all the seeds of living creatures (*Sattva-bījāni*), that he should pilot the boat by a rope to be supplied by the divine Fish and tie it to its horn to be protected by the glory of the Divine Creator. Things happened as was predicted and all the assurances given were fulfilled. The rope was the Cosmic Serpent and the Fish to whose horn the boat was anchored in the midst of the watery flood was the Divine Creator himself.

SYMBOLISM OF THE FISH— There are several symbolical terms which need to be explained. The first question is about the real nature of Matsya or the Fish. The Fish is the symbol of the Egg. The cosmos is the Egg of Brahman (*Brahmāṇḍa*). Here Brahman himself is the fish and therefore the *Brahmāṇḍa* is the same as *Matsyāṇḍa*. Somewhere in the Golden Egg produced by Brahman is a speck of the life-principle which recreates and perpetuates consciousness, or life, or vitality from one æon to another and the same process continues through successive ages of the universe during immeasurable units of time.

The Vedic doctrine of Hiranyagarbha is here completely repeated in the story of the Fish-incarnation or Matsyāvatāra. The Fish is an appropriate symbol of the principle of the egg; it is borne out by the scientific knowledge of the present day. The class Pisces is the largest of all the vertebrate classes including some 20,000 species. Within it is found a greater diversity of structure than any other class of vertebrates. Fishes live under a great variety of conditions, at the surface of sea, in mid-water, at the bottom, or buried in the sand or mud. Their greatest quality is found in their capacity to produce eggs. Most of the important northern food-fishes produce a great number of eggs that float in the sea, and in some species a single fish sheds millions of eggs annually (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th edition, Vol. IX, p. 309). Moreover there is resemblance between the developing child in the womb called the foetus which is suspended by the umbilical cord and floats freely in the amniotic fluid and the fish in water. The embryo assumes at a certain stage a cylindrical form, one end of the hollow tube thus formed is enlarged to form the head and neck; the other, the tail and, becomes curved forward and tapers to a point. Not only the tail but also the circulation from the heart and blood vessels at first resembles that of fish. It should not be presumed that these microscopic details had been observed by ancient writers, but there is no doubt that within their comprehension was rooted the belief that the fish is the most dominant symbol of an oviparous (*Andaja*) vertebrate producing the life-germ. Although human beings have developed to a placental stage (*Jarāyuja*) still both belong to a common ancestry extending over geological times.

THREE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EGG— There are three distinguishing features of the Egg :—

1. It floats in water. Water here symbolises the principle of motherhood, the basic sap of creation or *humidus radical*. This is described as the ocean of Soma in the Vedas (*Āpaḥ*, *Sakīlam*, *Samudraḥ* *Rita*, etc.). It is clearly stated in the ŚB giving an account of Vedic cosmogony that the waters existed in

the beginning as the primeval mother-principle. They desired as to how we may procreate and so they toiled and performed austerities. When they were thus heated, a Golden Egg was produced. By its birth the Saṁvastara was produced; then the Golden Egg floated in the water for the term of a Saṁvastara (ŚB. 11 1. 6. 1, आपो ह वाऽद्मग्रे सलिलमेवाप्त । ता अकामयन्त कथं नु प्रजाये-
यहीति ता बभ्राम्यस्तास्तपोऽतप्यन्त, ता तु तपस्तप्यमानासु हिरण्यमण्डं संभूवाजातो
ह तर्हि संवत्सरा आस तदिदं हिरण्यमण्डं यावत्संवत्सरस्यन्नेला तावत्पर्यन्तवत्) ।

FIRST PRINCIPLE, SOMA— The implication of the Waters in relation to the Egg should also be clearly grasped. It is the enveloping source of energy that are represented here as Waters. In the mother's womb the amnion or innermost membrane enclosing the foetus before birth is filled with a fluid which provides sustenance to the growing foetus. That is Soma according to the Indian conception representing the sap of life for the fertilised ovum or germinal cell. What happens in the womb of human mother is a phenomenon present in the womb of every other mother or in the universal principle of motherhood. The Ṛishis conceived that the same holds good on the level of cosmic creation where the cosmos is placed in the womb of an infinite ocean of energy or of the Soma principle known as Brahmanapati Soma or as Universal R̥ita. This universal Soma filters within the ordered Yajña of Sūrya or Dyāvā-Pr̥ithivī and is constantly supplying energy to the system of the life-principle developing or functioning within it. Soma is the principle of food and life is the principle of Agni. Soma and Agni exist together. Soma is the mother and Agni is its Babe. In the Egg the principle of Soma or the ocean of life-flood and of Agni or the nucleus of life-germ are combined, and out of their union is produced new life, in the form of the babe.

2. SECOND PRINCIPLE, AGNI— The second distinguishing feature of the Egg is the birth of Agni or the Life-principle or Prāṇa, which is present in the yolk of the Egg as the nucleus that becomes effective in the form of the process of contraction and expansion which controls assimilation and

elimination and manifests as the live cell. In Vedic terminology we may lay down the following equation :—

Agni = Prāṇa = Hiranya = Śukra = Bija = Retas = Jyotiḥ. Varuṇa is the lord of the Ocean of Soma or of Waters, and Indra takes charge of the Golden Germ which sprouts within the Egg.

3. THIRD PRINCIPLE, GROWTH— The third principle present within the Egg together with Agni and Soma is that of Growth (*Mahimā*). As a result of which Aṇu becomes Mahat, or Vāmana becomes Virāṭ. Its controller is Viṣṇu who by his three strides makes the small germ of life fructify into the full-fledged Person (*Virāṭ Puruṣa*). So, the Brāhmaṇa writers tell us that what in the beginning was only a Dwarf (*Vāmana*) transformed itself into a Giant (*Virāṭ*)—

वामनो ह विष्णुरसः (ŚB 1.2.5.5).

स हि वैष्णवो यद् वामनः (ŚB. 5.2.5.4).

The striding of Viṣṇu which is later on woven into the significant legend of the Trivikrama Incarnation is the motive force or the dynamic principle of movement that is demonstrated as growth in every living organic centre.

THREE PRINCIPLES OF LIFE—There are three features of LIFE, viz. (1) Assimilation and Elimination, (2) Growth and (3) Procreation. All these three are referred to in the first mantra of the Asyavāmīya Sūkta (RV. 1.164.1) as the Three Brothers of Agni. They in fact symbolise the Trayī-vidyā or the basic Triad on which the foundation of the cosmos and of the Life-principle within it has been laid by the world-building forces designed by the Creator or the Universal Mother Nature. These are simplified as Mother-Father and the Child born from their union. The mother is Soma, the father is Agni and the child growing from the womb of the mother is the symbol of the principle of growth or Mahimā of both the parents. Varuṇa is the ruler of Soma or the Watery principle, Indra is the ruler of the Fiery principle Agni, or *Devaushnya* or *Agraja Tapas*, and Viṣṇu is of Mahimā—these are the three great deities who

combine in the manifestation of life both in subtle and gross forms.

FISH STORY EXPLAINED— The simple story of the Fish contains in relief these three elements or features in the constitution of the Golden Egg as follows —

(1) There was water in the pot or *Kumaṇḍalu* of the king ; then successively in the basin, or big jar, or pool, or river and finally the ocean. This is the watery substratum or the symbol of the mother-principle.

(ii) The king sees the fish in this water, that is, he has a vision of the Egg in the womb of the mother-principle. The Egg as explained above is the symbol of life or the Golden Germ.

(iii) The king has a vision of the fish or the Egg and he also sees how the latter begins to grow. This expansion is the nature of life. It grows on the plane of Matter from the small fertilised ovum to the fully developed body. Both are constituted of the three basic principles of Mind (*Manas*), Life (*Prāṇa*) and Matter or the five gross elements (*Pañcha-bhūta*) which in the Vedas are symbolised as *Vāk*. So there is this three-fold expansion which creates the fully developed body and this is what is indicated by the growth of the Fish.

OTHER RELATED SYMBOLS— Other questions now may be asked as follows :—

1. What was the flood (*ekārṇava*) which Manu witnessed ?
2. Who was Manu ?
3. What is the boat which floated above the waters of dissolution and which protects life for the succeeding æon ?
4. What is Matsya in this whole scheme of things ?

An answer to these questions is rooted in the ancient metaphysical tradition as propounded in the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas and ultimately reformulated in the Purāṇas. In one word we might say that the basic conception of Vedic *Sṛisṭi*

Vidyā is the form of Hiraṇyagarbha taking birth from the Waters (*Āpaḥ*) that is presented in the story of the Matsya Incarnation.

EKĀRṆAVA FLOOD— The word *Ekārṇava* used in the Purāṇas has a special meaning. Each created object in time and space represents a fragmentation of the original Ocean of infinite Waters which were the source of cosmic creation. The *Harivaṃśa* names it as *Mūhārṇava*, *Ekārṇava*, *Agādha Stabdha Salila* (3.10.34), or only *Salila* (HV. 3.10.1). The *Bhāgavata* calls it *Yugānta-toya* (3.8.23). The primeval watery flood or the infinite ocean is significantly conceived in the *Harivaṃśa* as enveloped or wrapped in a nebulous frost (*Nihāra*) :

यथा चैकाण्वजले नीहारेण वृत्तान्तरे ।

अव्यक्तभीषणे लोके सर्वभूतविवर्जिते ॥ (HV. P. 3.10.31)

In its unmanifest form when all sentient beings are non-existent, and every thing is covered by darkness, that is withdrawn into its unmanifest source, the single ocean looks formidable. All the divided units of creation are disrupted and drawn together into a single watery mass :—

भूत्वा नारायणो योगी सप्तमूर्तिविभावसुः । गमस्तिभिर्प्रदीप्ताभिः संशोषयति सागरान् ॥
पीत्वाऽर्णवांश्च सर्वान् सनदीः कूपांश्च सर्वशः । पर्वतानां च सलिलं सर्वं पीत्वा च रश्मिभिः ॥
भित्त्वा सहस्रशश्चैव महीं नीत्वा रसातलम् । रसातलजलं कृत्स्नं पिबते रसमुत्तमम् ॥
अप्सु सृजन् क्लेदमन्यद् ददाति प्राणिनां ध्रुवम् ॥ (HV. P. 3. 9. 1-4)

Nilakanṭha in his commentary explains *Apsu* as *Kāraṇa Brahman*, that is, the transcendent Brahman as the ultimate source of the created world. As a matter of fact *Āpaḥ* is equivalent to the infinite unmanifest cause which is the primal source of all the possibilities of existence. This flood of life breaks up its individuation when dissolution takes place, but the same becomes differentiated when creation starts, and these individual created objects or worlds are symbolised as *Kamaṇḍalu*, *Kūpa*, *Nadī*, *Samudra* etc. The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* explains further that the *Ekārṇava* doctrine was very ancient and those who were well versed in the Vedas, namely the *Brahma-vādins*, had elaborated

this point of view to explain the process of creation and dissolution (वेदवादविदो विद्वन् नियता ब्रह्मवादिनः, पठन्ति चैतमेवार्थम् Vishṇu P. 1.2.22).

MEANING OF शेषशायी विष्णु— The waters in this Ekārṇava Ocean are still in the state of *Pralaya* and become active or agitated in the stage of creation. The quiescent condition is *Sthiti* wherein the infinite principle or activity is represented as the cosmic coiled serpent Ananta Śesha, the Infinite Remainder, or Substratum, on whose couch (*Bhoji-śāyiyā*) God Viṣṇu takes his rest. It should be clearly understood that the Creator is conceived in this formula in a two-fold aspect as Viṣṇu and as Śesha. He who is comprehended in his creation by the law तत्त्वद्वा तदेवानुप्राविशत्—He entered what He created—is significantly called Viṣṇu from the root *Viś*, to enter. That portion of him which transcends and remains beyond (*Para-Brahman*) is called Śesha or Remainder in the language of the Purāṇas. Śesha and Viṣṇu are a pair juxtaposed and inseparable for all times, the former supporting the latter. This is the meaning of Śesha-śāyī-Viṣṇu, as the Purāṇas describe in many places :—

एकार्णवे तु त्रैलोक्ये ब्रह्मा नारायणात्मकः । भोगिशय्यागतः शेते त्रैलोक्यमासवृंहितः ॥

(Viṣṇu 1. 3. 24.

सर्वहुत् यज्ञ—In the R̥gveda this phenomenon of the Archetypal (*Prathamachehhad*) vitalising the succeeding modalities of creation (*Avarāṇ*) is very clearly stated (प्रथमच्छद्वरां आविवेश, RV. X. 81. 1), When Viśvakarmā Prajāpati measured out his plans for creating these worlds (य इमा विश्वा भुवनानि जुह्वद्), his basic approach was to make a total offering of himself called *Sarvahut Yajña*, and in so doing created the worlds by depositing completely his own self into the cosmos. * The cosmos is a Yajña and the measure of Yajña is equal to the measure of the transcendent Puruṣa Prajāpati himself who is infinite (*Ananta*) or Thousand-headed (*Sahasraśīrshā*) Nārāyaṇa-Puruṣa. It is with this idea that the Viṣṇu Purāṇa identifies Nārāyaṇa and Brahmā because Brahmā is the dynamic force emanating from the Naval (*Nābhi*), the immortal centre of the creative force of Nārāyaṇa. These are different formulas giving symbolical picture of the meta-

physical truth that belongs to the level of the primeval cosmogonic formulations.

THE MANU-PRINCIPLE—The second question is about the nature and meaning of Manu. He alone survived the Flood of dissolution. According to a definition given in the Manu Smṛiti Manu symbolises Eternal Brahman himself (*Śāśvata Brahma*), the principle of Life (*Prāṇa*) which is the same as Indra from the root *andh* to burn or shine (see Śatapatha for this etymology, 6.1.1.1.) and also Agni :—

एतमेके वदन्त्यग्निं मनुमन्ये प्रजापतिम् । इन्द्रमेके परे प्राणमपरे ब्रह्म शाश्वतम् ॥

(Manu Smṛiti, 1.2)

This Manu is the symbol of Universal consciousness, [Prāṇa, Chetanā, Samjñā, which exists both in the transcendent and also in the differentiated units of creation, or in each individual centre which is but a ray from its source the Universal Sun. Manu is the Mind of the Creator, the principle of Ego, equal to Aham. It is from this point of view that Rishi Yāmadeva identified his ego (*Aham*) with Manu and Sūrya (अहं मनुरभवं सूर्यश्च, RV. IV. 26.1). Manu and Sūrya are identical as Father and Son. Sūrya according to the Brahmiodya in the Yajurveda (23.48) is the same as Brahma (ब्रह्म सूर्यसमं ज्योतिः),—doctrine borrowed in the Manusmṛiti equating Manu with Śāśvata Brahma as pointed out above.

TWOFOLD MANU—The mind of the creator is an ocean of which the measure of depth is too profound to be known or comprehended by any one. The thought of the Maker, or the Mind of Prajāpati has become this cosmos. What he planned in his mind, he executed in his creation. There is a complete identity between the creator and the cosmos. This was the Vedic doctrine of Yajñā on two levels, viz. Yajñā on the plane of the transcendent and Yajñā being performed in accordance with its higher model on the plane of the immanent reality. Thus Manu also has a two-fold aspect. He is Prajāpati, above time and space, and he is also the presiding ruler of each Manvantara period of which the significance we shall explain later in

discussing the Manvantara-vidyā of the Purāṇas. Each Manu is the sovereign ruler of his dynastic time and it is his charge that the primeval ordinances be fully and perfectly fulfilled in his period. As a matter of fact according to the Hindu political theory each king is a representative of Manu entrusted with the throne of royalty for the protection of the people in accordance with the laws and ordinance framed by Manu and as exemplified by the Sun-god Sūrya in each system of the worlds.¹

Manu then according to the legend of the Flood had this obligation on him of protecting all the seeds of creation (*Sattva-bīja*).

In this story Manu is identified with a certain king who is destined to reincarnate as Manu of the succeeding period. He is associated with the southern country performing penances on Mountain Malaya (मलयस्यैकदेशे, M. 1.12). In the Bhāgavata he is said to be performing penance on the banks of the River Kṛitamālā (Bhāg. 8.24.12.), modern Vaigai on which Madura is situated and which has its source in the Malaya hills.

SYMBOLISM OF BOAT— The third question is about the symbolism of the Boat in which Manu protected himself and the seeds of creation, and which floated on the surface of the Flood and was fastened to the horn of the Fish. The best answer to this question is furnished by the Matsya Purāṇa itself which states that the Ship floating in the Ekārṇava Ocean is the Veda :

एतदेकाण्वं सर्वं करिष्यति जगत्त्रयम् ।

वेद-नावमिमं गृह्य सत्त्वबीजानि सर्वशः ॥ (M. 2.10)

The Ekārṇava Glacial Flood is said to have occurred at the end of the sixth Manvantara period of Chākshusha Manu, that is before the commencement of the seventh Manvantara period of Vaivasvata Manu to whom the Divine Fish gave the assurance :

एवमेकाण्वे जाते चाक्षुषान्तर संक्षये ।

वेदान् प्रवर्तयिष्यामि त्वा सर्गादौ महीपते ॥ (2. 14. 15)

1. We remember in this connection the words of Kālidāsa :

रेखामात्रमपि क्षुण्णादामनोर्वत्सनः परम् ।

न व्यतीयुः प्रजास्तस्य नियन्तुः नेमिवृत्तयः ॥ रघुवंश १।१७

It may seem a little confusing that it is *Vaiyasvata* Manu to whom the Divine Fish confided this secret of the coming *Jala-Pralaya* and then stating that in the period which will follow the Flood the new order of worlds will be recreated beginning afresh with the Vedas. The answer to this is that the line of Manus from period to period is continuous and also the names differ substantially; but the essence of Manuhood remains the same, i. e., in the scheme of creation or divine dispensation the Manu-principle is basically one and the same becoming differentiated as the thirty Manus, fourteen for the day and fourteen for the night, and one each for the two twilights.

The boat floating on the waters which cannot be submerged is the Veda (*Veda-nāvam*, M. 2.10). It is one of the happiest symbols created in the Purāṇa. Perhaps the original suggestion comes from the R̥gveda itself where Varuṇa is said to be knowing the Birds of the air and the Ships of the ocean.

वेद यो वीनां पदमन्तरिक्षेण पतताम् । वेद नावः समुद्रियः ॥

RV. I. 12. 7.

However the symbolism of the Vedas being the boat on which the cosmos floats is of deep esoteric meaning. Veda is knowledge or Jñāna, identified with the Creator himself who performs a *Jñānamaya Tapas*, that is a session of concentrated contemplation to create the worlds. Creation is the fruit of the *Samādhi* of the Creator. The Vedas symbolise the mind or the thought of the Creator. It is immortal knowledge which does not succumb to vagaries of time and space. This is *Apaurusheya Veda*. The other one is the Veda as the uttered word in the mantras (*Mantrātmaka Veda*, *Brahma-rāśi*, *Śabda-rāśi*), i. e. the mortal words which appear and vanish (*Martyā Vāk*). The Vedas on the higher plane in their immortal course represent the *Amṛitā Vāk* which is thousand-syllabled, that is as infinite as the Creator himself and which exists in the undifferentiated source of the highest Empyrean (सहस्राक्षरा परमे व्योमन्, RV. I. 164. 41).

VEDA AS RISHI—The Veda is the same as *Rishi* and *Chhandas*. Wherever there is *Rishi* there is *Veda* and *vice-versa*.

So in the beginning Veda was created, viz. the Prāṇic principle called *Rishi* was created, as is stated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa : असद् वा इदमग्र आसीत् । तदाहुः किं तदसदासीदिति । ऋषयो वाव ते अग्रे असदिति । तदाहुः के ते ऋषय इति । प्राणा वा ऋषयः । ते यत् पुरा अस्मात्सर्वस्माद् इदमिच्छन्तः श्रमेण तपसा अरिषंस्तस्माद् ऋषयः (ŚB. 6. 1. 1, 1).

The Prāṇic energies preceding the material creation are typified as the *Rishis*. Three principles emanate from them, viz. Mind (*Idam ichhantaḥ*), 'thinking of this creation'; Life (*Prāṇa*) which is the same as *Tapas*; and Matter (*Sramat*, 'toil'). All these three became energised or agitated for the sake of creation, releasing dynamic forces which stirred the sky and the deep ocean and all that existed in a latent form as a result of which the cosmic seed (*Bhuvanasya retah*) sprouted and fructified as the cosmic tree of existence called the Thousand-branched (सहस्रवल्श) Vanaspati in the Vedas, or Aśvattha in the Upanishads.

BRAHMĀ AS COSMIC SVASTIKA— Knowledge or Veda is associated in the Purāṇas with Brahmā who enunciates the Vedic knowledge in a four-fold pattern, or evolves the cosmos as a Svastika with four angles of 90° each (चतुर्भिः साकं नवति च नामभिः, RV. I. 155. 6.). Who is this Brahmā? He is Nārāyaṇa himself (ब्रह्मा नारायणात्मकः, Viṣṇu P. 1. 3. 24. ; also भावयन् ब्रह्मरूपेण विद्वद्भिः परिपठ्यते). Brahmā is Para-Brahma himself, the Primeval Creative Force (परस्य ब्रह्माणो रूपं पुरुषः प्रथमो द्विजाः), who is both manifest and unmanifest (व्यक्ताव्यक्त) and who is the great dynamic principle of Time (तथा पुरुषरूपेण कालरूपेण च स्थितम्). Such a Being is both Viṣṇu and Brāhmā. He is enjoying the pastime of creation like an Eternal Babe (क्रोडतो बालकस्येव चेष्टां तस्य निशामय, Kirfel, *Purāṇa Pañcha-Lakṣhaṇa*, p. 6.). The material manifestation (*Bhautikā Sṛiṣṭi*) is preceded by creation on the plane of thought (*Mānasī sṛiṣṭi*). The cosmos was an idea, symbolised here as Veda, which continues to exist through all the disrupting changes of dissolution. They only touch or submerge the material creation because it is mortal but do not in any manner touch the immortal source that is the idea of the Creator as his *Jñānamaya Tapas*, which is the Veda.

MIND OR MEMORY OF BRAHMĀ—We have already alluded to Manu representing the principle of Mind a thesis explicitly stated in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa :—

मनुर्मनीषा मनुजो निवासः (Bh. 2. 1. 36).

Thus the first Manu known by the name of Svayambhū represents the Mind or Intellect of the Creator and Man the offspring of Manu is the abode wherein this principle of intellection has become manifest. It may be recognised that man is mind and the Universal Mind is symbolised as Veda or Knowledge. Where do the Vedas exist at the time of dissolution? The answer is that they exist in an unmanifested form as the mind of Brahmā. The Bhāgavata refers to this phenomenon by stating that at the beginning of the new creation Prajāpati Brahmā, the Self-existent Svayambhū, regains the consciousness or memory of the knowledge of the Vedas and accordingly creates the world :

एवं पुराधारणयात्मयोनिर्नष्टां स्मृतिं प्रत्यवस्थ्य तुष्टात् ।

तथा ससर्जदममोघदृष्टिर्यथाप्ययात्प्राग् व्यवसायबुद्धिः ॥

(भागवत २।२।१)

Brahma's memory, mind or intellect is symbolised as Veda which becomes the boat to bear the cosmic cargo in a new creation (वेदान् प्रवर्तयिष्यामि त्वत्सर्गादौ महीयते, 2. 15).

MEANING OF FISH — We should also consider the meaning of the Fish or Matsya. As already pointed out Matsya represents the emergence of life from out of the Waters. It is the principle of the Universal Egg called *Anḍa* or *Virāj*. The creation of the Golden Egg is a doctrine very dear to Purāṇa writers, it substantially represents the *Hiranyagarbha-vidyā*. The Matsya Purāṇa explains in a nut-shell the doctrine of the birth of the cosmos in the form of a Golden Egg, the equivalent of Prajāpati himself :—

जगदण्डमिदं पूर्वमासीद् दिव्यं हिरण्मयम् ।

प्रजापतेरियं स्मृतिरित्यं वैदिकीश्रुतिः ॥ (M. 248.1.)

This Egg is named *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Jagadāṇḍa*, *Mārtāṇḍa*, *Virāj-āṇḍa*, etc. This means that the cosmos is the Egg which

is Divine and Golden. The Egg was concealed in the Waters or the Mother-principle of the Universe and the Divine Being himself released the birth of this Egg after it had floated in the primeval ocean for a duration of a thousand years (मुमुचाण्डं महायोगी धृतं वर्ष-सहस्रकम्, 247.43).

THREE STAGES IN THE LIFE OF THE EGG— There are three stages in the birth of the Egg. The first is the self-existent Svayambhū or the Divine principle which exists in its own right and which functions as the Father of creation. He is unmanifest, wrapped in darkness or the latent source beyond manifestation and beyond the comprehension of the senses, being at once both minute and big (*Amur-jyāyān*) and eternal (*Sanātana*), but at the same time he has the potency to set in motion the cosmic creativity. The writer of the Matsya Purāṇa is borrowing or repeating his material from the Manu-Smṛiti (2.25.27).

The second stage is that of the Universal Mother-principle called Virāj and this is referred to in the R̥gveda itself (Purusha-sūkta). Both the Thousand-headed Infinite Purusha as Father and Virāj as Mother enter into union, out of which comes the birth of the Golden Egg (यस्माद् अण्डं विराड् जज्ञे, भाग० 2.6.21). This Egg being the son of Virāj may be called *Vairāja Anḍa*, or more properly *Vairāja Manu* representing the Life-principle within the Egg. This is the same as *Vairāja Purusha* of the R̥gveda (RV. X.90.5). This *Vairāja Manu* is the same as *Hiraṇyagarbha* or *Nārāyaṇa*.

NARA-NĀRA-NĀRĀYAṆA—The etymological significance of the word *Nārāyaṇa* may be clearly understood. It represents the three stages in the birth of the cosmos. In the beginning was the Purusha called *Nara*. He created from within his ownself the mother principle or Waters called *Nāra*. Many of the Purāṇa writers have accepted this definition given in the Manu-Smṛiti also :—

आपो नारा इति प्रोक्ता आपो वै नरसूनुवः ।

ता यदस्यायनं प्रोक्तं तस्मान्नारायणः स्मृतः ॥

(Manu 1.10 ; Śānti-parva, 328.35 ; Matsya 248.46)

So Nārāyaṇa is the son of Nāra and is the manifest form of the Divine creative principle Nara as this cosmos. *Nara* is the father, *Nāra* is the Mother, and *Nārāyaṇa* is their child. Nārāyaṇa is the same as Hiranyagarbha or Golden Germ being the manifest principle of Prāṇa which is born within the Egg.

MEANING OF HIRANYA.— Why is the Egg called *Hiranyamaya* (Golden) ? The answer is that in Vedic symbolism *Hiranya* or Gold symbolises the principle of *Taijasa* or Light shining forth from within the womb of Darkness. Hiranya is the Jyotiḥ of Brahman which is visible to us as Prāṇa, as Āditya, as Indra, as Agni etc.

A very important fact about the *Aṇḍa* is stated in the Bhāgavata saying that the Egg was devoid of life until the Divine Principle quickened it with its potency and then the Egg became infused with life :—

वर्षपुगसहस्रान्ते तदण्डमुदकेशयम् ।

कालकर्मस्वभावस्थो जीवोऽजीवमजीवयत् (Bh. 2.5.34).

‘The cosmic egg lay within the womb of its watery cause in a lifeless condition for a thousand years. At the end of this period the Divine Principle infused life into this Egg. This life-principle was the outcome of the Divine potency of *Kāla*, *Karma* and *Svabhāva*.’

The Puranic writers are clear about the meanings of these terms. It is stated in the Bhāgavata that the cosmos is the visible form of the Creator (भगवतः स्थूल-रूप Bh. 2. 2.1.23). Indeed, one may go further and hold that it is the grossest of the gross and is the body of the Lord in which is seen this phenomenal universe in all its three aspects of the Past, Present and Future—

विशेषस्तस्य देहोऽयं स्थविष्ठश्च स्थवीयसाम् । यत्र दृश्यते विश्वं भूतं भव्यं भवच्च सत् ॥
(Bh. 2. 1. 24).

अण्डकोशे शरीरेऽस्मिन् सप्तावरणसंयुते । वैराजः पुरुषो योऽसौ भगवान् घोरणाशयः ॥
(Bh. 2. 1.25).

CONSTITUTION OF THE EGG.—The constitution of the Divine Egg may be understood as follows. It comprises the three

Guṇas (*Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*). These become manifest as the three powers of the Lord, viz. *Jñāna*, *Kriyā*, and *Dravya* (Bh. 2.5.18-19). The quality of *Tamas* becomes *Dravya*, of *Sattva* *Jñāna* and of *Rajas* *Kriyā* (activity). *Tamas* represents the aspect of *Kārya*, *Jñāna* of *Kāraṇa* and *Kriyā* of *Kartṛitva* (doer). These three exist in the Divine source and they become manifest in the Egg also. These three principles became further modified as *Kāla*, *Karma* and *Svabhāva*. *Sattva* became *Kāla*, *Rajas* *Svabhāva* and *Tamas* *Karma*.

By his intrinsic power the Creator accepted this differentiation. Here *Kāla* or Time represents the potency which disturbs the equilibrium or the primeval stillness of the three Guṇas (कालाद् गुणव्यतिकरः Bh. 5.2.22.). *Kāla* is the dynamic impeller which gives the urge for the creative process to begin. The next is *Svabhāva* or the innate disposition of the whole cosmos and of each object in it which existed in a former Kalpa and then became latent and is revived afresh by which the process of individuation is brought into existence (परिणामः स्वभावतः).

The third principle which becomes active within the Egg is called *Karma*, viz. the Destiny which lies in primordial Matter or the principle which governs the unfoldment of the life process for each individual creature and creation.

Karma is the tendency towards friction, inertia, individuation or intellection by which the Ego is produced. The Bhāgavata names it as *Mahat-tattva*, which gives birth to *Ahaṅkāra* and the Pañcha-bhūtas. These make the seven shells of the Egg (*Saptāvarana*) (क्षित्यादिभिरेष कलावृतः सप्तभिर्दश गुणोत्तरैरण्डकोशः Bh. 6.16.37; also महदादि विशेषान्ता ह्यण्डमुत्पादयन्ति च, Liṅga Purāṇa 1.3.18). Here *Mahadādi* is the principle of Buddhi and Mind and *Viśeṣha* of the gross body but within each egg or body all these seven are necessarily present. These seven may be taken to represent the various Vedic Heptads of which Mind, Life and Matter in its five elements are essential constituents. They are also known as the Sapt-Rishis, Saptāṅgirasas, Seven Sages or *Sapta-mahātmānaḥ* in the words of the Liṅga Purāṇa (1.70.51),

There is in the scheme of creation not one Egg but millions and billions of eggs (अण्डानां कोटिकोटिशतानि च, *Liṅga Purāṇa* 1.87.19; यत्र पतत्यणुकल्पः सहाण्डकोटिकोटिभिस्तदनन्तः, *Bh.* 6.16.37);

सप्ताण्डावरणान्याहुस्तस्यात्मा कमलासनः ।

कोटिकोटियुतान्यस्य चंडानि, कठिनानि तु ॥

What are the constituent elements inside the Virāj is a question which has been variously answered in the several Purāṇas. The substance is that whatever exist in the manifest forms of the body also existed in the source or the Egg. The Sāṅkhya philosophers simplified the matter by introducing a scheme of classified enumeration of the entities or *Tattvas*, viz. five Bhūtas, five organs of action, five organs of knowledge, five *tanmātrās* (subtle objects of sense pleasures) and Ahaṅkāra, Manas and Buddhi. The aggregate of the twenty-three is called *Trayo-vimśatika Gaṇa*. The Bhāgavata (3, 6, 4) states that this aggregation existed inside the egg and is visible in the person born from that Egg and named *Adhipurusha* (*Bh.*, 3, 6, 4), a term which also occurs in the Purusha Sūkta (*RV.* X. 90. 5). In some places as in the *Liṅga Purāṇa* (2.19.26-27), the Pāśupata teachers raised the number of *Tattvas* from 23 to 24 (the doctrine named (*Chatur-vimśaka*), to 25 (*Pañcha-vimśaka*) to 26 (*Ṣaḍ-vimśaka*) and to even 27 (*Sapta-vimśaka*), (*Liṅga* 1.71.51), (counting 23 *Tattvas* of Vikṛiti, one Prakṛiti, one Jīva, one Purusha, and above all the transcendent *Parātpara*). All these reckoning of *Tattvas* were considered valid amongst different doctrinaires who rather took a liberal view in such metaphysical questions. The Matsya Purāṇa itself mentions *Pañcha-vimśaka* (3.27) and also *Ṣaḍ-vimśaka* (3.28). The clearest explanation is provided in the Sānti-parva, Chap. 306. Both the Matsya and Vāyu agree in the basic fact that the Sāṅkhya philosophers according to the etymology of their names were indulging in these different disquisitions under Kapila and his followers (संख्यं संख्यात्मकत्वाच्च कपिलादिभिश्च्यते, *M.* 3.29).

EGG IS MATERIAL— The Vāyu Purāṇa gives several significant hints about the *Anda*. Firstly, it tells us that the *Anda*

constituted of Avyakta Prakṛiti, Mahat-tattva, Ahaṁkāra and the Bhūtas is entirely *Prākṛita* or Material (Vāyu 4. 76). It remains a dead egg until it is activated by contact with Puruṣa when the Principle of Brahmā or Hiraṇyagarbha enters into it and by the process of fission splits the egg into two halves. Two new definitions are given here, viz. that the Golden Mount Meru is the Garbha (*Uḷa*) that is the Ācā or Prāṇa, the life-principle born as Hiraṇyagarbha. This golden mountain is the centre of the universe including seven mountains and this is the rock on which the spark of fire called Prāṇa or Agni is first kindled. This Meru as the central stable principle of creation finds its extended expression in the form of other mountains each of which represents some fixed principle or foundation of the cosmos.

SAMUDRA— The second thing is that just as the egg has its sap or amnion, the enveloping liquid in which the nucleus is concealed, similarly the Great Ocean symbolises the liquid within the egg (*Garbhodaka*) (हिरण्यस्तु यो मेरुस्तस्योत्वं तन्महात्मनः । गर्भोदकं समुद्रश्च... Vāyu 4.80). The ocean certainly is the primeval and infinite ocean of Soma which is transformed as Seven Seas enveloping the earth or material manifestation as the sap within the egg or the mother's womb, where it supplies nutrition to the life nucleus or babe.

SVAYAMBHŪ— In looking at this chapter of the Matsya, attention may be drawn to several technical terms and motifs. The first is Svayambhū (M. 2. 26). He is unborn in the sense that no body creates him and he is self-existent as the first cause of all (नोत्पादितत्वात् पूर्वत्वात् स्वयम्भूरिति चोच्यते, as explained in the Vāyu 4. 44.) The transcendent and highest Brahman is Svayambhū and also Brahmā as the first cause of creation, existing by his own intrinsic power (स एकः स्वयमुद्बभौ 2. 27). He creates the primeval Waters, and deposits his seed, meaning the cosmic seed (*bhuvanasya retah*, 2. 28) for creating the world. Thus the Golden Egg is produced. As stated before it was a dead egg, therefore, the Creator Svayambhū himself enters the Egg. This has reference to the doctrine of *Anu-praveśa* as given in 2. 30, (प्रविश्यान्तर्मातेजाः स्वयमेवात्मसंभवः). By his own power he pervaded

the egg and became Vishṇu (प्रभावादपि तदा व्याप्त्या विष्णुत्वमगमत्पुनः). This was already enunciated in the R̥gveda in connection with the *Sarvaḥut* sacrifice of the eternal Creator, named *Prathamachchad*, who himself entered in the succeeding links of the creative chain (प्रथमच्छद् अवरां आविवेश, RV. X. 81. 1.)

ĀDITYA— Now the quickened egg gave birth to the manifested life principle on the plane of matter in the form of Āditya or Sūrya. He is the great Mārtāṇḍa of the R̥gveda (RV. X. 72. 8-9 ; मृताण्डे जायते युस्मान्मार्ताण्डस्तेन संस्मृतः, M. 2. 36). It is said that the Divine Mother Aditi gave birth to eight sons including the seven immortal Devas called Ādityas and the eighth named *Mārtāṇḍa* मार्ताण्ड (or मार्तण्ड of classical literature). She took it to be a dead egg and cast it away as of no avail. She requested the Seven Immortals to create the world but they expressed their inability since they knew only of immortal life i. e. birth, and not of death. But the wheel of creation can rotate only when both life and death equally participate in the process, and so the universal mother or Infinite Nature approached Mārtāṇḍa or the Sun who creates both Day and Night as the symbols of life and Death (प्रजायै मृत्यवे ह्यपुनर्मार्ताण्डमाभरत्, RV. X. 72. 9 ; अहस्तस्य तु या सृष्टिः प्रलयो रात्रिरुच्यते Vāyu 5.1. ; ग्रहरन्ते प्रलीयन्ते रात्र्यन्ते विश्वसंभवः ।)

SEMANTIC ETYMOLOGIES— One fact may be specially noted here that the Purāṇa writers invoke these meanings by devising sementic etymolog (आर्थो निरुक्ति) for well known words like Vishṇu, Āditya, Brahmā, etc. (2. 31), just as the ancients were doing in Brāhmaṇa literature for a number of Vedic words. The exegetes of the Purāṇas like their predecessors were not interested in phonetic derivation (शब्दी निरुक्ति). It was the meaning which mattered, e. g. Āditya is explained not as the son of Aditi which also was a valid derivation, but as the First-born (आदित्यश्चादि भूतत्वात्, 2. 31 ; आदित्वाच्चादि देवोऽसौ, Vāyu 5. 49). Indeed the Vāyu in this very context offers sementic etomologies for not only Āditya but for other words like Aja, Prajāpati, Mahādeva, Īśvara, Brāhmā, Purusha, Svayambhū, Yajña, Kavi, Krāmaṇa,

Agni, Hiranyagarbha (Vāyu 5, 40-46). It seems that being close followers of the Brāhmaṇas in the Trayī tradition, to which the Purāṇas also belong, these new writers were quite well conversant with the older etymological approach. Agni is said to be so called since it was created in the beginning (अग्रजोऽग्निरिति स्मृतः). Now the above words seemingly different from each other are from the symbolical point of view indicative of one and the same creative principle, viz. Prāpa, Hiranyagarbha or Āditya created as the First-born of the cosmic order (cf. अहमस्मि प्रथमजा ऋतस्य Sāma Veda V. 1.9, TB. 2.8.8). According to the R̥gveda Agni itself is the first born of the order (अग्निनः प्रथमजा ऋतस्य X.5.7), the Bull-Cow or the Father-Mother principle of creation (पूर्वं आयुनि वृषभश्च धेनुः RV. X. 5. 7). Agni as such is said to cook the boiled rice of creation (AV. IV. 37.1.) The first-born Svayambhū is Brahmā himself who is no other than Vedic Agni on earth or Āditya in heaven, and hence the Purāṇa writer gladly welcomes a number of these terms as soon as the opportunity offers and he has done the same in the context of the Hiranyagarbha-vidyā.

The creative self-existent principle or Brahmā became Viṣṇu because he pervaded the cosmos (व्याप्त्या M. 2. 30.), he became Sūrya as the first to be born, and also called Brahmā, since he was reciting the Veda, i.e. filled with the divine knowledge which he had regained as the memory (*Smṛiti*). The Bhāgavata also refers to Brahmā as Trayī-maya or Samāmnāyama (Bh. 2. 4. 19).

DOCTRINE OF PRAVEŚA— The above explanation of Viṣṇu, followed throughout the Purāṇa literature, was rooted in the Vedic doctrine of *Praveśa*. The principle is that the Creator makes a total sacrifice of his own Self called *Sarvaḥut yajña* (RV. X. 90. 6) by which he enters completely into his creation ; the antecedent principle or the Archetypal produces the subsequent (प्रथमच्छब्द अवरो आविवेश, RV. X. 81. 1.). This is the potency of the seed which completes its life-cycle in the tree, the flower, the fruit and again the seed all of them being permeated by its

creative possibilities. The seed is the Father and is being constantly reborn as the Son in endless generations. The Self becomes the Son (आत्मा वै जायते पुत्रः) and it is by this miraculous reproduction that life is being perpetuated. The power which enters into each succeeding centre is the *Purāṇa-Puruṣa* or the Grand Ancestor (*Pitāmaha*). Each new Babe or life-centre is a link in the chain and always is what its *Purāṇa Puruṣa* was. It is said that the *Kumāra* is in love with his ancestors (पुराणाम् अनुवेनन्तम्, RV. X. 135. 2). This principle of *Anupracsa* i. e. the ancestor transmitting its whole potency to the successor is a biological law of the greatest value.

TWO HALVES OF THE EGG— The Golden Egg cannot create further unless it splits into two halves (*Śakala-dvaya*, M. 2. 32). This process of auto-fission of the one creative principle into two is fundamental to Vedic and *Purāṇic* cosmology. It is expressed in several ways—e. g. Man and Woman, Husband and Wife, Father and Mother. The Vedic *Rishis* expressed this symbolism as *Dyāvā-Prithivī*, the Universal Parents (द्यौः पिता पृथिवी माता). In a number of hymns of the *Rigveda*, Heaven and Earth as cosmic progenitors are extolled in chosen epithets, a immortal undecaying and pregnant with all the possibilities of existence. The *Matsya* is referring to them as produced from the Golden Egg (दिवं भूमिं समकरोत् तदण्डशकलद्वयम्, M. 2. 32). These are also referred to as the Upper and the Lower (*Ūrdhva*) and *Adhaḥ*, M. 248. 2). This conception is elaborated as the *Parāvāra* doctrine in the *Rigveda*, expressed as *Parārdha* and *Avarārdha* (RV. I. 164. 17-19). *Dyāvā Prithivī* are also defined as *Kūrma* (*Dyāvā-prithivyo hi Kūrmaḥ*, ŚB. 7. 5. 1. 10). The *Kūrma* incarnation of *Vishṇu* follows the *Matsya*, i. e. the Egg becomes effective only in the *Kūrma* form of the basic dichotomy of *Dyāvā-Prithivī*, as pointed out above. *Matsya* and *Kūrma* both are symbols of the life-principle or *Prāṇa* (प्राणो वै कूर्मः, प्राणो होमाः सर्वाः प्रजाः करोति, ŚB. 7. 5. 1. 7).

MAHĀ-DIŚAḤ — The creation of *Dyāvā-Prithivī* from the Golden Egg is further elaborated as the creation of the four

quarters of space enclosing in their centre *Vyoma* (स चाकरोत्तद् दिशः सर्वा मध्ये व्योम च शाश्वतम्, M. 2. 32). The idea is very clear, viz. the concept of Space being both absolute and relative. The absolute space (शाश्वत व्योम) is beyond creation and beyond the categories of space and time. But the same becomes manifested as relative space in the form of the four regions (*Diśah*) which is but another form of the world *Svastika* of Brahmā and Vishṇu. The imagery is that the *Mahākāśa* principle becomes *Maṭhākāśa*, *Ghaṭākāśa*, or differentiated and subject to various limitations. The bounded four regions have no intrinsic reality but described by the supposed movement of the Sun in the form of a *Svastika* (*Dik-svastika*, also called *Dik-chakra*). It should be noted that the union of the two principles is involved here, viz. *Madhya-Vyoma* and *Diśah*. The former is the centre and the latter the circumference, i. e. *Nābhi* and *Maṇḍala*, or *Kendra* and *Paridhi* of a single *Chakra*. Each created object or organism has this essential character; it is its centre (*Hṛidaya*) which expands into the circumference through the diameter. The measure of *Vyoma* or centre with its diameter determines its expansive *Maṇḍala*. In short, this three-fold concept is the basis of the Vedic *Trayī-Vidyā*, i. e. the triadic creation, as follows :—

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Center—Yajurveda, | <i>Gati</i> |
| 2. Diameter—Rigveda, | <i>Mūrti</i> |
| 3. Circumference—Sāmaveda, | <i>Maṇḍala</i> |

The Gopatha and the Śatpath Brāhmaṇas clearly refer to this conjoint trinitarian principle behind all created objects :—

For Purāṇic cosmology the doctrine of *Trayī-Vidyā* is its life-breath. It is accepted and elaborated in the form of *Tri-Deva*, viz. Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Śiva, who are but the three aspects of a single divine power :—

MOUNTAINS AND CLOUDS:— The imagery of the Egg is carried further by saying that the mountains like Meru and others form the placenta (*Jarāyu*), and the clouds with lightning the chorion (*Uḷa*, outer membrane) of the foetus, or *Garbha* within the egg. The mountain of Gold

Meru represents the principle of Agni, and the clouds condensed by it of Soma. The writer is here working on an elemental wide canvas of primeval ages. He is thinking of the primeval ocean (*Ekārṇava*) and takes the creation as the water condensed from that source. In the process of creation waters form a regular cycle in which the earth-kissing clouds and the rising hill tops take their part. The same Water rises up as *Purjanya* and then comes back to the earth :—

समानमेतददुकमुच्चैत्यव चाहमिः ।

भूमिं पर्जन्या जिन्वन्ति दिवं जिन्वत्यग्नयः ॥ (RV. I. 164.51).

The rivers are compared to the flowing channels along which the sap within the egg distributes itself to the various life-centres (*अण्डनाड्यो नद्यः*, M. 2. 34.)

PITARAḤ—In the Golden Egg were born the seven primeval ancestors called the *Pitris*. They are the seven Aṅgiras sages or types of seven differentiated Prāṇic forces, viz. Mind, Life and Five Elements of Matter. The Purāṇas refer to them as *Mahat*, *Ahīkāra* and the Five *Viśeshas* or *Tanmātrās*. Without these Seven there can be no further development of the egg or the foetus. This is one of the essential bases of the Hiraṇyagarbha-vidyā which is the theme here and in several other Purāṇas.

MANUS—The number of Manus is fourteen, 7 for the forenoon and 7 for the afternoon in the cosmic Day of Brahmā. Manu as pointed out above is Mind, and the same is symbolical of the seven emanations, viz. Manas, Prāṇa and the Pañcha-bhūtas. The seven Pitris and the seven Manus correspond to each other, the Pitris conceived as emanations of Soma and Manus of Agni. Agni is both *ghora* and *aghora* and therefore the seven Manus are turned into two sets, those of the forenoon referring to creation and those of the afternoon to dissolution.

SAPTA-SAMUDRA—The sap within the Egg originally existed in an undifferentiated form but later it assumed seven particular aspects for the evolution of the seven principles explained above (*सप्तमी समुद्राश्च तेषां चान्तिर्जलोद्भवाः, लवणेषुसुराद्याश्च नानारत्नसमुद्भवाः* M. 2. 34).

The Seven Oceans form an integral part of Puranic cosmology. Their conception as watery masses of *Kṣhīra*, *Ghṛīta*, *Dadhi*, *Lavana*, *Ikṣhu*, *Surā*, and *Udaka* is not a factual geographical description but symbolical of the differentiation of a single original *Rasa* into seven *Rasas*, similar to the other numerous Heptads of Vedic mythology. All of them exist within the Golden Egg, i. e. the human body or the cell (*aṇḍa* or *kośa*) by which the different physico-chemical processes of the many secretions from the glands and other organs derive their particular functions and tensions.

RATNA SYMBOL— The oceans are said to be possessed of many jewels (नानारत्नसमन्विता, M. 2. 34). We read of seven jewels in the R̥g Veda but their number has been variable, the final reckoning makes it fourteen as produced from the churning of the ocean (*Samudra-Manthana*) by the Devas and Asuras. These were the *Auspicious Symbols* (*Maṅgala-Chinha*) which are widely mentioned in literature and also depicted in art. The *Kāmadhenu* (Wish-fulfilling Cow or Vāk), *Uchchih̥śravas* (Horse, creature of high fame, Sūrya himself), *Airāvata* (White Elephant of Heaven, the principle of Ego or Intelligence), *Rambhā* (the eternal Woman archetypal of beauty), *Maṇi* (also called *Bhadra-Maṇi*, Auspicious Jewel, Will), *Śrī-Lakṣmī* (Goddess of Abundance and Beauty) *Kalpadrūma* (Wish-fulfilling Tree, Mind), *Pāñchajanya Sankha* (the great principle of Ākāśa with the four other elements, known as Pañcha-jana in R̥g Veda), *Chandramā* (Moon as the higher principle of Soma or Mind), *Vāruṇi* (Wine, the principle of fermentation or life-sap from which Soma is extracted), *Visha* (poison, symbol of death), and *Dhanvantari* (Physician or the Wise Man, same as *Parināyaka-ratna*) and finally *Amṛita* (the principle of Immortality which symbolises the heavenly world of Devas and Prajāpati or Brahman himself). There is nothing higher than *Amṛita* in creation and this was the main incentive behind the idea of *Samudra-Manthana*.

MĀRTANḌA— It literally means 'son of the lifeless egg'. In R̥g Veda it is written as *Mārtanḍa* (RV. X. 72. 7-8.). There are two entities namely Purusha and Prakṛiti. Purusha is life

(*Prāṇa, Chetanā*) and Prakṛiti is lifeless matter. In creation Life or consciousness has become manifested in matter. This phenomenon was clearly grasped and explained in Vedic and Puranic cosmogony as *Hiranyagarbha Vidyā*. It should be clearly understood that the Egg (*Virāj*) represents Prakṛiti or Matter. It is a dead egg, for there is no life or consciousness in Prakṛiti in all its modalities or levels of creation. The region of Prakṛiti is called *Prākṛita sarga* in the Purāṇas. The material lifeless egg awaits to be quickened by the principle of Life or Consciousness symbolised as Puruṣa. Metaphorically Puruṣa himself enters into the egg by means of its seed and the mother's ovum becomes fertilised. This fecundating principle is called *Hiranya* (Gold) which is the Vedic symbol of Prāṇa or Life. This is spoken of as *Hiranyāṇḍa*, the Golden Egg, or *Hiranyagarbha*, the Golden Germ. It is produced in the womb of the dead egg and therefore gets a new metronymic epithet as *Mārtāṇḍa* (मार्तण्ड) in the R̥gveda and *Mārtāṇḍa* (मार्तण्ड) in the Purāṇas and classical Sanskrit literature (मृतेऽण्डे जायते यस्मात् मार्तण्डस्तेन संस्मृतः ॥ M. 2. 36). This *Mārtāṇḍa* is the same as Sūrya, the supreme principle of consciousness in the cosmos. One should not commit the error of taking Sūrya as the physical Sun, but justly understand it as the Supernal Sun who is the same as Brahman, the transcendent source of life and the highest reality (ब्रह्म सूर्यसमं ज्योतिः, Yajur 23. 48).

That which is termed as Sūrya is the same as Indra or Agni or Tejas or Tapas and many other appellations have been applied to him in the Vedic and Puranic literature. If one understands the principle clearly there would be no confusion in the bewildering variety of names. The same is called *Vairāja Manu* or *Viivasvata Manu* as the arch-ancestor of the human race or as the source from which life has descended in the long chain of a thousand or countless generations.

RAJAS— The creation of the Golden Egg or *Mārtāṇḍa* is clearly stated in the Matsya to be the effect of *Rajas* (रजोगुणमयं यत् तद् रूपं तस्य महात्मनः, M. 2.36). The doctrine of *Rajas* (*Rajovāda*) forms the backbone of the philosophy of creation in

the R̥gveda. *Rajas* is the same as movement, activity, agitation, pulsation, rhythmic motion, the motive force of creativity. It is identified with *Prāṇa* explained as contraction and expansion (प्राणो वै समञ्जन-प्रसारणम्, शतपथ).

It is the result of *Rajas* that the equilibrium of the three *Guṇas* or qualities of *Prakṛiti* is disturbed, and in accordance with a predetermined scheme creation starts its chain action. In fact the credit of the dynamic cosmos is given not to *Sattva* but to *Rajas* which brings into existence from the unmanifest source the principle of *Mahat* or the Universal which is the womb of all manifest creation :—

येन सृष्टं जगत्सर्वं सदेवामुरमानुषम् ।

तमवेहि रजोरूपं महत् सत्त्वमुदाहृतम् ॥ (M. 2. 37)

FOUR-FACED BRAHMĀ— The symbolism of four-faced, *Brahmā* has been hinted at above. The grand-ancestor or the archetypal Deity of creation became four-faced to evolve a four-fold pattern of the cosmos (चतुर्मुखः स भगवानभवलोकपितामहः, M. 2.36, also *Bhāgavata* 3.8.16). This quadruplication is the same as *Svastika*, which underlies each and every manifest form. There can be no evolution of life except in accordance with this four-fold pattern. *Brahmā* is identified in Puranic terminology with *Vishṇu* of four arms (ब्रह्मा नारायणात्मकः, *Vishṇu* P. 1.3.24). Different stories about the four faces of *Brahmā* occurring in the *Purāṇas* should not confuse any one. They merely employ a language of symbolism in various ways; for example, the four faces are aligned to the four directions, and the desire of the Creator to have a view of his created Female Power or Primeval Beauty in each direction led to the four faces or all-sided vision (विश्वतश्चक्षुः). This is made a part of the legend of *Sarasvatī*, 'Lady of the Lake', streaming from the lake of *Brahmā* (*Brahmā sara*) in four directions.

SARASVATĪ— The *Matsya Purāṇa* in giving the legend of *Sarasvatī* is most helpful from the symbolical point of view. It explicitly states that the Golden Egg was split into two halves, male and female. The Female Half (*Strī-rūpam ardham*)

is called by several names as *Śatarūpā*, *Sāvitrī*, *Sarasvatī*, *Gāyatrī* and *Brahmāṇī* :—

शतरूपा च सा ख्याता सावित्री च निगद्यते ।

सरस्वत्यथ गायत्री ब्रह्मणी च परन्तप ॥ (M. 3. 31-32)

Each one of these has become the focus of amplified details both in the form of legends and metaphysical statements to be studied separately.

DAUGHTER MOTIF— Because the female was produced out of the body of the Creator himself he assigns to her the role of a daughter and He himself as the male principle transmits to her the fecundating seed. The symbolism of the daughter, mother, son or father has not the slightest significance of an incest but it is explaining in terms of human relationships the phenomena occurring in the abstract metaphysical context which alone is real. In Vedic symbolism sky is the father and earth is the mother (द्यौः पिता पृथिवी माता) and they are conceived as universal parents, the archetypes of biological procreation. The same Earth is also spoken of symbolically as the daughter and the Sky-god as the father, who is the same as *Sūrya*, and in that background the statement that the father begot on the daughter is to be understood (अत्रा पिता दुहितुर्गर्भमाधात् RV.1.164.33). In the *Rigveda* a similar imagery is extended to the union of the Mother and the Son; the former is symbolised as *Aditi* and the latter as *Dakṣha* (RV. X. 72. 4, अदितेर्दक्षो अजायत दक्षाददितिः परि).

RAJAS— In the *Rigveda* there are two kinds of *Rajas* principles viz. *Sukla* and *Krishna*, because *Rajas* is rhythmic activity and rhythm requires two-fold tension. The movement of *Rajas* is compared to that of a wheel (विवर्तते रजसी वेद्याभिः, Rv. VI. 9. 1 ; विवर्तते अहनी चक्रियेव, RV. I. 185.1).

What is called *Rajas* is the same as *Tapas*. By the power of *Brahmā's Tapas* the Vedas were created (M. 3.2). This is the language of mythology. In fact it means that the mind of the Creator became immersed in contemplation and the active knowledge which entered his mind is Veda. The Vedas are essentially the combined principle of *Agni* and *Soma*; *Rik*, *Yaju*

and Sāma are manifestations of Agni, the Fiery principle which is nothing but activity or movement and is three-fold as centripetal and centrifugal forces and balance of the two. It is usual to speak of the Vedas as *Trayī* which corresponds to the three Fires of the ritual, the three Devas of cult-worship, three Lokas of spatial creation and other similar triadic patterns. The fourth Veda Atharva is related to Soma or the watery principle as stated in the beginning of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. There it is said that Prajāpati toiled with his body, as a result of which heat or fervour was generated in his Pranic body, as a result of which his mind became awakened. This combined process of the work of *Manas Prāṇa, Vāk* produced the Waters or perspiration (*Sveda*) on the forehead of the Creator, symbolised as Soma or the Waters of creation. Thus the four Vedas typify the fourfold pattern which Prajapati evolved for the cosmos.

PRIORITY OF PURĀṆA— A strange statement is made here that the Purāṇa existed before the Veda, or that Brahmā first created the Purāṇa and then the Veda :

पुराणं सर्वं शास्त्राणां प्रथमं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् ।
 नित्यं शब्दरूपं पुण्यं शतकोटिं प्रविस्तरम् ॥
 अनन्तरं च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिःसृताः ॥ (M.3.3-4.)

This statement repeated in several other Puranas is novel but consistent with the doctrine of Vāk. The fact is that Vāk exists at two levels, viz. the transcendent infinite Vāk called *Amṛitā* and *Sahasṛākṣharā* existing in the highest Empyrean (*Parame Vyoman*). That Vāk is here called Purāṇa, the ancient one and therefore spoken of as *Nitya*, eternal and *Sata-koṭi* i.e. infinite. It is surely the Vāk of Parmeshthī Prajāpati called *Parmeshthīnī* and *Āmbhrīnī Vāk*, which exists in the universal. This is the *Arthamayī Vāk* i. e. Meaning or Idea as it exists in its undifferentiated source. When the same Vāk descends to the level of manifestation it becomes the *Trayī Vāk* or *Trayī-vidyā* of the Vedas. This three-footed Vāk exists in Sūrya as Sarasvatī whereas the one-footed Vāk (*Ekā-pādī*) belongs to the region of the Universal. The manifest or uttered speech

(*Śābdī Vāk*) relates to ideas transferred to the level of words. It is as well as one might say that the Vedas or *Śabda-Brahma* existed as the idea or mind of *Brahmā*, and also in the form of words (*Śabda-rāśi*), *Brahma-rāśi* or *Mantrātmaka Veda*). We are at once face to face with the Puranic doctrine of *Vāk* and *Artha* (Word and Meaning), the two being compared to *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛiti* or *Pārvatī* and *Parmeśvara*, one being eternal and the other phenomenal.

The statement about the priority of *Purāṇa* is to be viewed in two other ways. Firstly *Purāṇa* is based on legends (आख्यानशैली) about *Sarga-Pratisarga*, and the same is essentially the style of the Vedas, in which metaphysical and cosmogonic formulations are couched in the form of legends, appearing as *Ākhyāna* and *Itihāsa*, the real nature of which was well understood (cf. Śatapatha, 11.1.6.10). Thus the Vedas and the *Purāṇas* were based on ancient *Ākhyānas* of the widest distribution (cf. the story of *Sūrya* as Horse and his consort as Mare well known in Greek mythology). *Purāṇa* stood for that stock of myths. Secondly the stories or myths as current amongst the people were transmitted from generation to generation in an elastic form—revised, recast, amplified and changed at will. This is the meaning of the etymology of *Purāṇa* explained as पुरा नवं भवति. This body of *Purāṇa* in the mind of the people is verily the Traditional Doctrine—the sub-stratum of both the Vedas and recorded literature.

PRAMĀṆĀSHTAKA— It was a different context but the author speaking of the Vedas and the *Purāṇas* is reminded of the vast field of Vedic literature which the *Bhāgavatas* and the *Māheśvaras* had accepted as their supreme authority. He speaks of the Veda as combined with *Pramāṇāśṭaka* (M.3.4.) i. e. with eight-fold scriptural authority (मीमांसान्यायविद्याश्च प्रमाणष्टकसंयुताः). The correct significance of this phrase is that during the renaissance period of Sanskrit the orthodox teachers taking recourse to the traditional bases of religion, philosophy and culture accepted the Vedas as of undisputed authority and spoke of the *Smṛitis*, *Āgamas* and *Tantras* as deriving their authority

from the Vedas. The meaning in the Śrutis was feeding the Smṛitis (श्रुतेरिवार्थं स्मृतिरन्वगच्छत्, Raghuvamśa 2.2). The teachers classified their literature and religion in the Gupta age under five divisions, viz. Veda, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāñcha-Rātra (Vaiṣṇava), and Pāśupata (Śaiva). This was called *Kṛtānta-Pañchaka* (Agni Purāṇa 219. 61; Vishṇudharmottara 2.22.133). They covenanted amongst themselves that these five were directed to a common ideal (*Eka-nishṭha*), so far as the presentation of the traditional doctrine was concerned. Amongst these five also the Vedic tradition was admitted to be the highest of all. It had several names, e. g. *Trayī*, *Upanishad*, *Vedāraṇyaka*, *Vedānta*. An enormous literature was growing under each one of the above five major heads of *Kṛtānta-Pañchaka*. An elaborate scheme of classification of the then existing literature was evolved, a detailed list of which is given in the Ahir-budhnya Saṃhitā (Chap. 12). According to it there were sixty divisions of the Sāṃkhya literature, 12 of Pāñcha-rātra, 8 of Pāśupata, 12 of Yoga, and under Veda all those texts referred to as *Prāmaṇāṣṭaka* (एतानि पञ्चशाखाणि मूलभूतानि वै मुने, Ahir B. 12.49). The enumeration of the Vedic or Trayī literature according to this Saṃhitā is as follows :—

1. The four Vedas with all their Śākhās
2. Six Vedāṅgas
3. Dharma-śāstras including the whole Smṛiti literature which is said to be two-fold, viz. recorded (*Nibbaddha Śaṃskāra*) and secondly based on custom (*Anibaddha Āchāra*) Danda-nīti (Polity) and Varttā (Economics) were subjects also included under the Smṛiti literature of the Gupta Age.
4. Mīmāṃsā—a new literature dealing with the principles of interpretation developed in an elaborate form in the period of Sanskrit renaissance which found its culmination in the Schools of Kumārila and Prabhākara.
5. Nyaya—the development of pure dialectic or investigation of truth by intellectual reasoning and theory of knowledge reached staggering dimensions (*Nyāya-vistaraḥ*) in the Gupta

period under the leadership of such master minds as Vātsyāyana and Praśastapāda in Hinduism, Vasubandhu and Dharmakīrti in Buddhism, Siddhasena and Umāsvāti in Jainism. Nyāya was the product of subtle arguments and counter-arguments in which scriptural authority receded into background and gave place to the rationalistic powers of the human mind. It was an arena in which disputants of the various sects tried their strength of massive intellects against one another. For about eight hundred years the evolution of Nyāya dialectic continued unabated until its creative forces became disrupted.

6. Purāṇa—It was a vast literature computed at four lacs of ślokas in which the underlying principle was the respect for Vedic authority and an attempt to restate the Vedic doctrine and ideal. For example,

सर्वं वेदार्थं साराणि पुराणानि (Nārādīya 1.9.100)

वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः सर्वे पुराणे नात्र संशयः (Nārādīya 2.24.17)

वेद वन्निश्चलं मन्ये पुराणार्थं द्विजोत्तमाः

(Skanda, Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa 2.90)

यो न वेद पुराणं हि न स वेदात्र किञ्चन (Skanda, Revā khaṇḍa)

इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् (Vayu 1.201)

वेदार्थादधिकं मन्ये पुराणार्थं वरानने (Nārādīya, 2.24.17)

आत्मा पुराणं वेदानाम् (Skanda)

It was this mighty literature which the genius of the literary teachers of the Bhāgavata and Śaiva movements produced during the renaissance period of Sanskrit culture. There is no measure of its depth or extension and it is most revealing how the ancient Vedic doctrine was restated and elaborated in the Purāṇa literature.

7. Itihāsa—The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata are called *Itihāsa* and during this period both of them received the highest attention so far as their composition and distribution was concerned. It appears that the present bulk of the Rāmāyaṇa, namely its transformation from a text of 6000 verses to 24000 was due to the literary efforts of the Kushāṇa-Gupta period. Similarly the Mahābhārata emerged as a *Sata-Sāhasrī Samhitā*.

by admitting diverse religious and philosophical material into the body of the old texts, specially that relating to the Śaiva, Bhāgavata, Saura and Śākta religions, and the new developments within the Sāṃkhya and Yoga philosophies.

8. Upa-Vedas—the science of architecture and Śilpa (*Vāstu-Veda*), music (*Gāndhārva-Veda*), medicine (*Āyurveda*) and military art (*Dhanur-Veda*) were developed during this period and a number of new texts were written, all of which classified under the general heading of *Trayī*.

According to the above the Vedic literature was known as *Pramāṇāṣṭaka* i. e. the Eight-fold Authority in matters of religion and philosophy. This very literature was in another manner classified under 14 heads called *Chaturdaśa-vidyā* :

पुराणन्यायमीमांसा धर्मशास्त्रांगमिश्रिताः । वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश ॥
(Yājñavalkya Smṛiti 1.3.)

Thus the half couplet मीमांसा न्यायविद्याश्च प्रमाणाष्टकसंयुताः (M. 3. 4) is a digression by the author while speaking of the Vedas created by Brahmā. He knew that in ancient times the Vedic literature was not so vast but the new spirit had accorded its approval to reckon under it the multifold new literature of the Brahmnical teachers showing the continuity of the *Trayī-Vidyā*. In the words of the author of the *Aḥirbudhnya* it was the Divine Will of Viṣṇu which had become manifest under many literary ramifications of the original Trayī tradition (त्रयीरूपेण संकल्प इयद्भेदो विजृम्भितः). How this miracle of stupendous literary production was achieved is also explained, namely that the power of *Vāk* (i. e. word and meaning) which existed in a primeval form in Lord Viṣṇu had in former ages incarnated as the sage Vyāsa who was known as Vāchyāyana Rishi, i. e. a seer of Vāchyāyana Gotra (वाच्यायनाद् ऋषेः पूर्वं विष्णोर्वर्णिसमुद्भवात्). It was the inspiration of Vyāsa's knowledge and authorship that manifested itself in the Vedas, Purāṇas, Brahmasūtras and the Mahābhārata. Vyāsa was like a heavenly colossus striding over the whole field of literary creation of that age. The mind of Viṣṇu (*Dhī-rūpa*) incarnated as the mind (विज्ञानबल) of Veda-Vyāsa and therefore Vyāsa as the sage whose

intelligence was beyond the darkness of matter (अपान्तरतमा भुनिः) was taken to be the representative of Vishṇu :—

तत्क्ष भगवान् पूर्वमपान्तरतमा भुनिः । हरेर्वाच्यायनः पुत्रो यावदात्तं च वै उतः ॥

उदभूतत्र धीरूपमृगजयुः सामसंकुलम् । विष्णुसंकल्पसंभूतमेतद् वाच्यायनेरितम् ॥

(Ahir B. 11.57-58).

The Purāṇa writer knew well that Vyāsa had lived in a former age (पूर्व), but his name stood as the symbol *par excellence* for the whole body of traditional literature.

TEN MIND-BORN SONS OF BRAHMĀ— Extending further the symbolism of the Egg the author explains that Brahmā created on two levels, namely Idea and Form, the former is unmanifest (*Mānasī śrīṣṭī*) and the latter manifest (*Maithunī śrīṣṭī*). Converting this basic idea into concrete symbolism the writer speaks of two sets of Rīṣhis, the first ten as *Mānasa-putra* and the second • Ten as *Śarīra-putra*. The numeral 10 has been deliberately taken because *Virāj* which is another name of the Egg is ten-fold or constituted of 10 elements. Metaphysically they are reckoned as *Loka*, *Deva*, *Deva-gaṇa*, *Chhandas*, *Diśā*, *Ṛitu*, *Stoma*, *Veda*, *Hotraka*, and *Indriya* (Gopatha 1.5.15-20). This was known as *Daśinī Virāj*. Each manifested object (*Mahimā*) consists of these ten principles. The metre called *Virāj* is also of 10 syllables, and thus from the earliest times *Virāj* and the numeral 10 became symbolical of each other. The same is being stated here in the form of the 10 sons of Brahmā. Their names are—Marīchi, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Prachetas, Vasishṭha, Bhrigu and Nārada. Their temperamental distinctions are brought out in many a legend related of them in the Purāṇas.

PHYSICAL SONS— The other set of 10 physical sons of Brahmā comprised Daksha, Dharma, Kāma, Krodha, Lobha, Moha Mada, Pramoda, Mrityu and Bharata. In this list the name of Bharata seems to be an after-thought since according to the text there were only nine male sons and the tenth was a daughter born from Brahmā's body (*Aṅgajā*), the same who is identified later as *Satarūpā*, *Sāvitrī*, *Sarasvatī*, *Gōyatrī* and *Brahmāṇī* (M.3.31-32), all being *Ātmajā* of Brahmā. We find here a strange medley consisting not so much of physical sons as traits of moral charac-

ter like *Kāma*, *Krodha*, *Moha*, *Lobha*, *Mada*, etc. It seems that the intention was to explain the constitution of *Kṣhetra* called *Sarīra* (M.3.22) and the higher principle called *Kṣhetrajña-Dukṣha* (*Sarīrī Jīva*, M.3.22) and the various factors of which these are constituted and their relationship with the triple Guṇas.

PRAKṚITI AND THREE GUṆAS— Chapter 3 of the Matsya Purāṇa contains an exposition of the three Guṇas of Prakṛiti or Matter. This was an important theme which almost all Purāṇas state and restate *ad infinitum*. Sattva, Rajas and Tamas are the three Guṇas and their equilibrated condition is called Prakṛiti:—

सत्त्वं रजस्तमश्चैव गुणत्रयमुदाहृतम् ।

साम्यावस्थतिरेतेषां प्रकृतिः परिकीर्तिता ॥ (M. 3. 14.)

By some philosophers Prakṛiti is named '*Pradhāna*' and by others '*Avyakta*'—'केचित् प्रधानमित्याहुरव्यक्तमपरे जगुः' (M. 3. 15.)

The Vāyu speaks of the state of dissolution as the equilibrium of the three Guṇas and creation as the result of tension amongst the Guṇas (गुणसाम्ये लयो ज्ञेयो वैषम्ये सृष्टिरुच्यते (Vāyu 5. 7-9). In the uncreated state *Rajas* remains inactive permeating both *Sattva* and *Tamas* like butter in milk in a latent form, but just as moisture quickens the seed in the womb of the earth similarly *Rajas* agitates both *Sattva* and *Tamas* (रजः प्रवर्तकं तत्र बीजेष्वपि यथा जलम्, Vāyu 5. 13). When *Sattva* remains in its true state as merely *sattā* or sub-stratum, all modifications remain withdrawn in their source and the relationship between *Pradhāna* and *Purusha* is one of *sādharmya*, i. e. their nature is similar or homogeneous, neither of them entering into the act of creation (Vāyu 5. 7.).

But the subtle influence of *Purusha* starts the creative chain within the egg or womb of Prakṛiti. By this *Rajas* becomes activated. The Purāṇas call this stimulation *Kṣhobha* (क्षोभयामास योगेन परेण परमेश्वरः, Vāyu 5. 11.).*

* साधर्म्येण तिष्ठते प्रधानपुरुषाबुधौ ।

तमः सत्त्वरजोपेतौ समत्वेन व्यवस्थितौ ॥

अनुपृक्ताबुभावेतावोत्तप्तौ परस्परम् ।

गुणसाम्ये लयो ज्ञेयो वैषम्ये सृष्टिरुच्यते ॥

KSHOBHA— The doctrine of *Kshobha* has many names in the Vedas and Purāṇas, e. g. *Saṁram'ha*, *Vishpandana*, *Parish-phuraṇa*, *Jāyaraṇa*, *Gurva-vaishmaya*, *Deva-Nritya*, *Samindhana*, *Virāṇa*, *Prāṇana-Apānana*, *Samāñchana-Prasāraṇa*, etc.

The Blossoming of the World Lotus (*Brāhma Padmakōśa*) is a happy imagery of the same principle. Indeed the Kūrma puts it with a unique poetic charm—"As adolescent men and woman become intoxicated with youth as the spring season wafts in the Malaya breeze, so does Purusha with her Yogic power enter into *Prakṛiti* to agitate her."

The nature of this agitation is the process of contraction and expansion which is a cyclic or rhythmic movement and is the basic principle of creation from the minute atom to the vast solar system and from the tiny cell to the fully developed organism. In the Vedas this twofold process is called *Samāñchana-prasāraṇa*, as the Śatapatha explains the nature of *Prāṇa* (प्राणो वै समञ्चन-प्रसारणम् ŚB. 8. 1. 4.10). This is also described as Coming and Going (एति च प्रेति च, AB. 15. 16.), the source for both being Yajurveda 27. 45 (प्रेत्या एतै सं चाञ्च प्रच सारय). The Prāṇic Light in each organic centre is said to be rhythmic as *Prāṇana* and *Apānana* (अन्तश्चरति रोचनास्य प्राणादपानती, RV. X. 189.2.). The author of the Kūrma has used a pair of significant terms namely *Sanikocha-Vikāśa* which translates exactly the terminology of the Śatapatha (स संकोच विकासभ्यां प्रधानत्वेन व्यवस्थितः, Kūrma 4.15.).

Out of this primeval agitation (*Kshobha*) the Universal Seed (*Mahad-Bijam*, same as *Bhuvanasya Retāḥ* of R̥igveda) was created which had both the characteristics of the male and the female (प्रधान पुरुषात्मकः, Kūrma 4. 16). This seed is known by several names as *Muhānātmanā*, *Brahmā*, *Buddhi*, *Khyāti*, *Prajñā*, *Smṛiti*, *Samvit*, etc. (Kūrma 4. 17). This is virtually the same as the Golden Egg energised by Purusha.

प्रकृतिः क्षोभमापन्ना पुरुषाख्ये जगद्गुरौ ।

महान् प्रादुरभूद् बुद्धिस्ततोऽहं समवर्तनं ॥ (बृहन्नार० पूर्व० ३।३१)

TRI-DEVA— In the Egg agitated by the Three-Guṇas the Triadic principles of the cosmos come into existence ; in the

Purāṇas we know them as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva (गुणैर्मयः क्षोभ्यमानैर्मयस्त्रयो देवा विजज्ञिरे । एको मूर्तिस्त्रयो भागा ब्रह्म-विष्णु-महेश्वराः ॥)

If there is anything in the Purāṇas to which we could point as the highest pinnacle of their metaphysical thought it is the realisation that the three Devas, the three Guṇas, the three Lokas and the three Fires of Yajñ are all different statements of an identical principle, viz. the trinitarian pattern of the cosmos :—

महेश्वरात् त्रयो देवा जज्ञिरे जगदीश्वराः ।
शाश्वताः परमा गुह्याः सर्वात्मानः शरीरिणः ॥
एत एव त्रयो देवा एत एव त्रयो गुणाः ।
एत एव त्रयो लोका एत एव त्रयो गुणाः ॥

(Līṅga Purāṇa 1.70.77-78, ब्रह्माण्ड प्रक्रियापाद ४।२ ; मार्कण्डेय ७०।७८-८०)

About Vedic gods the doctrine of their common birth (*Ekayonitā*) is propounded by Yāska and Śaunaka. Similar is the case about the Three Gods :

परस्पराश्रिता ह्येते परस्परमनुव्रताः । परस्परेण वर्तन्ते धारयन्ति परस्परम् ॥
अन्योन्यमिथुना ह्येते अन्योन्यमुपजीविनः । क्षणं वियोगो न ह्येषां न त्यजन्ति परस्परम् ॥
(Līṅga 1.70.79-80).

This Trinity is the emanation from the transcendent reality called Brahman in the Vedas, Maheśvara by the Śaivas and Mahā-Viṣṇu by the Bhāgavatas :—

एका मूर्तिस्त्रयो देवा ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वराः ।
रजः सत्त्वतमोभिश्च संयुताः कार्यकारकाः ॥

(Devī Bhāg. 1.8.4.)

There is a surprising clarity in the statement made by the Purāṇic writers about the three Devas and their identity with the three Guṇas :—

सत्त्वं विष्णु रजो ब्रह्मा तमो रद्रः प्रजापतिः ।

(Brahmāṇḍa, Prakṛiyāpāda, 4.6.)

सृष्टि स्थित्यन्त करणीं ब्रह्मविष्णु शिवात्मिकाम् ।

स संज्ञां याति भगवानेक एव जनार्दनः ॥ (Viṣṇu 1.2.66)

From the highest God to the lowest categories of creation there is nothing which is not subject to the working of the three

Guṇas (देवाद्याः स्थविरान्ताश्च त्रैगुण्यविषये स्थिताः, Vishṇu 1.7.3). The characteristics of each one of the Guṇas are also clearly distinguished, viz. *Tamas* stands for darkness and inertia, *Rajas* for activity and *Sattva* for light :

मोहात्मकस्तमस्तेषां रज एषां प्रवर्तकम् ।
प्रकाश बहुलत्वाच्च सत्त्वं ज्याय इहोच्यते ॥

(Āraṇyaka-Parva 203.4.)

रजो ब्रह्मा तमो रुद्रो विष्णुः सत्त्वं जगत्पतिः ।
एत एव त्रयो देवा एत एव त्रयो गुणाः ॥

(Mārkaṇḍeya, 40.18).

ब्रह्मा विष्णुश्च रुद्रश्च त्रयो देवाः सनातनाः ।
नातः परतरं किञ्चित् ब्रह्माण्डेऽस्मिन्महामते ॥
ब्रह्मा सृजति लोकान्वै विष्णुः पार्थैखिलं जगत् ।
रुद्रः संहरते काले त्रय एतेऽत्र कारणम् ॥

(Devī Bhāg. 1.8. 2-4)

आदिसर्गे महाविष्णुः स्वप्रकाशो जगन्मयः ।
गुणभेदमधिष्ठाय मूर्तिद्वयमवासृजत् ॥३॥
सृष्ट्वर्थं तु पुरा देवो दक्षिणांगात्प्रजापतिम् ।
मध्ये रुद्राख्यमीशानं जगदन्तरं मुने ॥४॥
पालनायास्य जगतो वामाङ्गाद् विष्णुमव्ययम् ।
तमादिदेवमजरं केचिदाहुः शिवाभिधम् ।
केचिद्विष्णुं सदासत्त्वं ब्रह्माणं केचिदुचिरे ॥५॥
तस्य शक्तिः परा विष्णोः कार्याकार्यप्रवर्तिनी ।
भावाभावस्वरूपा सा विद्याविद्येति गीयते ॥

(बृहन्नारदीय पूर्व, अ० ३ ; also ६।४४-४०)

त्रिधा विभज्य चात्मानं त्रैलोक्ये संप्रवर्तते ।
सृजते ग्रसते चैव वीक्षते च त्रिभिस्स्वयम् ॥२५॥
चतुर्मुखस्तु ब्रह्मत्वे कालत्वे चान्तकः स्मृतः ।
सहस्रमूर्धा पुरुषस्तिष्ठोऽवस्थाः स्वयम्भुवः ॥२६॥
सत्त्वं रजश्च ब्रह्मा च कालत्वं च तमोरजः ।
विष्णुत्वं केवलं सत्त्वं गुण वृद्धिस्त्रिधा विभोः ॥२७॥

(शिवपुराण, चायनीय संहिता, अ० १०)

तमसाकालरुद्राख्यं रजसा कनकाण्डजम् ।
सत्त्वेन सर्वगं विष्णुं निर्गुणत्वे महेश्वरम् ॥ (लिङ्ग १।१।२२)

A further classification of the triguṇa principle is as follows :—

त्रयाणां शक्तयस्त्रिस्तदा ब्रह्मन् तवानघ ।
ज्ञानशक्तिः क्रियाशक्तिरर्थशक्तिस्तथापरा ॥
सात्त्विकस्य ज्ञानशक्ती राजसस्य क्रियात्मिका ।
द्रव्यशक्तिः तामसस्य तिस्रश्च कथितास्तैव ॥

(Devī Bhāgavata 3.7.25-26)

Indeed a whole volume of study on the Trigūṇa conception in the Purāṇas could be compiled, since it is a theme so near to the heart of the Purāṇa-writers. It was in their view the bed rock of the entire cosmology, cult and religion which the Purāṇas advocate in accordance with the ancient Vedic doctrine of *Sṛisṭi-vidyā*. Minus the *Tri-deva* or *Triguṇa-vidyā* the Purāṇas lose all their salt. The Trideva conception was rooted in an exploding dynamism which energised the whole conception of Indian religion, stream-lined by innumerable legends, practical cults, forms of worship and reinforced by an endless development of esoteric meanings and philosophy.

The statement about the three Guṇas manifested as three Devas made in the Matsya Purāṇa (3.16) is the concensus of the entire Purāṇa vidyā. The great poet Kālidāsa has rendered this truth in his own inimitable style :

नमो त्रिमूर्तये तुभ्यं प्राक्सृष्टेः केवलात्मने ।
गुणत्रय विभागाय पश्चाद् भेदमुपेयुषे ॥

(Kumāra-Sambhava, 2. 4)

तिसृभिस्त्वमस्याभिर्महिमानमृदीरयन् ।

प्रलयस्थितिसर्गणामेकः कारणतो गतः ॥

(Kumāra-Sambhava, 2. 6)

It should be understood that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are manifestations of the same transcendent reality and as such their status and position are equal, none of them occupying a rank higher than the other :

एकैव मूर्तिविभिदे त्रिधा सा सामान्यमेषां प्रथमावरत्वम् (Kālidāsa)

This truth cannot be forgotten for a moment, but the Purāṇas freely permit Vishṇu to be conceived as the highest reality in his own metaphysical formulation called Mahā-Vishṇu or Nārāyaṇa. Similarly Śiva as Maheśvara or Mahā-Śiva is conceived of as the highest deity in the cult statements of the Śaivas. This eclecticism is the essential quality of Purāṇic thought and was an asset to inculcate mutual understanding amongst the votaries of different gods and followers of different religions. It was like the ambrosial rain from heaven which saturated Indian thought through the ages as nothing else did to engender the spirit of mutual tolerance, sympathy and synthesis. Not one or two but thousands of statements in the Purāṇas eloquently subscribe to this basic idea of the Trinity manifesting from a common divine source.

MAHAT— As we have seen above, *Pradhāna* or *Prakṛiti* was comprised of three Guṇas which in the state of rest coalesced with one another, but expressed their separate entities when agitated for the sake of creation. These three basic principles evolved in the material envelopments of *Prakṛiti* or primordial matter. Through the *Anda* or the Golden Egg as it evolved the three Guṇas developed the following three forms :

1. Sattva became Mahat.
2. Rajas became Ahaṁkāra.
3. Tamas became the Pañcha-tan-mātrās.

These Seven constitute the Seven Sheaths of the *Anda* (*Saptāvaraṇa*) to which frequent reference is made in the Purāṇas. The Matsya pursuing the triadic divisions of the three Guṇas, states the above evolutionary scheme of differentiation from *Pradhāna* or *Prakṛiti* to *Viśeṣa* or the Elements :

सविकारात्प्रधानात्तु महत् तत्त्वं प्रजायते ।

महानिति यतः ख्यातिलोकानां जायते सदा ॥ (M. 3. 17)

अहंकारश्च महतो जायते मानवर्धनः ।

इन्द्रियाणि ततः पञ्च वक्ष्ये बुद्धिवशानि तु ॥

प्रादुर्भवन्ति चान्यानि तथा कर्मवशानि तु ॥ (M. 3. 18)

It clearly specifies that as the modification of *Pradhāna* the first principle to be created is *Mahat-tattva*, which is the same as the Universal. It is also called *Buddhi*, *Smṛiti* *Sanvit* (cf. *Kūrma* 1.4.17), and one of its synonyms is *Khyāti* which the *Kūrma* also records but does not explain. According to *Matsya* *Muhān* is called *Khyāti* because it is the source of the perceived creation or the cosmos which becomes visible or the object of perception by the mind and the senses (महानिति यतः ख्यातिर्लोकानां जायते सदा । M. 3. 17).

The next stage of evolution from the principle of *Mahat* or *Buddhi* is *Ahaṅkāra* and from *Ahaṅkāra* the senses, both of perception (*Jñān*) and action (*Karm*). In fact the basic modification at the level of *Tamas* is that of the five *Tan-mātrās*, from which the five gross elements and the ten organs of sense are produced. Thus in all it becomes a group of 23 elements or *tattvas* as follows :

- I. *Mahat* = *Buddhi* = *Vaikārika*
- II. *Ahaṅkāra* = *Manas* = Individuated ego = *Taijasa*
- III. *Tāmasa* = *Indriyāṇi-Bhūtas* and *Tan-mātrās* (in all 20), and named as *Tāmasā Śṛiṣṭi* or *Viśeṣha*.

In the above list several new terms are introduced. For example, *Vaikārika* which is another name of *Mahat* or *Buddhi*; *Taijasa* which is a synonym of *Ahaṅkāra* or *Manas*; and *Tāmasa* which is equal to the group of the senses and the *Bhūtas* also named as *Viśeṣha*. The word *Viśeṣha* was coined to indicate the differentiation amongst the five elements on the grossest plane of Matter, where the five senses deal with five kinds of *Vishayas* and *Bhūtas* in a very specialised and limited and individual manner.

To indicate this group of seven the *Purāṇa* writer created a new phrase, viz. महदादिविशेषान्ताः, that is the group of seven with *Mahat* at one end and *Viśeṣha* at the other. In simple language it denoted the three principles of *Buddhi*, *Manas* and *Bhūtas*. In other words it was the same as the ancient Vedic principle of *Munas*, *Prāṇa* and *Vāk* and the three *Purushas* as follows :

- I. *Avyaya Puruṣha* = *Manas* = *Buddhi* or *Mahat* = *Jñāna śakti*.

II. Akshara Purusha = Pradhāna or Prakṛiti or Avyakta = Prāṇa = Kriyā-Śakti.

III, Kshara Purusha = Vāk (Vedic symbol of the five gross elements of Matter) = Artha-Śakti.

These triadic formulae become quite explicit when once the basic triune pattern of phenomenal creation in Matter is understood.

THE EGG IS MATERIAL— About one thing the Purāṇa writers are quite certain, viz. that the cosmic egg with its seven sheaths comprised of *Mahat* (the Universal), *Ahaṅkāra* (the individuated mind) and Matter is essentially material and therefore in so many places they speak of the *Aṇḍa* as *Prākṛita*:

पुरुषाधिष्ठितश्चात्र अव्यक्तानुग्रहेण च ।

महदादयो विशेषान्ता अण्डमुत्पादयन्ति ते ॥

तत् तस्मिन् कार्यकरणं संसिद्धं ब्रह्मणस्तदा ।

प्राकृतेऽण्डे विवृद्धे स क्षेत्रज्ञो ब्रह्मसंज्ञितः ॥

(Vāyu 4.73, 75).

No doubt the cosmic egg is invested with all those possibilities of existence which inhere in Brahman himself, but its true nature is that of *Prakṛiti* or *Pradhāna*. It only derives its potency of consciousness from the transcendent Brahman called Purusha and *Kshetrajña*.

SEVEN SHEATHS OF THE EGG — The group of Seven, viz. *Mahat*, *Ahaṅkāra* and *Pañcha tanmātras* is given many epithets, e.g. *Sapta Mahātmānaḥ*, the Seven Great Ones (Vāyu 4.72.73.), which are inseparably joined and which possess the highest potential power for creating subsequent forms (*Mahāvīryāḥ*). The seven-fold scheme within the Egg is further elaborated by saying that the Seven *Lokas*, Seven *Dvīpas*, Seven Seas and Seven Mountains lie in the Egg (Vāyu 4. 81-82; एतैरावरणैरण्डं सप्तभिः प्राकृतैरभूत्, Vāyu 4.87; also Kūrma 1.4.46). *Avyakta* or *Pradhāna* is the Field (*Kṣh. tra*) and Brahma or Nārāyaṇa Purusha is the Knower of the Field (*Kshetrajña*). The Kūrma goes a step further and records that the *Kshetrajña Purusha*, called Brahmā, is known by several other names as *Haṁsa*, *Hiraṇyagarbha*, *Kapila*

and *Chhandomūrti*, same as Trayīmaya Sūrya, all being essentially manifestations of Śarīrī Puruṣa named Brahman :

प्राकृतेऽण्डे विवृद्धे तु क्षेत्रज्ञो ब्रह्मसंज्ञितः ।

स वै शरीरी प्रथमः स वै पुरुष उच्यते ॥

(Kūrma 4. 37-38)

आदिकर्ता स भूतानां ब्रह्माग्रे समवर्तत ।

यमाहुः पुरुषं हंसं प्रधानं परितः स्थितम् ।

हिरण्यगर्भं कपिलं छन्दोमूर्तिं सनातनम् ॥ (Kūrma 4.38-39).

TRAYO-VIMŚAKA— The group of 23 *Tattvas* (*Buddhi*, *Ahaṅkāra*, 10 senses, 5 *Bhūtas*, 5 *Tan-mātrās*) became known as *Trayo-vimśaka* in the Sāṅkhya system. As rightly stated in the Matsya and other Purāṇas, Sāṅkhya was so called because it was based on numerical analysis of the basic categories of creation (संख्यं संख्यात्मकत्वाच्च कपिलादिभिर्वच्यते, M. 3.29). This was the scheme based on *Tattvas* (तत्त्वात्मकं जगत्, M. 3.29). The Bhāgavata refers to it as the host of 23 entities (त्रयोविंशति तत्त्वानां गणम्, Bh. 3.6.2). The basic scheme of Seven—Mahat, Ahaṅkāra and Pañcha-Tan-mātrās—was naturally expanded to 23, and at one time this formed the mainstay of the Sāṅkhya system of Kapila.

CHATUR-VIMŚAKA— In course of time a new scheme of 24 *Tattvas* was elaborated, in which the group of 23 remained as above and to it was added *Avyakta* or *Pradhāna* itself as the 24th :

चतुर्विंशकमव्यक्तं महदाद्यास्तु सप्तकं ।

महोस्तथा त्वहंकारं तन्मात्रं पञ्चकं पुनः ॥

कर्मन्द्रियाणि पञ्चैव तथा बुद्धीन्द्रियाणि च ।

मनश्च पञ्चभूतानि शिवः षड्विंशकस्तथा ॥

(Linga Purāṇa 1.28. 7,8,9).

त्रयोविंशति तत्त्वानि व्यक्तशब्देन सूरयः ।

वदन्त्यव्यक्तशब्देन प्रकृतिं च परां तथा ॥ (Linga 2.15.24-25).

PAÑCHA-VIMŚAKA— A further stage was reached by adding to the 24 categories one more, namely, individual soul (*Jīva*) who is the enjoyer of the fruits of the World-Tree and therefore

called *Bhoktā Puruṣha*, same as the *Bhoktā Suparṇa* of the *Rigveda* (I. 164.20). The *Matsya* does not mention the *Chatur-vimśa* but specifically explains the *Pañcha-vimśaka* in which *Jīvātmā* constitutes the 25th category :—

एभिः सम्पादितं भुङ्क्ते पुरुषः पञ्चविंशकः ।

(M. 3.27 ; also *Līṅga* 1.28.7 ; 2.17,26—27).

SHAD-VIMŚAKA— The *Matsya* concentrates still futher on *Sāṃkhya* terminology and ideology when it refers to the *Shad-vimśaka* group of *Tattvas*, in which besides the above twenty-five the transcendent *Puruṣha* called *Īśvara* was also included. So at this stage the ancient *Sāṃkhya* system became completely a theistic school believing in the existence of *Īśvara* as the spectator (*Sākṣhī*) of the working of *Prakṛiti*. *Maheśvara* or transcendent God was considered to be the twenty-sixth category :

ईश्वरेच्छावशः सोऽपि जीवात्मा कथ्यते बुधैः ।

एवं षड्विंशकं प्रोक्तं शरीरमिह मानवैः ॥

(M. 3. 28.)

SAPTA-VIMŚAKA— Although the *Matsya* does not mention the 27th category still it seems that the *Śaivas* conceived of *Śiva* and the *Pañcha-rātra Bhāgavatas* of *Viṣṇu* as higher than the highest divine being, whom they named as the *Sapta-vimśaka Tattva* (a term found in the *Līṅga Purāṇa* : यः सप्त विंशको नित्यः परात्परतरः प्रभुः । 1. 71. 51). Of this new formulation the implication was that the *Shad-vimśaka Puruṣha* was not fully competent to extend his grace to his *Bhaktas* (षड्विंशकमनीश्वरम्, *Līṅga* 1. 71. 109); this could only be done by the Twenty-seventh *Maheśvara* or *Sadā-Śiva*.

MAHĀBHĀRATA EVIDENCE— We may here invite reference to the very authoritative exposition in the *Mahābhārata* of the *Chatur-vimśa*, *Pañcha-vimśa* and *Shad-vimśa* doctrines as evolved in the philosophical schools of *Sāṃkhya* and *Yoga* (*Śānti-parva* 306, 67-79, Poona edn). The 24, 25 and 26 category-groups stand in an ascending order. *Pradhāna* or *Prakṛiti* is called *Chatur-vimśa* and *Abuddhyamāna*, not awakened to initiate the chain of creation. It is in other words the *Kṣhetra* worthy to be known but which does not know itself. The higher principle of *Pañcha-*

viṃśaka becomes the knower of Prakṛiti. The still higher *Shad-viṃśa* has perception and understanding of the two lower categories of 25 and 24. In this scheme the 24th is known as *Apratibudha*, 25th as *Budhimān* and 26th as *Buddha* (Śānti-parva, 306. 78, Poona edn.)

VEDIC ORIGIN—It appears that there were two basic doctrines to explain the nature and origin of the cosmos. The one was the method of analysing the Tattvas and computing them as 23, 24, 25 or 26. This was named as Sāṅkhya. This is not explicitly mentioned in the mantras, although all its various elements were essentially present and referred to in different places, viz. Mahat and Manas and the five creative forces named Pañchajana or Pañchakṛiṣṭi or Viśvasṛij devas when put together give us a complete picture from the Ṛigveda itself of the categories which became the foundation of the Sāṅkhya system. What is called Mahat or Buddhi in the Sāṅkhya was the same as Mahimā and Virāj of the Ṛigveda. Mahat is the same as Mahimā and that word is also used several times. The mind as the seed of creation is mentioned in the Nāsadiya Sūkta, RV. X. 129. 4. The Pentadic scheme of the Pañcha-janāḥ is also familiar in the Ṛigveda which becomes diversified as Pañcha-Devāḥ, Pañcha Prāṇāḥ and Pañcha Bhūtas. The Pañcha Devas (Brahmā, Indra, Viśṇu, Agni, Soma) correspond to the five subtle Tanmātrās; the five Prāṇas to the two sets of Indriyas namely organs of knowledge (Buddhi Indriyāṇi) and action (Karmendriyāṇi), and the Vedic principle of Vāk corresponds to the Pañcha-Mahābhūtas or the five gross elements of matter. We thus find that the Sāṅkhya found all its germs in the Vedic thought as the earliest philosophers made a complete analysis of Vedic categories in order to enunciate the 23 tattvas (*Trayo-viṃśati* group) which became the bed-rock of the system called Sāṅkhya. The conception of two kinds of Purushas was also well-known, e. g. the simile of the two companion birds perched on the same tree, one eating its fruit and the other merely watching it :—

द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परिषस्वजाते ।

तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्त्यनश्नन्नन्यो अभि चाकशीति ॥ (RV. 1: 164. 20)

The idea is stated in clear unambiguous terms and all subsequent commentators including the Upanishads have understood it as referring to Sākshī Purusha, higher transcendent soul, and Bhoktā Purusha, individual soul, which enjoys the fruit of the World Tree.

This scheme as pre-existing in Vedic sources constituted the kernel of the codified Sāṅkhya system, but the focus of their lucubrations was the cosmic tree of existence itself which is the same as Prakṛiti, Pradhāna, Aśvattha, Virāj, Mahat, or the Universal Mother principle of creation. In this field of investigation or approach emphasis on Prakṛiti was the main thing. The conception of transcendent Purusha became secondary or receded in the background.

ŚĀTARŪPĀ— However, there existed or evolved side by side another scheme of the origin of cosmos from an egg in which both Purusha and Prakṛiti, i.e. the male and female, play an equal part (*Sādharmya*). The one primeaval egg split into two by its inherent self-potency and these two stood as the two parents Father and Mother :

स्त्रीरूपमधमकरोदधं पुरुषरूपवत् । (M.3.31).

These became the two basic forms, the Male (Purusha Rūpa) and the Female (Strī Rūpa). Their composite nature is Ardha-Nārīśvara. There can be no creation of new life without these progenitive principles. But the two were ultimately traceable to a single source. That single source is an undefinable unity called Aja in the Vedas (अजस्य रूपे किमपि स्विदेकम्, RV.1.164.6). The Purāṇa in its own way speaks of Brahmā as meditating in his heart and by an auto-fission created the goddess Sāvitrī out of himself as his Female energy. This Sāvitrī has many names. Wherever there is female power or energy in any form she is an aspect of Sāvitrī. Therefore she is called in the Purāṇa as Śatarūpā (शतरूपा च सा ख्याता सावित्री च निगद्यते, M. 3. 31). This truth is expressed as—All Females, O Goddess, are your form

विद्या समस्तास्तव देवि भेदाः

स्त्रियः समस्ताः सकला जगत्सु । (देवीमाहात्म्य, ११.५)

KĀMA-MOTIF— The creation of the opposite female principle becomes useless until the two centres in the male and female like the two poles of an electric current interact or are pulled by each other. This is essential, because each woman carries within her the male and each man the female prāṇic energy (स्त्रियः सतोस्तां उ मे पुंस आहुः, RV. 1. 164. 16). The one which became two constantly aspires to become one again and yet retain its dichotomy. This mutual attraction of the two principles is called Kāma which was the first effective principle in the creative chain and will remain so upto the end of time. This is called Kāma-Bāṇa, the shaft of love which pierces the heart of Prajāpati, and so the dart will act in all biological centres that have emanated from the common creative source named Brahmā as the symbol of the Law of Growth (*Bṛīḥhana*).

The marriage of Brahmā and Śatarūpā is at the divine level merely a symbolical statement as the Purāṇa itself asserts. The primeval creation (*Ādi Sṛisṭi*) is governed by divine ordinances and is beyond the working of the senses (*Atīndriya*) and physical body. Its functioning is conceived on the level of the divine mind (*Divya-Jñāna-samudbhavā*), because it is inspired by divine energy (*Divya-Tejas*) and therefore it should not be interpreted at human level (M. 4.4.). Its symbolical meaning relates to the divine level of the gods which are not different from Prāṇic forces. There is no relative idea of Kārya and Akārya in terms of divine relationships. Therefore the marriage of Gāyatrī and Brahmā should not be misunderstood (M. 4.6.). Moreover, what is Gāyatrī? It is the essence of the Four Vedas which exist in Prajāpati Brahmā and are made manifest by the power of his Tapas, so they form a Mithuna in which Brahmā is formless or unmanifest and Gāyatrī or Sāvitrī is formed or manifest. Wherever there is Brahmā there is Sarasvatī. Wherever there is Prajāpati there is Bhārati; as the shadow is after the Sun, so does Gāyatrī never leave Brahmā (M.4.9). One should not forget that the infinite Apaurusheya Veda is same as Brahmā, and Sāvitrī is the essence of the Vedas. Therefore Brahmā and Sāvitrī unite together, their union is beyond the concept of fleshly meeting, but a union of the two creative principles.

It is clearly stated that the mutual pull between Brahmā and Sāvitrī is the principle of Kāma which agitates the mind and the senses (मनःसंक्षोभः and इन्द्रियक्षोभजनकः, M. 4.12.14). In the primeval elemental stage the fundamental motif is that of Man and Woman, Youth and Maiden :—

त्वं स्त्री त्वं पुमानसि त्वं कुमार उत वा कुमारी । (Atharva 10. 8. 2)

The eternal man and the eternal woman represent the Life-principle which exists from the beginning of time to the end of it. It is they who are incarnating as Kumāra and Kumārī who form a *Mithuna*. Marriage is a sacrament evolved by civilized society, but even if there were no such regulating institutions, men and women would even then mate and procreate. At the core of the marriage sacrament there are a couple of mantras in which it is frankly stated that even before the bride-giving ceremony (*Kanyā-pradāna*) by the father and the receiving by the bridegroom (*Pāṇi-grahana*) came into existence, the union of the two sexes did exist as the compelling phenomenon of Nature, namely of the God of Love Himself. Therefore it is said that love gives and love receives, i.e. both the male and the female are actuated by sheer love :

कामो दाता कामः प्रतिगृहीता । कोऽदात् कस्मैऽदात् । कामोऽदात्, कामायादात् ॥

It is a brutally frank language in which the woman like a lioness and the man like a lion speak words of elemental impetuosity so far as the sex impulse is concerned.

So when Lord Brahmā wanted to interfere with the phenomenon of love as it began to function to the farthest extent of biological relationship between males and females, the God of Love stood up and pleaded that he functioned within his own right according to the divine ordinances settled by the Creator himself :

अहमेवंविधः सृष्टस्त्वयैव चतुरानन ।

इन्द्रियक्षोभजनकः सर्वेषामेव देहिनाम् ॥

स्त्रीपुंसोरविकारेण मया सर्वत्र सर्वदा ।

क्षोभ्यं मनः प्रयत्नेन त्वयैवोक्तं पुरा विभो ॥ (M. 4. 14, 15)

By this appeal Brahmā softened and said that Kāma would be reduced to ashes by Rudra because the curse had been spoken, but as the result of appeasement he would be reborn as Pradyumna, son of Kṛishna, and again as the last descendant of Bharata race, Naravāhanadatta, son of Vatsa-Rāja Udayana, king of Vidyādharas, who would be an incarnation of Kāma. Here is a quasi-historical smattering into themes of supra-mundane import. There is a reason also for this statement. Kṛishna himself is an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu. He is personified beauty, his consort being Śrī. Therefore their son Pradyumna was identified with Kāma.

NARAVĀHANA-DATTA MOTIF— So far as Naravāhana-Datta is concerned his story was originally the subject of the cycle of legends in the Bṛihat-Kathā of Guṇāḍhya. The original is lost but there are several versions available, e. g. Bṛihat-kathā-śloka-saṅgraha of Budha Svāmin, Bṛihatkathā-Maṇjarī of Kshemendra, and Kathāsarit-Sāgara of Somadeva. There was also a Prākṛita rendering called Vasudeva-Hiṇḍī, Wanderings of Vasudeva, grandfather of Sāmba. In all these texts the marriage motif is predominant. Naravāhana-Datta during the course of his wanderings visited many countries and wherever he goes he enters into a love affair and thus he was conceived as the embodiment of God of Love himself. In the Vasudeva-Hiṇḍī Vasudeva takes the place of Naravāhana and rebukes Sāmba that those sluggard fellows did not stir out of their homes and so achieved nothing, whereas in his youth he had visited many a land and by his wisdom and tact won the hands of many royal beauties. It was in this background that Naravāhana-Datta of the folk-tales was in the mind of the Purāṇa author when he wrote these lines (M. 4. 19-20). That the cycle of Udayana legends of which the story of Naravāhana-Datta also formed an inalienable part had passed into folk-lore is attested to by Kālidāsa in the Meghadūta (प्राप्यावन्तीनुदयनकथाकोविदग्रामवृद्धान् I. 30).

FIVE HEADS OF BRAHMĀ— We have mentioned before the four heads of Brahmā which was a symbolical conception

illustrative of the creational pattern. Here it is stated that the four faces became thwarted in their function because of Brahmā's erotic impulse; then out of his Tapas was produced a fifth head on the top of the first four (तेनोर्व्वक्त्रमभवत् पञ्चमं तस्य धीमतः M. 3. 40) and that head was covered with matted locks. (आविरभवजटाभिश्च, तद्वक्त्रं M. 3. 40). This is precisely an iconographic formula which is illustrated in the images of Brahmā in the Kushāṇa period at Mathura. In image No. 382, (See my article in Journal of India Society of Oriental Art, 1937. p. 123), the fifth head on the top is shown with moustaches, beard and long locks, a feature which is only found in the Kushāṇa period, namely first to 3rd century A. D. This throws light on the chronology of this chapter of the Matsya Purāṇa. (See my Catalogue of Brāhmnical images from the Mathura Museum, p. 1; also Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, 1951, p. 1; for illustration *Hindustani Quarterly Bulletin of the Hindustani Academy*, Jan., 1937, my article 'Brāhmaṇa-Dharma-sambandhi Mūrtiyān').

MEANING OF THE FIFTH HEAD— The esoteric meaning also is worth considering. We are aware that the Pāśupata teachers had developed a special doctrine of Pañcha-Brahma, in which they ascribed five faces to Śiva symbolising the five elements (Liṅga Purāṇa, 2. 14. 1. 33.).

It is stated that Śiva has the form of the 25 tattvas symbolised by his five faces as follows :

Name of Face	Mūrti	Jñānendriyai	Karmendriya	Pañcha tammātrā.	Pañchabhūta
1. Īśāna	Kshetrajña Purusha	Ears	Vāk	Śabda	Ākāśa
2. Tat-Purusha	Prakṛiti	Tvachā	Hands	Sparsā	Vāyu
3. Aghora or Agni	Buddhi	Chakshu	Feet	Rūpa	Agni
4. Vāmadeva	Ahaṅkāra	Jihvā	Pāyu	Rasa	Jala
5. Sadyo-jāta	Manas- tattva	Ghrāṇa	Upastha	Gandha	Prithivī

Thus the whole scheme of creation is explained by the doctrine of Pañcha-Brahma (पञ्चब्रह्मात्मक, Liṅga. 2. 14. 32),

This philosophical explanation of Pañcha-Brahma was also applied to Brahmā and that is the significance of his five-faced form. Of course in the beginning the fifth face was shown on the top of the three in a frontal view, but later on both in the images of Brahmā and Śiva the fifth head was eliminated, and a new theory was devised that Brahmā's head was clipped by Rudra. The fact was that the fifth head corresponding to Ākāśa was taken to be invisible, being symbol of his unmanifest form (*Avyakta mūrti*) and that only the four others became manifest (*Vyakta*). Brahmā himself is referred to in the Matsya as both visible and invisible (M. 4. 8.).

After the Kushāṇa period the fifth head ceased to be shown in Brahmā images. The same was the case for Śiva images; for example, the great statue of Śiva in the Elephanta Caves is three-headed but actually represents the *Pañcha-Brahma* form known also, as *Maheśamūrti* in which the frontal view depicts three heads only, the fourth one on the back is concealed from view and the fifth one on the top dropped out as the symbol of invisible Ākāśa or *Avyakta Prakṛiti*. Indeed this scheme of five-fold grouping was being applied to many deities; e.g. amongst the Vaiṣṇavas the conception of Five Vṛihsni Heroes, viz. Vāsudeva, Saṅkarshaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, and Sāmba; amongst the Māheśvara Śaivas the Pañcha-Brahma doctrine as explained above; amongst the Jains the Pañcha-Tīrthaṅkara images; amongst the Buddhists the group of Five Buddhas; amongst the Yakshas that of the Pañcha-Viras, viz. Vaiśravaṇa with five Yakshachiefs as Māṇibhadra, Pūrṇabhadra, Dīrghabhadra, Svabhadra and Yakshabhadra (*Vishṇudharm* III. 222. 13-15). We similarly find the conception of five Indras (*Pañchendra*, *Mārkaṇḍeya* 5. 13. 'पञ्चधा भगवानित्यमवतीर्णः शतक्रतुः'; and also in the *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparva*, ch. 190; *Udyoga* 33. 103).

MĀNASĪ ŚRISHTĪ—The Matsya Purāṇa next lends itself into the topic of two-fold creation, of Mānasī Śṛiṣṭi and

Maithunī Śṛisṭī in verses 4. 25-31. An account of the creation at the level of the mind is first given, and thereafter in Chapter V an account of Maithunī Śṛisṭī from Dakṣha is related. So far as the first is concerned it is stated that Gāyatrī or Sarasvatī or Brahmanī or Śatarūpā gave birth to Manu, the principle of Universal consciousness. In fact Śatarūpā became the mother of 7 sons, viz. Buddhi, Manas and the five Tan-mātrās, which together are known as the Mahadādi-Viśeshānta group. We have already explained this doctrine. It is further stated that Brahmā had 10 Ṛishi sons, Marichi and others, who were only archetypal on the plane of the Mind (*Mānasāḥ Putrāḥ*). They entered this world, but only as typical of Jñāna (*Sarva jñānātmakāḥ*). These were ten-fold Prāṇic forces of Virāj. Whenever there is a reference to the number 10, the creation of Virāj is implied. The ten constituents of Virāj are the ten Ṛishis, who were the mind-born sons of the Creator. As explained in the Śatapatha *Ṛishi* stands for Prāṇic powers (प्राणा वा ऋषयः, ŚB. 6. 1. 1. 1.).

VĀMADEVA — Brahmā then created a special deity Vāmadeva who had a Trisūla as his mark. This Vāmadeva is the same as the power of Śiva symbolising the principle of Waters (*Jalamayī mūrti*). It is one of the five heads of Śiva or one of the five Pañcha-Brahma principles. Vāmadeva typifies the principle of Kumāra, the eternal young hero, who is the symbol of life, who in the womb was imprisoned within a hundred defences of copper-castles or Matter, but from which he made his escape. In the Ṛigveda Vāmadeva is identified with Manu and Sūrya, that is both the universal and the individual life-principle. He is the same as Sanatkumāra, the eternal Babe. He is also called Vāmana i.e. the Dwarf (*Yuvā-Kumāra*, RV. 1.155.6) who assumed the form of a Giant. Vāmadeva is said to have experimented with creating several kinds of natural phenomena, e.g. lightning, thunder, clouds, Sun (Rohita), Indra's bow, metre and above all the four-fold social types as Brāhmaṇa and others. He spends his energy in creating innumerable Sādhyā Devas, each with three eyes, 84 crores in

number, who did not die (*Jurā-marāṇa varjitāḥ*). Brahmā saw this and observed that creation without the cycle of birth and death was impossible (नैवं विधा भवेत्सृष्टिर्जामरणवजिता, M. 4. 31). Only that creation takes root which is composed of both good and evil. (शुभाशुभात्मिका यातु सैव सृष्टिः प्रशस्यते, M. 4. 32.) Thus rebuked by Brahmā Vāmadeva turned into a stone or became Sthāṇu (आदौ सृष्टेः स्थाणुरतोऽभवत्, M. 4. 32).

The Purāṇa writer puts this little story as a prelude to the account of Daksha to follow. The conception was essentially Vedic. In the Ṛigveda it is stated that Aditi, the daughter of Daksha, gave birth to 8 sons, of whom 7 were the immortal Āditya Gods and the eighth one was the Dead Egg (*Mṛitāṇḍa*) whom she considered useless and cast away. She approached the Gods but they expressed inability to create, since they were only immortal, whereas for creation both immortality and death are needed as the two rotating principles like Day and Night. So Aditi came back to Mṛitāṇḍa and hatched or nurtured it again with the double object of carrying on the process of birth and death (RV. X. 72.9). This implies that creation is a mixture of good and evil, Light and Darkness, Night and Day, Truth and Untruth, immortality and death, and until and unless there is some divine force which will participate in both of these categories there can be no creation of life on the plane of Matter. This was now the problem before Brahmā as it was before Aditi. What Vāmadeva failed to do, Daksha in the following story is destined to accomplish.

DAKSHA.— A tangled account of Daksha legend is recited which shows that the conception of Daksha was pliable and was moulded in more ways than one, for example :—

1. There was the original conception of Daksha and Aditi in the Ṛigveda, Sūkta X. 72. Aditi is the mother of gods (*Devamātā*) called *Aṣṭa-putrā* and *Aṣṭa-yoniḥ*, the Mother with 8 wombs to give birth to her 8 sons (Atharva 8.9.21). This Aditi as Dākshāyaṇī is the goddess and daughter of the transcendent Prajāpati, also named Daksha. Daksha and Kratu are

symbolical of the powers of twin gods Mitra and Varuṇa. Daksha is conceived at two levels, viz. the highest Prajāpati presiding over the cosmic Yajña and also the presiding genius of each individual Yajña, that is both in Samasṭi and Vyasṭi. Similarly Aditi is the Great Goddess (Mahimātā Aditi, ṚV. V. 47. 1), but she herself does not create excepting through her youthful daughters who are all female powers of Daksha or Daksha's Daughters. The mutual relationship between Aditi and Daksha is variable, Once Daksha is the father and Aditi the daughter, and again Aditi is the mother and Daksha her son. Both are correct for Daksha is Sūrya, the symbol of Brahman, and Aditi is the Earth, the daughter of Sūrya and the primeval mother which gives birth not only to one son but in her womb lie millions and billions of other Suns. A ray of that Daksha incarnates in each individual centre and that is how Daksha produces numerous daughters including Aditi, the eldest of them all for carrying on further the seed of procreation. Daksha as the genius of the individual sacrifice, the principle of activity or Prāṇa in each organism, foolishly thought that he could carry on his Yajña to completion by ignoring Satī, the eldest daughter of Daksha who is the same as Aditi and her husband Śiva and therefore his sacrifice was doomed to failure losing its link with the universal mother Nature or Aditi and the father Rudra or Vāmadeva.

2. If Daksha is the same as Mārtaṇḍa who was also the son of Aditi, then another motif inevitably projected itself into the story, namely that of Manu who is the son of Sūrya. So we find in the Purāṇa that as a prelude to the story of Daksha some short statements are made about Svayambhū Manu who has a wife named Anantā. She gave birth to two sons Priyavrata and Uttānapāda. Of them Uttānapāda married Sunītā, daughter of Dharma. From this pair was born Dhruva, who obtained the high eternal seat in heaven by his penances and round whom even the Saptarishis circumambulate. Dhruva married Dhanyā who gave birth to Śiṣṭa, the latter married Suchchhāyā, daughter of Agni; who gave birth to several sons. One of them Ripuñjaya and his wife Viriṇī gave birth to another

Manu named Chākshusha, who married Naḍvalā, daughter of Vairāja Manu, and both produced 10 sons, including Uru, who became the father of six sons including Aṅgiras. From him (also named Aṅga) Sunītā, daughter of Pitṛis gave birth to Vena, the oppressive ruler. The Ṛishis dethroned Vena and out of his body was produced Prithu who became the first king, Ādi-Rāja. He had two sons, namely Antardhāna, who became the father of Marīcha and Havirdhāna whose wife Dhṛishṇā, daughter of Agni, gave birth to six sons of whom the eldest was Prāchīna-Barhis.

Prāchīna-Barhis was an illustrious Prajāpati who created numerous creatures known as Havirdhāna. This Prāchīna-Barhis from his wife Sāmudrī gave birth to 10 sons called the Prāchetasa Ṛishis (M. 4. 47), By the power of their penances the plants and trees were protected, but fire (Agni) began to burn them. So they wedded a girl, the daughter of Soma (*Soma-kanyā*) named Mārishā, From the union of the Trees with Mārishā was born Daksha, the eldest son. Daksha produced on her innumerable plants and trees and many other forms of life with diverse grotesque faces of fabulous and fantastic forms having the heads of horses, lions, camels, bears, dwarfs and boars etc. (M. 4.53), and then he created many Mlechchhas. Here is a reference to the two kinds of creation, viz. vegetable and animal kingdoms. In each one of them the life-principle is taking visible forms, but what the Creator had wished could not be accomplished. The reference to Mlechchhas is arbitrary. The implication is to such people who were outside the Varṇāśrama dharma and therefore were not perfect types of the Creator's endeavour to set up organised civilized life.

DAKSHA FROM THE RIGHT THUMB OF BRAHMĀ— The Matsya refers to the birth of Daksha from the right thumb of Brahmā (अंगुष्ठाद् दक्षिणाद् दक्षः प्रजापतिरजायत, M. 3. 9). This doctrine is repeated in many other Purāṇas. The meaning of this symbolism should be clearly understood. There are two kinds of Purushas, namely *Āṅguṣṭha Purusha* and *Chākshusha Purusha*, the former refers

to the Prāṇic centre called *Priddēśa* and the latter to the *Mahimā Puruṣha* which assumes a cosmic form out of its unmanifested centre. Brahmā's thumb is the symbol of *Āṅgushṭha Puruṣha*. The thumb is one of the five fingers, that is the symbol of five-fold digitation or differentiation, namely Pañchīkaraṇa which becomes manifest as the starting point of creation. Prior to that is the state of Prajāpati in which he is undifferentiated, that is the state of formless manifestation. In that state there is no distinction of head, eyes, feet, hands, etc., or as the Vedas say at every point of the Prāṇic form of Prajāpati there are heads, eyes, hands, feet etc. and therefore he is called *Viśvatuśchakṣu*, *Viśvatomukha*, *Viśvato-bāhu*, *Viśvataspāt*, etc. That self-centred (वृत्तौजाः, Manu, 1. 6) state is symbolised as Vāmadeva, the Left Deity, and the next stage as Dakṣha, the Right Deity. In other words Vāmadeva is Puruṣha, Dakṣha is Prakṛiti. There is an initial conflict or discord between Vāmadeva-Rudra and Dakṣha. Dakṣha thought that his Yajña would be accomplished without the presence of Śiva and, therefore, while he invited all his sixty daughters to his Yajña he did not send invitation to Satī, the eldest daughter married to Śiva. The result was that Dakṣha's Yajña was doomed to failure. Without the presence of Puruṣha, Prakṛiti is incomplete. Then Dakṣha's head is replaced by that of a goat's head which is the symbol of the Unborn or Unmanifest Prajāpati called *Aja-Avyaya* or *Ekam*; with the presence of *Aja* in the Yajña the cosmic ritual becomes complete.

The *Āṅgushṭha Puruṣha* is an elaborate symbol in the Upanishads and the Gītā. In the Kaṭha Upanishad the *Āṅgushṭha Puruṣha* is said to have its seat in the centre of the Self : अंगुष्ठमात्रः पुरुषो मध्य आत्मनि तिष्ठति ।

ईशानो भूतभव्यस्य न ततो विजुगुप्सते ॥ (Kaṭha. 4. 12).

The nature of *Āṅgushṭha Puruṣha* is that of smokeless fire (अंगुष्ठमात्रः पुरुषो ज्योतिरिवाधूमकः Kaṭha. 4. 13).

It is also spoken of as *Amṛitam Śukram*, i.e. Immortality and Seed which sprouts as cosmos and which is permanently seated within the self of every one (अंगुष्ठमात्रः पुरुषोऽन्तरात्मा सदा जनानां

हृदये सन्निविष्टः । तं विद्याच्छुक्रममृतम्, Kaṭha. 6. 17). If the body be spoken of as the Muñja grass the thin reed within it (*Ishikā*) is like the *Āṅguṣṭha Puruṣa*.

In the Śvetāśvatara, the same truth about *Āṅguṣṭha Puruṣa* is repeated (Śvet. Up. 3.13) and it is added that he is effulgent like Sūrya; in that centre abide *Sankalpa* and *Ahaṅkāra*, the two emanations called Buddhi and Mahat respectively, and the nature of this inner being is as subtle as the point of a needle (आराग्रमात्रः Śvet. Up. 5.8). The minute size or absence of size is also known as *Prādeśamātrā*, i. e. measure of a span in which the span (*Prādeśa* or *Vitasti*) is supposed to be the unit in which Prāṇa realises its active functioning (*Āṅguṣṭha-prādeśa-śarīra-mātram*, Maitrāyaṇī Up. 6.38). This is also repeated in Chhāndogya Up. 5.18.1 that this being has its seat in the *Hṛiddēśa*, i. e. invisible centre within a Person (cf. अंगुष्ठमात्रः पुरुषो हृद्देशेऽर्जुन तिष्ठति, Gītā 15. 15; also Bhāgavata 2, 2. 8, केचित्स्वदेहान्तर्हृदयावकाशे प्रादेशमात्रं पुरुषं वसन्तम्).

CHĀKSHUSHA PURUṢA— The opposite or the concomitant principle of the Unmanifest or Formless *Āṅguṣṭha Puruṣa* is the manifested and formed *Chākshusha Puruṣa*, namely person in the eye. It is so named from the reflection that the pupil in the eye receives of the material forms (Bṛihad Up. 2. 5. 5; 4. 4. 1). It is said to be the same as Indra in the right eye and Indrāṇī in the left eye, the two kinds of Prāṇic forces which as Male and Female are said to be meeting within the cavity of the heart (इन्द्रोऽयमस्य जायेयं सव्यचक्षुष्यवस्थिता । हृदयान्तर्गते सुषौ, Maitrāyaṇī Up. 7. 11).

Thus Dakṣha is the same as Yajña and Dakṣiṇā same as Dākṣhāyaṇī, being allied symbols having reference to the created cosmos which is conceived of as the Right Hand activity of the Creator.

These three versions of Dakṣha story as they emerged in the hands of the Purāṇic writers contain a good deal of cosmogonic symbolism.

DHRUVA— In the above account there is a reference to Uttānapāda whose son was Dhruva. Uttānapāda is also referred

to in the R̥igveda X. 72. 3-4, where the earth is said to be born from Uttānapāda and from earth the quarters of space. Uttānapāda is Sūrya and Dhruva is the fixed and changeless fulcrum which the Creator has fixed as the central point round which all moving bodies circumambulate. Such is the conception of Dhruva that even the Saptar̥shis go round him. The story of Vena and Pr̥ithu was also Vedic which will have to be taken up at a later stage.

TEN PRĀCHETASA R̥ISHIS— Prāchinabarhis as Prajāpati procreates the ten Prāchetasa R̥ishis. The Bhāgavata makes it clear that the Prāchetasa R̥ishis were called Viśva-s̥rij (Bhāg. 6.5. 50-51), that is the ten creative principles which were not different from Prāṇic powers. By their penances all the trees were guarded. The esoteric meaning is that each universe is represented as a tree and the life-principle with its ten constituents permeates the whole creation. The Prāchetasa R̥ishis represent the ten forms of Agni, viz *Gārhapatya*, *Āhavanīya* and the 8 *Dhishnyā* Fires which are intermediate between the first two. Prāchinabarhis is the name of Agni and the ten Prāchetasa R̥ishis are his manifestations. They married Mārīshā, the daughter of Soma, whose son was Daksha (M. 4.49).

DAKSHA'S PROGENY— The literal meaning of Daksha is the right-hand one. It refers to the descent of Prāṇa in Matter. Daksha is contrasted with Vāma-deva, i.e. the god on the left hand. Vāma is the upper half and Daksha, the lower half, who is also associated with Dākshāyaṇī, viz. the goddess, as against Purusha. The problem before Daksha was to initiate *Maithunī Śrīṣṭi*. He started on this programme. Mārīshā, the daughter of Soma having given birth to Daksha followed it up by producing the plants and trees (M. 4.45-50). But this did not solve the problem. So Daksha Prāchetasa produced by the power of Soma 80 crores of creatures, bipeds and quadrupeds, but again this did not fulfil the scheme of the Creator.

PĀNCHAJANĪ— Then Daksha begot on his wife Pāñchajani 1000 sons. Pāñchajani is a significant term pointing to the five material elements which combine in producing the physical

body. One thousand is an indefinite number. These sons came under the influence of Nārada and became mendicants.

VIRIṆĪ— Daksha tried again and from his wife Viriṇī he produced another set of 1000 sons. Nārada directed them to go to the end of the earth and come back with its measure. They have not yet returned. This only means that the Universe brought into existence by Daksha is unlimited. In Vedic symbology there are three infinite principles each called *Sāhasī* and it is these that were produced by the impelling force of the Creator (त्रेधा सहस्रं वि तदैरयेयाम् RV. VI. 69. 8). The Three Thousands are Veda-sahasrī, Loka-sahasrī and Vāk-sahasrī symbolising respectively the infinite creations of Mind, Prāṇa, and Matter. The first two attempts of Daksha to create from Pāñchajānī and Viriṇī did not prove successful, because those were the creations on the level of Manas and Prāṇa, both of which are above Matter. The name Viriṇī denotes the mother of Vira or Prāṇa.

DAUGHTERS OF DAKSHA— Daksha now tried another experiment, viz. creation on the level of Vāk or Matter. She is represented as a female and therefore the third generation in Daksha's creation is that of the female daughters. These are the well-known 60 daughters of Daksha (M. 5. 12.). It is said that he gave away 10 of them to Dharma, 15 to Kaśyapa, 27 to Chandraṁbā, 2 to Kriśāśva, 2 to Aṅgiras and 4 to Arisṭanemī (M. 5.13-14). This is a long list and purposive one, since all of them are conceived as the mothers of gods (*Devamātaraḥ*). Of the 10 wives of Dharma one is named Vasu, who became the mother of the 8 Vasus. Their names are also given here as comprising the 5 elements, Sun and Moon and Dhruva (M. 5. 21). These are not different from what is understood as the 8 principles of manifestation, the Aṣṭamūrtis of Śiva, viz. Pañcha-bhūtas, Prāṇa and Apāna and the principle of Mind. The 10 daughters married to Dharma have reference to the primeval creation which is mentioned as तानि धर्माणि प्रथमान्यासन्, viz. the 10 Dharmas or constituents of Virāj which exist in the Universal.

Here two references are important, viz., the birth of Kumāra as the son of Agni in the grove of the *Sara*-grass (*Saccharum sara*). The *Śarastambā* or the stem of *Śara* represents the human body in which the spinal column or *Meru-daṇḍa* with its internal canal called *Sushumnā* is the birth-place of the six-headed god Skanda. It is a *Tāntric* or *Yogic* conception and the god is the symbol of the power generated by the 6 chakras who are the 6 mothers conjointly nurturing the Babe named Kumāra. A detailed description of the birth of Kumāra and his conquest over *Tārakāsura* occurs later as a lengthy episode in this *Purāṇa* (chaps. 146-160).

FOUR-FOLD KUMĀRAS— A special feature is the conception of Kumāra as one of the four brothers, named *Śākha*, *Viśākha*, *Naigameya*. These are known as *Chatur-mūrti* or *Chatur-ātmā* with different sets of names. For example, Kumāra, Skanda, *Viśākha* and *Mahāsena* appear on the gold coins of *Kuvishka* in the early *Kushāṇa* period. This was the Kumāra cult which was once very popular. In the *Kāśyapa Saṁhitā*, *Revatī-kalpa* it is stated that these were the four brothers of *Nandikeśvara* who had a sister called *Shashthī*. These are mentioned as originally *Bāla-grahas* or spirits afflicting or protecting children. In course of time their status became respectable and one of them Skanda emerged as the greatest of them in the form of the son of *Śiva* and *Pārvatī*. The symbolism that is intended to be conveyed here is the same as of the four Kumāras who were sons of *Brahmā* and named *Sanaka*, *Sanandana*, *Sanātana*, and *Sanatkumāra*. These four represented the four-fold scheme of creation and were correlated with the *Chatush-pāda* principle.

VIŚVAKARMĀ— A casual reference is to *Viśvakarmā*, son of *Prabhāsa* as a *Prajāpati*. He is said to be a *Śilpī* or the craftsman of the Gods (*Amara-vardhaki*) who was entrusted with the work of building temples, palaces, gardens, images, ornaments, ponds, wells etc. (M.5.27-28). In the *Rigveda* X. 81-82, *Prajāpati* is described as *Viśvakarmā*, whose divine art is manifest as the cosmos. He creates the Cosmic Tree.

and is the Archetypal principle (प्रथमच्छद्) that has entered all the subsequent forms to be created by Dakṣha on the level of Mind, Life and Matter, i.e. in *Dyāvā-Prithivī* and *Antariksha*. The mention of Prabhāsa points to Prabhāsa-pattana in Saurāshṭra, which was at one time the biggest centre of Sthapatis in Western India, and has retained its fame to this day.

Another important reference is to the 11 Rudras who were all the Mānasa Putras of Surabhi, the divine cow. From them 84 crores of Gaṇas were created for the protection of the world. The 11 Rudras are named here and also later on (M.153.19). The Liṅga Purāṇa (1.82.40-41, Harivaṃśa 1.3.49-52, Bhaviṣya, Brahma-parva 125.7) and other texts give variant names of the 11 Rudras. The Vāyu speaks of millions of emanations of the 11 Rudras and describes them as Vaiśvānara-mukha, i.e. having the fire as their mouth (Vāyu, 101.314-315). In the Śiva-Purāṇa it is clearly stated that the Rudras are but different forms of Prāṇas. They were directed to create the numerous creatures :

ये रुद्रास्ते खलु प्राणा ये प्राणास्ते तदात्मकाः ।
 प्रजासन्तानहेतोश्च प्रयतश्चमत्तन्द्रिताः ।
 एवमुक्ताश्च रुद्रदुर्दुर्दुश्च समन्ततः ॥२६॥
 रोदनाद् द्रवणाच्चैव ते रुद्रा नामतः स्मृताः

(*Siva Purāṇa*, Vāyaviya-saṁ. 12.25-30)

RUDRAS' CRYING—This explanation of Rudra as Madhya Prāṇa and his 11 manifestations as the other Prāṇas was a Vedic conception (see ŚB. 6.1.1.1-). The etymology of Rudra which appears fanciful is also rooted in Vedic tradition. The meaning is precise and clear. As soon as Rudra or Prāṇa becomes manifest in an organism or on the plane of Matter it 'cries' for food. This principle of hunger (*Aśanāyā*) is compared to the crying of a child who weeps when he becomes hungry. So from the beginning Agni-Rudra began to cry for food when the Devas said—Let us appease him with food. This crying of the metabolic fire is a continuous process through life. Agni is satisfied with *Anna* but for a short time only. It cries again

and the same process is repeated. Agni is *Annāda*, the eater of food and Soma is *Anna*. Agni and Soma mingle with each other and only then Yajña is completed.

This is the principle of *Rodana* to which the Purāṇas make frequent reference (cf. *Harivaṃsha* 2.74.22 ; also 3.14.39). The *Devī-Bhāgavata* states that the Golden Egg (*Svarṇa-dīm'ha*) split in the waters where it was floating and from it was born a Babe which began to cry as it was afflicted with hunger. That Babe was *Mahā Virāt*, *Deva Rudra* i. e. the Universal Life-principle called Mahādeva.

EIGHT NAMES OF KUMĀRA— In the ŚB and also in the Purāṇas there is another version of the crying of the Babe. When the life-principle (*Madhya-Prāṇa*) became manifest it had no name and so it cried. Prajāpati asked the reason and being informed that the child wanted a name, first gave him the name Rudra, then Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, Mahadeva, and Īśāṇa (संवत्सरे कुमारो अजायत सोऽरोदीत् । तं प्रजापतिरब्रवीत् कुमार किं रोदिषि...सोऽब्रवीत् नाम मे देहि...तमब्रवीद्रुद्रोऽसीति..... तानि एतान्यष्टावग्निरूपाणि, कुमारो नवमः, ŚB. 6. 1. 3. 1-18). This was the conception from which the Purāṇa writers developed the *Asṭamūrti* conception of Śiva on the one hand and of his son Kumāra on the other. The fact is that the eight forms of Rudra or Śiva symbolise the five gross material elements, 2 opposite principles of Prāṇa and Apāṇa (Heat & Cold) and the principle of Mind which is the eighth. The *Liṅga-Purāṇa* explains them as follows :—

1. Śarva = Prithivī
2. Bhava = Jala
3. Paśupati = Agni
4. Īśāṇa = Vāyu
5. Bhīma = Ākāśa
6. Rudra = Sūrya
7. Mahādeva = Soma
8. Ugra, also called Dhruva, Dikshita Brāhmaṇa = Yajamna or the principle of mind (मनो वै यजमानस्य रूपम्, श० १२।१।४)

All these 8 categories are insufficient to create life. Only when they combine as one life becomes manifest which is known as Kumāra, the 9th creation of Prajāpati (कुमारो नवमः, SB. 6.1.3.18).

PRINCIPLE OF DRAVAṆA— Another factor in the creation of the Rudras is said to be *Dravaṇa*, or movement. This is true since Agni or Rudra is another name of movement or the process of contraction and expansion called Prāṇa. But prior to the emergence of rhythmic movement in the primeval stage movement was riotous, unmeasured, uncontrolled and the natural result was that movement was useless for Yājñā. It was an Agni which was destructive. Prior to the creation of Sūrya motion was of this nature, but as soon as Sūrya comes into existence as the model of rhythm where the movements of all the rays from the beginning of time to the end of it are predetermined and controlled they are rhythmic and creative of Yajña. The Vāyu Purāṇa gives a correct description of this phenomenon by saying that when the Great God Rudra had created millions and billions of other Rudras they were not able to create until Śiva ordained that they would be controlled by rhythmic activity, i. e. become *Chhandajāḥ* and as such they would be permitted to take part in the Yajñas and become the rhythmic movements of time in the *Manvantaras*.

यज्ञभाजो भविष्यन्ति सर्वे .देवयुगैः सह ।

मन्वन्तरेषु ये देवा भविष्यन्तीह च्छन्दजाः ॥ (Vāyu 10.60)

MEANING OF शतरुद्रिय— In fact this was the Śata-Rudriya doctrine of the Vedas (Yajurveda Book 16). It is stated there that in the beginning there was one Rudra (एको रुद्रः) but he created thousands and thousands of innumerable Rudras out of his one self (सहस्राणां सहस्रं तु आत्मनोपम-निश्चिताः, Vāyu 10.58 ; असंख्याता सहस्राणि ये रुद्रा ग्रधिभूम्याम्, यजु. १६.४). Out of these innumerable hosts emerged the numbered ones named *Śata-Rudrāḥ* or what is described in the ŚB as Rudra of hundred heads, (शतशीर्षणिं रुद्रं शतरुद्रियमित्याचक्षते परोक्षं (ŚB- 9. 1. 1. 7). It is further pointed out that when the powers of Rudra became measured they became pacified

(शान्त, SB. 9.1.1.2) and this pacification or rhythm was achieved by Agni being given its Soma (तस्या एतदन्नं समभरन्त्यन्तदेवस्य ह वै तच्छ्रुतरुद्रियमित्याचक्षते परोक्षं, SB. 9.1.1.2). There certainly came a time when order emerged out of chaos and that stage may be described severally as 'the commencement of *Yajña*, as the creation of *Sūrya*, as the instrumentation of the Three Vedas for the cosmic music, as the pacification of riotous Rudras of weeping and darting aspect. For the Vedic Rishis this was one and the same principle expressed through variant symbolism. The basic principle is that cosmisation is rhythmisation. This principle of *Yajña* is symbolised as Dakṣha, the presiding Prajāpati of *Yajña* and it is for this reason that the expounding of Rudra-*śrīṣṭi* forms an integral part of the description of Dakṣha.

NAMES OF ELEVEN RUDRAS— The names of the 11 Rudras as given here (M. 5. 29-30) also have their meaning. They are :

1. Aja-ekapād, 2. Ahirbudhnya, 3. Virūpāksha,
4. Raivata, 5. Hara, 6. Bahurūpa, 7. Tryambaka,
8. Savitā, 9. Jayanta, 10. Pinākī, 11. Aparājita.

The Liṅga (1. 82. 40-41) and Bhaviṣhya (Brahma-parva 125.7) give slightly different lists. The Matsya itself differs substantially in its names as given in the second list (M. 153. 19). However, taking the present list as our basis we may explain them as follows :

अजैकपाद्—*Aja-ekapād* and *Ahirbudhnya* were Vedic deities mentioned several times in the R̥gveda (RV. X.66.11; 2.31.6). Sometimes they occur together and sometimes separately. The unborn *Aja*, transcendent Avyaya Puruṣa is the *Aja-Eka-pād* principle. Literally it means the One-footed Goat in which the epithet *Eka-pād* stands for the absence of motion because with one foot there can be no movement. *Aja* has two meanings, viz. unborn (from अ+जन्) and one who capers or leaps about (from the root *Aja* to frolick or frisk). Both these meanings are valid with reference to the Unborn Creator who is devoid of movement when he is one-footed i. e. at rest, prior to creation,

and secondly when he becomes subject to motion regulated by the cosmic rhythm (for detailed explanation of the *Aja-Eka-pād* principle see my paper *Aja-Ekapād* published in *Sparks from the Vedic Fire*, pp. 40-43).

Aja is also the name of Prajāpati Brahman. In his womb all the worlds exist like spokes in the hub of a wheel. This aspect of Prajāpati precedes all other manifestations; all the forces exist in the restful centre and become operative against that substratum.

अहिर्बुध्न्य—The next principle is called *Ahīrbudhnya* which literally means the Dragon of the Deep. It is the same as *Vṛitra*, the great serpent which existed in the primeval ocean as an Asura that had monopolised all powers and forms within himself (सर्वं वृत्वा शिरये, ŚB. 1.1.3.4), The Deep Sea where the Serpent *Ahi-Vṛitra* lies concealed is the region of primeval darkness, कृष्ण नियान् of Varuṇa (RV. I. 164.47). Indra the genius of light subdues *Vṛitra* and creates manifest forms.

विरूपाक्ष—This is the third principle in the evolutionary process which in the list of Rudras is called *Virūpāksha*. It is the same as saying that Indra by his intrinsic power fashions the diverse forms 'इन्द्रो मायाभिः पुरुरूप ईयते' RV. VI. 47.8).

त्वष्टा or **बहुरूपा**—The creation of different forms depends on the principle of differentiation, i.e. God *Tvashtā* who is here described as a Rudra (त्वष्टा रुपाणि पिशतु; त्वष्टा रुपाणां जनिता पशूनाम्, Atharva 9.4.6). In the Matsya list its corresponding name is *Bahurūpa*.

रैवत—The next Rudra is *Raivata* named after *Ravatī*, the presiding constellation of *Paśus* or animals. Its deity is *Pūshan* and *Raivata* signifies the principle of nutrition (*Posha*) without which no animal form can be created. As a counterpart to it is *Hara*, that is the opposite of that which nourishes. As already explained birth and death go together in the creative process.

त्र्यम्बक—The Rudra named *Tryambaka* represents the various Triads on which the entire cosmos is based. It is both the deity of the three eyes or the conscious principles of *Jāgrat*,

Svapna and *Sushupti* or *Sūrya*, *Chandra* and *Agni*, and also the son of Three Mothers, *Ambā*, *Ambikā* and *Ambālikā*. These three Sisters represent the three fires of the cosmic Yajña or the three Mothers who create the three great principles of Mind, Life, and Matter.

सविता—The Rudra called *Savitā* stands for the deity who symbolises the initial impelling of the forces that abide in the centre (‘सविता वै देवानां प्रसविता’). It is the principle of mind that generates all activities and is called *Savitā*.

जयन्त and **अपराजित**—*Jayanta* as a Rudra represents the power of Indra and *Aparājita* of Vishṇu who respectively symbolise the centrifugal and centripetal forces in each system. (इन्द्र in rivalry with विष्णु ; इन्द्रश्च विष्णो यदपस्पृचेताम्, RV. VI. 69.8).

पिनाकी—*Pinākī* is the great Bow-man or hunter who is shooting his arrows in the form of smaller and bigger units of time at all his creatures. The bow (*Pināka*) represents the spinal column within the body and the *Axis Mundi* for the whole world outside. The rod with which the bow is made is straight (*Sthānu*) but there can be no action of the bow unless it is bent. The straight rod of the bow has no tension, and therefore no movement; गुण-वैषम्य the principle of curvature is essential to create tension and that is the form of Rudra as *Pinākī* (‘रुद्रः पिनाकमिति दण्डस्य’ Yāska). Rudra as a bow-man is called *Mṛiga-vyādha*, Aitareya Br. 3.33). The implication is that Rudra as Paśupati is controlling the *Paśus* or *Mṛigas* with his arrows. From this germ was developed the doctrine of *Paśu*, *Pāśa*, and *Paśupati* by the Pāśupata teachers for which the Purāṇas stand as the pre-eminent sources.

The Rudras are said to be born from the universal Divine Cow called Surabhī (सुरभीगर्भसंभवा M. 5. 32). The Surabhī cow is the same as Aditi, Universal Nature or Infinity. She is the mother of all gods and of Rudra or of Agni as the form of all Gods (अग्निः सर्वा देवताः). The 8 Vasus, 11 Rudras, 12 Ādityas constitute the cosmic wheel and their composite form is essential for movement, so it is said that these three composite hosts of

deities (*Deva-gaṇah*) are born from Aditi, the Universal Cow who bears within her the womb of immortality (*Anṛitasya Nābhiḥ*) which has unlimited potentiality of creating life in space and time :—

अदिति द्यौरदितिरन्तरिक्षमदितिर्माता स पिता स पुत्रः

अदितिर्विश्वेदेवाः पञ्चजनाः अदितिर्जीतमदितिर्जनित्वम् ॥

KUMĀRA—In Matsya (5. 26) there is mention of Kumāra, son of Agni, and his three other brothers, named Śākha, Viśākha and Naigameya, elsewhere mentioned as *Chatvārdhātma*. Kumāra is the same as Agni who is identified with Rudra and therefore Kumāra is both called *Agni-putra* and *Rudra-putra*. As a matter of fact Kumāra is the symbol of the Babe or the life-principle manifesting in every individual centre or *śarīra*. Its Vedic background has been explained above with reference to the *Aṣṭamūrti* form of Śiva, Kumāra being the ninth creation (कुमारो नवमः सर्गः, SB) in whom all the preceding eight elements become integrated as one. This is the material body invested with consciousness or life. He is called here the son of six *Kṛittikā* mothers and therefore named *Kārttikeya* and *Shāṇmatūra* (अपत्यं कृत्तिकानां तु कार्तिकेयस्ततः स्मृतः, M. 5. 27). The 6 *Kṛittikās* are the six stars in the constellation of Pleides, but they are only used as symbol in order to explain an *Ādhyātmika* truth. The six *Kṛittikās* point to the 6 Yogic *Chakras* or plexus in the human body located in an ascending order in the spinal column or more correctly in the spinal canal called *Suṣkumṇā*. From below they are as follows :

1. Muḷādhāra Chakra—Coccygeal region with 4 vertebrae, controlling the excretory organs and the Earth.
2. Svādhishṭhāna. —Sacral region with 5 vertebrae, controlling the generative organs. —Water.
3. Maṇipūra-Chakra.—Lumbar region with 5 vertebrae controlling the gastric centre or solar plexus—Fire.

4. Anāhata Chakra. —Dorsal region with 12 vertebrae, controlling the heart—Vāyu.
5. Viśuddhi Chakra. —Cervical region with 7 vertebrae controls the throat—Ākāśa.
6. Ājñā Chakra. —in the centre of the eye-brows is the seat of *Manas*, *Buddhi* and *Ahaṅkāra*.

These are the 6 Mothers whose intrinsic powers are combined in the Prāṇic Hero that is born when the Yogī has controlled the 6 Chakras and has lifted himself above the five *Tanmātrās* and their pleasures after having restrained the five organs of perception, and five organs of action together with the higher principles of *Vijñāna* and *Manas*. This is no ordinary thing, since it requires the greatest purification (*Mala-viśodhana*) by constant physical and spiritual practices of *Yama*, *Niyama*, *Dhāraṇā* and *Dhyāna*. All this is implied in the conception of Kumāra which became an integral part of the philosophy of Yoga on one side, and of the Tantras on the other. In the Kushāṇa period when concrete practices of Yoga were being formulated the symbolism of Kumāra was highly developed and his images also began to be made in the form of a young beautiful hero holding a Śakti and sometimes depicted as the commander of the divine army or the leader of the divine hosts (*Deva senā*) against the Asuras.

Thus Kumāra is the embodiment of physical and spiritual energy that belongs to each individual organism or human centre. In the Matsya a very detailed account or epic description of the birth of Kumāra and his exploits against Tāraka is given in Chapters 138-160, and many other Purāṇas also take up this theme in a more or less detailed manner. The sextuplicated form on the plane of matter is called *Shaḍa-varga* in the Matsya itself and consists of *Manas* and the five gross elements, all six being modifications of the principle of *Buddhi* or *Mahat*, viz. the universal intelligence (जाता ससर्जं षड्वर्गान् बुद्धिपूर्वान् स्वकर्मजान् । अजातकोऽभवद्वेधा ब्रह्मणोऽव्यक्तजन्मनः, M.154.355).

The four forms of Kumāra are mentioned in early Sanskrit literature in several ways. In the Revatī Kalpa of the Kāśyapa

Samhitā it is said that Nandikeśvara or Śiva with his bull had four brothers, named Śākha, Viśākha, Kumāra and Naigameya, and a sixth sister called Shashthī. On the coins of Huvishka, a Kushāna emperor, the four brothers are depicted as MAHĀSENO, KUMĀRO, VIZĀGO, SKANDO. The explanation of the one deity Skanda having become diversified as four is a little obscure, but seems to have been evolved on the analogy of the four Kumāras or the mind-born sons of Brahmā, named Sanat-kumāra, Sanaka, Sanandana and Sanātana, of whom Sanat-kumāra is identified with Skanda, who is also a Kumāra or eternal Brahmachārin. The classical names Śākha, Viśākha and Naigameya have different etimologies. In the Matsya Viśākha is said to be born from the right side of Devī. Naigameya is derived from Naigama i. e. merchant class, amongst whom the worship of this deity was popular. By a confusion of names the Jainas called him Naigameśa and there is an image from Mathura (now in Lucknow Museum) depicting a goat-headed diety bearing the inscription Negmeso.

Leaving aside the iconographical form if we look to the inner meaning, we are told in the Matsya Purāṇa itself that the seed of Agni was born as Skanda. He was taken over by the Kṛittikās who formed an integrated Śākhā or Reed for his sake. This reed is the same as the Golden Reed of Vedic literature symbolising the Merudanda in the human body where the various Chakras are located. This Śākhā gives the name of Śākha to Kumāra. This energy or power is becoming manifest in the form of the five Bhūtas or sense organs and Mind which have branched out externally for the sake of creating manifest life and therefore the six-faced Skanda became known as Viśākha:—

वामं विदार्य निष्क्रान्तः सुतो देव्याः पुनः शिशुः ।

स्कन्दाच्च वदने वहेः शुक्रात्सुवदनोऽरिहा ॥१॥

कृत्तिकामेलनादेव शाखाभिः सविशेषतः ।

शाखाभिघाः समाख्याताः षट्सु वक्त्रेषु विस्तृताः ॥

यतस्ततो विशाखोऽसौ ख्यातो लोकेषु षण्मुखः ।

स्कन्दो विशाखः षड्वक्त्रो कार्तिकेयश्च विश्रुतः ॥ (M. 159. 1-3).

Here Śakha is the six-jointed single branch that is the Merudaṇḍa in which God Skanda takes his birth as the son of Kuṇḍalinī or Yogic power. From there it branches out as Pañcha-Mahā-bhūtas and Mind which are together termed as Viśākha.

KAŚYAPA— Kaśyapa in the Veda is the name of Prajāpati. Literally it means one who drinks water from the margins of the lake called Brāhma-sara (कश्यपे पिबति इति कश्यपः). In this sense Kaśyapa is the same as Kachchhapa which in Vedic language was called Kūrma : that who is called Kūrma is the form of Prajāpati by which he created the world. Since he created he was called Kūrma. Kūrma is the same as Kaśyapa and therefore all creatures are called Kāśyapī Prajā :

स यत्कूर्मो नाम एतद्वै इदं कृत्वा प्रजापतिः प्रजा असृजत ।

यदसृजताकरोत्तद्यदकरोत्तस्मात्कूर्मः कश्यपो वै कूर्मस्तस्मादाहुः

सर्वा प्रजाः काश्यप्य इति (ŚB. 7. 5. 1. 5).

What is the meaning of this symbolism? The answer is that the range of Dyāvā-Prithivī is the spatial expansion for each individual being or cosmos. He is deriving life-sap or Prāṇa from the Universal which envelopes it on all sides and thus is verily Kaśyapa or Kūrma (द्यावा-पृथिव्यो हि कूर्मः, ŚB. 7. 5. 1. 10). According to the Brāhmaṇa literature Āditya or Sūrya is also called Kūrma for its own system because he is the symbol *par excellence* of Prāṇa, the principle of contraction and expansion which is creating all creatures.

Matsya Purāṇa chapter 6 is practically a commentary on the last statement of ŚB. that all creatures are the creation of Kaśyapa Prajāpati. The Purāṇa mentions that 10 daughters of Daksha were married to Kaśyapa as Aditi, Diti, Danu, Arisṭā, Surasā, Surabhī, Vinatā, Tāmrā, Kadrū, Viśvā, Muni. They became the mothers of all creation. Aditi gave birth to 12 Ādityas named Indra, Dhātā, Bhaga, Tvasṭā, Mitra, Varuṇa, Yama, Vivasvān, Savitā, Pūshā, Amśumān and Viśṇu. All these names are found in Rīgveda, but the selective number of Āditya gods there is only 6 or 7. Later on this

number was extended to 12 in accordance with 12 months of the year. The Ṛigveda mentions 8 sons of Aditi and in the Atharva she is called the lady of 8 wombs (*Aṣṭa-yoni*) and mother of 8 sons (*Aṣṭa-putrā*). These included the 7 Ādityas and the 8th Mātaṇḍa or Sūrya, and since the latter became the foremost of the Āditya gods the transition from 7 to 12 was natural.

Diti, the second wife of Kaśyapa gave birth to Hiranya-kaśipu and Hiraṇyāksha for whom Viṣṇu had to incarnate as Nṛsiṃha and Varāha. The word *Hiranya* in these two names is a pointer to their Prāṇic symbolism as the first germ of life called Hiraṇyāksha and its Mahimā called Hiraṇyakaśipu. The word *Kaśipu* denotes the golden seat or substratum on which Prāṇa becomes manifest. Hiraṇyakaśipu gave birth to four sons including Prahlāda, the latter again having four sons of whom one was Virochana^o who became the father of Bali and Bali was the father of the hundred sons including Bāṇa, the eldest.

These are all symbolical names. Prahlāda is *Ānanda* permeating *Manas-Buddhi-Chitta-Ahaṅkāra*. Bāṇa was a devotee of Śiva and his story is well-known because of his rivalry with Kṛishṇa and defeat by the latter. Bāṇa is called thousand-armed and in the Vedas it is the shaft of Rudra shot by his bow that has innumerable forms piercing every organic centre of life.

The third wife of Kaśyapa, Danu, gave birth to one hundred sons, of whom the eldest was Vipracchitti, implying the *Chitta* or creative impulse of the Creator who is called the Great Vipra. Most of the Asura chiefs like Śambara, Vṛishabhānu, Puloma (father of Paulomī Śachī, wife of Indra) were sons of Danu. The number of Dānavas is stated to be 60,000, again a symbolical number like 60,000 Bālakhilya Ṛishis, or the 60,000 sons of Sagara, where 60 is the symbol of rotation and thousand refers to Infinity. The Brāhmaṇas explain Bālakhilya as the differentiated Prāṇas, but which are so compact that a hair breadth of space only intervenes between two of them. ('प्राणा वै बालखिल्याः' AB. 6-28, ŚB. 8. 3. 4. 1; KB. 30. 8; GB. 2. 6. 8). All the Paśus are also said to be the types of Bālakhilya Prāṇas (पशवो बालखिल्याः Tāṇḍya 20. 9. 2). Thus all Bhūta-sṛiṣṭi is conceived

of as Āsuric and typified as the 60,000 sons of Danu. Here are mentioned the several classes of Dānavas often stated to be adversaries of Indra in the Daivāsuraṃ conflict, e.g. Pauloma, Kālakeya, Saimhikeya Namuchi, Nivāta-Kavacha.

Tāmrā, wife of Kaśyapa is said to have become the mother of all the birds. Garuḍa alone was the son of Vinatā. Bheruṇḍa a monstrous motif of the form of a mighty Garuḍa carrying an elephant in his clutches is said to be the son of Jaṭāyu who himself was the son of Aruṇa, brother of Garuḍa (M. 6.36 ; तेषामनन्तमभवत् पक्षिणां पुत्रपौत्रकम्). The conception of Garuḍa was originally Vedic being the name of Sūrya and one of the major deities equal in rank to Agni, Indra, Mitra and Varuṇa (RV. I. 164.46). In course of time the conception of Suparṇa was much elaborated both in the form of legends and in cult-worship. His association with Viṣṇu gave to the idea of Suparṇa a new fillip at the hands of Bhāgavata teachers who have described him as the vehicle of Viṣṇu, and in this form he is also represented in images. The great legend of Garuḍa, the Suparṇa Saga, has reached its loftiest description in the Ādi-parva of Mahābhārata, where Garuḍa puts up all his herculean strength to bring Soma or Amṛitam from heaven. In fact this was the popularization of the ancient Brahmnical legend of Gāyatrī as a Suparṇa flapping its wings to heaven for bringing Soma. The nature of Gāyatrī is that of Prāṇa and the flapping of wings is the same as the process of contraction and expansion (समं च न-प्रसारण), or as the ŚB describes it as the rhythm of coming and going (एति च प्रेति च). Now this was a special feature of Indian legends and of symbolism that a small seed sprouted into a mighty tree, and spread its branches in the most luxuriant manner as the several authors listed. This phenomenon has operated in the case of the legend of Garuḍa. In the ŚB is found the nucleus of the story of a conflict between the Sauparṇas and the Kādraveyae sons of Vinitā and Kadrū respectively, being the powers of light and darkness.

Surasā became the mother of serpents (*Sarpa*) and Kadrū of the Nāgas of whom 26 are mentioned as the principal ones.

The Nāgas are the subject of literary description, folk-lore and religious worship, especially in the Buddhist and Brahmnical tradition, e. g. Ananta, Śesha, Vāsuki, Karkoṭa, Airāvata, Kambala, Aśvattha, Takshaka, Elāpatra Dhṛitarāshṭra, Saṅkha-pāla, and each one of these occurs as a principal motif of Buddhist and Brahmnical folk-lore. Even Patañjali is mentioned in the list, most probably as the form of the great grammarian, author of the Mahābhāshya, who owing to his capacious mind was considered to be an incarnation of thousand-headed Śesha. Pāṇini in this list also seems to point to the same phenomenon. These Nāgas are said to have been consumed in the sacrifice of Janamejaya.

Kaśyapa's wife named Krodha-vaśā gave birth to the host of Rākshasas and also the many Rudras who are embodiments of Krodha or *Manyā*.

Surabhī, wife of Kaśyapa gave birth to the cows and she-buffalos. It is stated in some of the Purāṇās that Surabhī from Brahmā was the mother of Rudras (HV, 3.14.11, also HV. 1.3,49-52). Surabhī is the same as Aditi, the primeval cow identified with Infinity or Universal Nature whose milk sustains all creatures.

Muni gave birth to the many Rishis and to the Apsarases. Arisṭhā, another wife of Kaśyapa, gave birth to the Kinnaras and the Gandharvas. Irā became the mother of plants, trees, grasses and shrubs and also crore of Yakshas and Rakshasas. Diti became the mother of the 49 Murut hosts.

Thus all the creatures ranging from the plant kingdom to the heavenly gods of light and the Āsuric forces of darkness as also birds and animals were born from one Creator, namely Kaśyapa Prajāpati through his 10 wives. At this stage we may grasp the meaning of the symbolism of ten which is synonymous with Virāj. Kaśyapa is Prajāpati Brahmā, Hiranyagarbha or Sūrya and his ten wives are the female mothers of creation at all levels. Indeed these are typical of various temperaments of beings who may be called the 10 Rudras: All these ten incarnate as human beings with different physiognomy and

temperaments whom we see around us. That is why in this list of Kaśyapa's sons and daughters there is no separate mention of human beings or Manushyas.

It we analyse the above list closely we find that the whole world of gods, spirits, ghosts, demons, gnomes and ghouls is present here in order to make a complex system of mythological beings who are employed as concrete symbols of Nature's powers. Their greatest influence is found on popular mythology which has continued from the Vedic times upto this day. There is no end to the different forms of Yakshas, Nāgas, Gandharvas, Devas, Munis, Asuras, Daityas, Dānavas, Garuḍas and Sarpas who are living forms of folk-worship and folk-tales on the one hand and also vehicles of thought for expressing the higher principles of religion and cosmology. In one word these are but different forms of *Prāṇa* or *Chetanā* with which the whole world is filled at all times and places and the popular mind cannot live without them.

49. MARUTS— The birth of the 7 Marut hosts and of their further seven-fold differentiation into a host of 49 Maruts was a Vedic conception but transferred to Purāṇic mythology in association with Diti. Aditi and Diti form a pair of the two aspects of creative energy. The one which is immortal is called Aditi and the other which is mortal is Diti (अदिति दिति च RV. V. 62.8 ; IV. 2. 11.). As Prishni or the two-coloured cow Aditi is said to be the mother of Maruts (RV. VI. 66.3). That was one aspect of the Maruts in the womb of Aditi, but they also exist in the womb of Diti who was the counterpart of Aditi. Aditi is *Akshiti* whereas Diti is *Kshiti* (Atharva 11.8.26; Aditi is *Chitti* and Diti is *Achitti* (RV. IV. 2.11). Thus the same Maruts which had become seven-fold in the womb of Aditi, suffered further fragmentation in the womb of Diti. This Vedic idea was taken up in the Purāṇas and given the form of a short legend. The Matsya depicts mother Diti as a very unhappy woman. She performed penances like a Rishi on the banks of Sarasvatī in the *Samanā-Paṇchaha* holy region of Kurukshetra for a hundred years, she

subjected herself to rigorous austerities and then asked the Rishis to explain to her a *Vrata* which would win for her the love of her husband and the blessings of motherhood. The Rishis in reply explained to her the Madana-Dvādaśī-Vrata, observed on the 12th bright day of Chaitra.

This was done by Diti and Kaśyapa came to her full of affection, and what loving Diti asked of him was a son who should be *Indra-śatru* in the true sense of the term, i. e. competent to kill Indra, king of the Gods. In this connection the Purāṇa writer gives some directions which a pregnant woman was expected to follow (*Garbhini Vṛitta*). For one 100 years Diti observed the rules of purity, but one day she forgot to wash her feet before going to bed and Indra took advantage of this lapse and split the foetus into 7 portions with his thunderbolt (वज्रेण शतधा चक्रे तं गर्भं त्रिदशाधिपः) and 7 radiant Kumāras were born from the womb of Diti (तथा सप्त वै ते जाताः कुमारः सूर्यवर्चसः, M. 7. 55).

The seven Babes began to cry and Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt, parcelled them out into 49 portions. Even then they did not stop crying and Indra ordered them not to weep (मा रुदतु, M. 8. 62) and hence they became known as Maruts.

In the Yajurveda we have reference to the seven-fold seven hosts of Marut-gods ('सप्तसप्त हि मरुतो गणः' Yaju. 17. 80 85, ŚB. 9. 3. 1. 25.). The Maruts are symbols of the 7 Prāṇas (प्राणा वै मरुतः, ŚB. 9. 3. 1. 7). These 7 Prāṇas have their independent existence but each one of them is connected with each of the rest and thus has 7 aspects, making a total of 49 on the plane of matter or in the physical body. The nature of Prāṇa as explained above is a kind of crying (*Rodana*, *Aśanāyā*) which is expressed as a process of contraction and expansion (*Samanāhāna-prasāraṇa*) and this principle holds good for each Prāṇic energy. Indra is the Madhya-Prāṇa and he controls all the Maruts or the peripheral Prāṇas like a sovereign king who controls his feudatory chiefs (*Sāmanta-Prāṇāḥ*). This quiet or pacified aspect of Marut-gaṇa which has been explained above as Śānta-Rudriya is what is meant by the etymology of the word

'Marut' as the divine powers that do not weep or act against the ordinances of the central Prāṇa. The transition from a cosmogonical subject to a popular *vrata* is a special feature of Purāṇic style with which we meet again and again. It was elaborated in order to relieve the audience from tension or monotony.

MADANA-DVĀDAŚĪ VRATA— The object of the Madana-Dvādaśī Vrata is to find a place for the worship of the God of Love, Kāma, in the Hindu Calendar year, as has been done for many other Devas and incarnations. The religious calendar of the Hindus is punctuated per month by many feasts and Vratas which have great significance in the life of the people. The Purāṇas and Smṛitis mention about 2000 festivals and Vratas throughout the year. Their celebration by individuals depends on free choice. Some are Mahā-vratas which are generally observed by a majority of the people. This emphasis on Vrata-rites was a special feature of Purāṇic religion and deserves independent investigation. The present texts of the Purāṇas are comprised of three main topics, namely Tirtha, Dāna and Vrata and all of these had a common objective, namely purification and enrichment of the individual and social life by means of positive action in which the individual and his fellow-beings are brought together. In the subsequent chapters 64-81 and 95-101 we find again the topic of Vratas treated at length.

KĀMA— There are a few interesting statements about Kāma. The Purāṇa writers knew the Vedic thesis about Kāma as the primeval seed of creation which sprouted in the mind of the Creator. They identify Kāma with the divine principle incarnating in the heart or centre of each being as the supreme principle of Ānanda :

प्रीयतामत्र भगवान् कामरूपो जनार्दनः ।

हृदये सर्वभूतानां य आनन्दोऽभिधीयते ॥ (M. 7. 20).

It is also mentioned that Kāma is Īśvara which is born within our own body :

यः स्मरः संस्मृतो विष्णुरानन्दात्मा महेश्वरः ।

सुखार्थी कामरूपेण स्मरेदङ्गजमीश्वरम् ॥ (M. 7. 28-29).

The Indian point of view does not condemn the God of Love as conflicting with the ideals of morality. The Bhāgavata teachers have paid the highest compliment to Kāma, as the Gītā says, 'प्रजनश्चास्मि कन्दर्पः', that is Kandarpa or Kāma is Bhagavān Viṣṇu himself whose essence is Ānanda. Like Dharma, Artha and Moksha, Kāma also has an essential place in the scheme of life as planned in the four stages (Āśrama-Dharma). The correct point of view was that Kāma should be sublimated and not hated, since it is psychologically impossible to wipe out Kāma from the sub-conscious mind.

The 7th Chapter was just a relaxing digression and the thread of story is resumed in Chapter 9. Chapter 8 is an interpolation to the main theme and is obviously written in a different meter. It gives a long list of *Adhipatis*, that is the best of each species on the lines of the *Vibhūti-yoga* in the tenth chapter of the Gītā which seems to have largely influenced it.

MANVANTARA AGES— In chapter 9 is given an account of the preceding Manvantaras, namely Svāyambhuva, Svārochisha, Auttami, Tāmasa, Raivata, Chākshusha and the 7th Manu named Vaivasvata. For each one of these the names of the Devas, Saptarshis and their sons are separately given. Amongst classes of gods are Yāmāḥ, Tushitāḥ, Bhāvanāḥ, Sādhyāḥ, Abhuta-rajasaḥ, Lekhāḥ and lastly seven hosts of Devas (*Deva-gaṇāḥ*) including Vasus. Rudras, Adityās, two Āśvinis, Viśvedevas, Maruts and Sādhyas.

This is a definite cosmological scheme which repeats itself from one Manvantara period to another through succeeding durations of time. Each Manu is associated with 10 sons who represent the ten constituents of Virāj or the female principle of Manu. The Saptarshis are typical of the seven Prāṇic powers (सप्तगिरसः, सप्त विप्राः, RV.) which are the first to be created :

मन्वन्तरेषु सर्वेषु सप्त सप्त महर्षयः ।

कृत्वा धर्मव्यवस्थानं प्रयान्ति परमं पदम् । (M. 9. 30-31).

Amongst the Manus of the future are mentioned Sāvarni, Rauchya, Bhautya, Merusāvarni, Rīta, Rīta-dhāma and Viśvasena (अनागतारचैते मनवः).

The time duration of each Manu is called Manavantara which lasts for 71 Chaturyugī periods making a total of 994 Yugas, that is a thousand divine years minus 6. The account of the Manus and their reigning period is a topic which is treated at length or touched briefly in the various Purāṇas.

STORY OF PRĪTHU— Chapter 10 relates the story of Prithu who is said to have been the son of Vena and himself the first promulgator of laws and civilised institutions by which the whole human society was organised and the earth as mother began to sustain men with food and other needs.

In the dynasty of Svāyambhuva Manu was born a Prajāpati named Aṅga. His son was Vena who was the embodiment of *Adharma* and oppressed the people. The Ṛishis and Brāhmaṇas wanted to correct him, but Vena continued with his evil ways. From him were born the Mlechchha people who also were transgressors of *Dharma*. In order to counteract this a new Prajāpati was created by the Ṛishis whose name was Prithu. He was appointed as ruler and he reestablished the reign of law. This process is described as milking of the earth in the form of a cow. The cow gives milk when there is an expert milker (*Dogdhā*), and when there is a calf (*Vatsa*) who suckles her milk. This imagery is extended in different ways invoking new symbols. The earliest elaboration of this beautiful conception is found in the Atharva-Veda. In mantra 20. 140. 5 Vainya Prithu is said to have worshiped the Aśvins in his sacrificial chambers (पृथो यद्वां वैन्यः सादनेष्वेवेदतो अश्विना चेतयेथाम्, AV. 20. 140. 5).

MILKING OF VIRĀJ— But the real story of the milking of the mother cow Virāj is found in Atharva Veda Book VIII, Sūkta X, eulogising the Virāj, i.e. the Universal Nature or Infinity conceived of as the wish-fulfilling Kāma-Dhenu. It is a long Hymn of 66 mantras. Virāj is the same as *Vaiśva-devī*, the cow in whose body all the divine powers abide; Grishṭī the newly calved whose milk is still fresh (गृष्टिर्वशं पीयुषं प्रथमं दुहाना, AV. 8. 9. 24); also called Kevalī, the same as *Avyakta Prakṛiti* of later literature, that is who exists in the cosmos, but still is beyond it (केवलान्द्राय दुदुहे, AV. 8. 9. 24). She is said to have been the same

as Aditi and with her four teats nourished the Ṛishis, Devas, Asuras and men (अथातपंचतुरश्वतुर्धा देवान्मनुष्यां असुरानुत् ऋषीन्, AV. 8, 9, 24). This fourfold scheme conforms to the description of Virāj in several Purāṇas: she has four udders for streams of milks by which she supports four kinds of creatures:—

1. Ṛishis who are sustained by the principle of *Vashatkāra* or *Vāk*.
2. Pitṛis sustained by *Svadhākāra*, the principle of *Svadhā* or material creation, by the seed of the two parents.
3. Devas by the principle of *Svāhā* or offering of oblations in the Yajñas.
4. Men who are sustained by the principle of *Hantakāra* or physical body.

Clarifying these symbols we might say that the four udders of mother nature typify the principles of Mind, Life and Matter, the first one belonging to the Ṛishis, the second to the Devas and the third to the Pitṛis. All these three exist severally under these three categories, but collectively they become manifest as *Hantakāra*, literally that which becomes a *Saṅghāta* or combined together collectively in the human body where *Manas*, *Prāṇa*, and *Vāk* are integrated into a single system.

This basic idea of the milk of the mother cow flowing in fourfold streams has been elaborated through a different imagery also which is found in the Virāj Sūkta referred to above (AV. 8. 10.). As Griffith has observed Virāj is mentioned in R̥gveda X. 90. 5, where it is said to be born from Purusha, the primeval male from whom the Virāj or female Prakṛiti as the universe was evolved. Virāj is clearly Prakṛiti, also sometimes identified with Vāk and conceived of as the Universal Cow. In Atharvaveda 11. 4. 12, Virāj is identified with *Prāṇa* or Vital Spirit प्राणो विराज्, AV. 11. 4. 12.).

The Atharva-veda mentions that all these worlds existed in the beginning as Virāj. She has become all this. All the sacrificial fires like *Gārhapatya*, *Āhavanīya* and *Dakṣhiṇāgni* are from that source. She has become the two powerful political institu-



Milking of the Earth by King Prithu
[पृथु द्वारा पृथिवी दोहन]

tions, named *Sabhā* and *Samiti* and their deliberations (*Āmantrana*). Indra is said to be the dear calf of this cow where Indra is the principle of Mind or consciousness or *Prāṇa*. It is said that the cow divided herself into four and she sustained the Gods, the Asuras, the *Pitṛis* and men, each one of them having a different calf. Her four teats are here compared to *Rathantara* and *Bṛihat*, *Yajñāyajñīyī* and *Vāmadeva*, chants of the *Sāmaveda*. She is worshipped by the Asuras as *Māyā*.

When this universal Cow came to men in her evolution they addressed her as *Irāvati*, the Giver of Sap. Earth was then made her milking-pail; the calf was Manu Vaivasvata; *Prithi* Vainya was her milker; he milked forth husbandry and grain for sowing:—

तस्या मनुर्वैवस्वतो वत्स आसीत्पृथिवी पात्रम् तां पृथी वैव्योऽघोक्तां कृषिं च सस्यं
चाघोक् (AV. 8.10.24),

Men depend for life on corn and tillage. He who knows this becomes the supporter and successful in the culture of his corn-land,

When she as *Vāk* came to the *Saptarshis*, they addressed her as *Brahmapatī*. King Soma was her calf and the meters were the milk-pail and *Bṛhaspati*, son of *Āṅgiras*, was her milker; from her udders were milked *Brahma* and *Tapas*, Knowledge and Fervour.

When she came to the gods they called her *Ūrjā*, vigour or energy. Indra became the calf, God *Savitā* the milker and *Chamasa* the milk-pail and *Ūrj* became the milk.

Similarly the Great Universal Mother was milked by the *Itarajanas* or *Yakshas* whose lord was *Kubera Viśravaṇa*, and by the *Sarpas* whose king was *Dhṛitarāshṭra Airāvata*. These were gods in popular folk cult, three of whom were included amongst the traditional *Chātū-Māhārājika* Gods.

VIRĀJ IN THE PURĀṆAS— This ancient Vedic conception of the milking of the *Virāj* cow is transformed by the *Purāṇa* writers into a new imagery. For example, it is said that when *Prithu*

milked the earth as the first king, Svāyambhuva Manu became the calf and food was the milk by which all creatures live, Then the Ṛishis milked her with Soma as the calf (M.10.16). Bṛihaspati was the milker, Veda was the milk-pail and *Tapas* was the milk (M. 10. 17).

The Devas milked the earth with Mitra as milker, Indra as calf and *Ūrj* (power, *balam*) as milk.

For the Piṭris, Death was the milker, Yama the calf, and *Svadhā* the milk.

For the Nāgas their king Dhṛitarāshṭra became the milker, Takshaka the calf, poison the milk.

For the Asuras Māyā became the milk-pail, Virochana, son of Prahlāda, the calf and Dvimūrdha, the two-headed one the milker. For the Yakshas Vaiśravaṇa Kubera became the calf and *Āma-pātra* the milk-pail and concealment (*Antardhāna*) became the milk. The idea is that the Yakshas represent the principle of non-substantiality, a mere appearance as *nāma-rūpa* which vanish as if nothing existed (ते हैते नामरूपे महतो अम्बे महतो यक्षे, ŚB. 11.3.2.5). This is the nature of the unbaked milk-pail which may be compared to the perishable body. Similarly the Gandharvas milked her with *Chaitraratha* as calf and obtained the *Gandha* that is in the lotus and other flowers as the milk.

The Purāṇa writer next introduces a historical motif in the form of Vararuchi as the milker and Nāṭya-Veda as the milk in which he was proficient (दोग्धा वररुचिर्नाम नाट्य-वेदस्य पारगः M. 10. 25). Indeed there is no end to the elaboration of the above motif, and in fact each new discoverer of a science, art or field of knowledge is truly a milker or himself the calf for whom the milk of wisdom or life streams forth from the teats of the Universal Mother or Infinite Nature, as the author of the Purāṇa rightly says 'एवमन्यैश्च वसुधा तदा दुग्धा यथेप्सितम्' M. 10. 28. Thus all people became contented and happy by acting according to the ordinances laid down by Prithu for milking the earth. ('नित्यं प्रमुदिता लोकाः' M. 10. 30).

STATE OF NATURE— The author of the Purāṇa goes a step further and conceives of the reign of Prithu as the state of nature in which all were happy and free from sorrow and wants. It was a blissful age in which there was plenty on all sides and all people by nature were good (धर्मैकवासना लोकाः, M. 10. 33). There are several statements to show this idyllic condition, e. g. the people did not use arms ('न चायुधधरा नराः'); the different settlements or habitations as *Pura*, *Grāma* and *Durga* were not evolved, but all were living under the open sky and in a true state of nature ('न पुरग्रामदुर्गाणि, M. 10.32). Thirdly the science of economics with all its implications of possession, ownership and values had no concern for the people living in this state in primeval ages ('नार्थशास्त्रस्य चादरः' M. 10.33).

This idea of the reign of Prithu being the idyllic beginning of society is elaborated in several other Purāṇas, where it is said that in the reign of Prithu there was complete happiness and freedom and food was abundant, the bee-hives dripping streams of honey at all places ('पुटके पुटके मधु).

POLITICAL THEORY ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF KINGSHIP— From the point of view of the development of human society the description of the first king Prithu and the new ordinances he prescribed for the people to settle down on land and to make the soil their mother is an original idea promulgated in Indian politics about three thousand years ago in the Vedas and repeated and amplified in the Purāṇas. This seems to be somewhat a modern idea corresponding to the theory of the state of the nature advocated by Rousseau in the 18th century when he utilised it for fighting the divine right of kings and pleading the cause of sovereignty of the people. In India also we find two views, namely one of the nature of man being essentially good, but this did not continue for long and because of sinful tendencies men became evil, intent on swallowing one another like fish in water which theory was known as *Mātsya-Nyāya*, mentioned in the *Arthashastra* of Kauṭilya as the reason for the origin of kingship. There also the word '*Virāj*' is used, that is a state

of kinglessness in which people lived at one time but they became fed with it and decided to choose some one as their king. In some versions Prithu is referred to as *Ādirāja*, the first king chosen by the people,

There is also an inner meaning of this Vedic motif in which Prithu represents the principle of Mind, *Manas* which is the most expansive of the faculties with which man is endowed (प्रयत्नात्पृथुः). Mind creates all forms, institutions and objects with which man has surrounded himself at many levels and in many fields. This is virtually the milking of mother earth as one wishes it (*Yathēpsitam*). [See also, Huntington, 'The Legend of Prithu' *Purāṇa*, II. 188-210].

The version of Prithu's story in the Matsya is short and seems to be a recast of the original version in the Atharva. But the other Purāṇas give a florid description in which several new elements appear. For example, the Padma Purāṇa, Bhūmi Khaṇḍa, Chs. 28-29, gives an ornate account of the story, and making Vena as the type of all evil and oppression carries it further under the name of Vena-charita at much greater length in ten chapters (Chs. 30-39). So far as Prithu is concerned his status as a *Rājā* is put into much greater relief. Here several new motifs are introduced which imply an evolution by political jurists of the theory of king's oath at the time of coronation and his consequent obligation to implement the laws and be faithful to his people. It is clearly stated that the Rishis threatened Vena by saying that he had failed to observe truly the oath which he had taken at the time of coronation :—

कुरु धर्मं महाराज सत्यं पुण्यं समाचर ।

राजाहं पालयिष्यामि इति ते समयः कृतः ॥ (Padma 2.28.35)

The word '*Samaya*' is significant and refers to the oath (*Sapatha*) at the time of Mahābhisheka according to which each crowned head was anointed to rulership. It is the oath given in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa as part of the Aindra-Mahābhisheka :—

Before mounting the throne the king solemnly declares : 'From the night when I was born up to the night when I may die, whatever good deeds I may have done, all that merit I may lose if I act against your wishes.' This solemn oath was considered to be an effective "restraint" on the activities of the king. He was bound by the oath to his people, to mother earth, to the Rāshṭra, to his ministers, and to the laws of the country (*Dharma* and *Satya*). Vena became untrue to the oath and was forcefully removed from the throne (बलाद् गृह्य ततो रुपा, Padma, 2.28.40).

RĀJĀ— A corollary of so stern an agreement on the part of the king was his fidelity to the people, as expressed etymologically by the word '*Rājā*' itself. This appears to be a conception of Gupta polity as Kālidāsa has put it: 'He was called *Rājā* because he propitiated his people (*Rājā prakriti-rañjanāt*, Raghu. 4.10; *Rājā prājā-reñjana-labddha-varṇah*, Raghu. 6.21). This etymology is repeated in several other Purāṇas :

प्रजानां रज्जनाच्चैव राजानस्त्वभवन्मृपाः (Vāyu 57.58)

पित्रा परं जितास्तस्य प्रजास्तेनानुरजिताः ।

ततो राजेति नामास्य ह्यनुरागादजायत ।

(Brahmāṇḍa, Pūrva bhāga, Anuṣaṅga pāda 2, Chapter 36.155-156.

पृथुं वैभ्यं प्रजा दृष्ट्वा रक्ताः स्मेति यदब्रुवन् ।

ततो राजेति नामास्य ह्यनुरागादजायत ॥

(Śāntiparva 29.131.)

What the king in his life-time actually did for the good of his people was not an idle talk but a serious topic for the court bards to put into verse and recite in the royal assemblies; for this the institution of Sūtas, Māgadhas, Vandins and Chāraṇas came into existence (Padma, 2.28.88).

What were the virtues of character and features of good government according to which a king was to regulate himself is also enumerated, namely that the king possessed *Satya*, *Jñāna*, *Buddhi*, *Vikrama*, *Punya*, *Tyāga*, *Dharma*, bravery (*Sadāśūra*), treasure, wealth (*Dhāṇyavān*, *Dhanavān*), sweet speech, intelligence (*Prajña*), love of Vedas and Vedāṅgas (*Veda-*

Vedāṅga-pāraṅgaḥ), support and protection of his subjects (*Dhātā-bhoktā prajānām*) and a victorious leader in battle (*Vijayī samarāṅgaṇe*). The Sūta and Māgadha were appointed by the Rishis in their own tradition and right, unthwarted by the king and their *stotras* or king's eulogy was to contain a correct estimate of the king's achievements in the above fields—

ऋषिभिस्तु तौ नियुक्तौ कुर्वणौ सुतमागधौ ।

गुणाश्चैव भविष्ये च स्तोत्रं तस्य महात्मनः ॥ (Padma 2.28.85).

The idyllic conditions in the reign of Prithu are also put into more ornate language, e. g. the earth produced corn without sowing (*Akṛishṭa-pachyā prithivī*); the clouds gave rain as wished (*Parjanyaḥ kāma-varshī*); the trees gave abundance of fruits (*sarva kāma-phulāḥ vrikshāḥ*), and all people became happy and devoted to their duties (सर्वे सुखेन जीवन्ति लोका धर्मपरायणाः) so that the land became free from famine, disease and untimely death.

SŪRYA VAMŚA— Chapters 11 and 12 give an account of the kings of Solar dynasty (सूर्यवंशानुकीर्तन). The contents may be divided into three portions:—

1. The story of Sūrya, , his wives and family (M.11. 1. 39)
2. The story of Ilā (इल), eldest son of Vaivasvata Manu and of his change to female sex as Ilā (इला) who became the mother of Budha (M. 11. 40—12. 18).
3. Genealogy of Ikshvāku (M. 12. 19—57).

1. STORY OF SŪRYA AND SARANYŪ— The Rishis had asked about Sūrya-Vamśa, and as a prelude to it Sūta first related the personal story of Sūrya himself. This is based on references in the R̥gveda :—

त्वष्टा दुहित्रे वहतुं कृणोतीतितीदं विश्वं भुवनं समेति ।

यमस्य माता पयुंक्षमाना महो जाया विवस्वतो ननाश ॥

उपाग्रहन्नमृतां मर्त्येभ्यः कृत्वी सवर्णमिददुर्विवस्वते ।

उताश्विनावभरद्यत्तदासीदजहादु द्वा मिथुना सरण्युः ॥

(RV. X. 17. 1-2)

Tvashtā prepares the Bridal of his daughter : all the world hears the tiding and assembles. But Yama's mother, Spouse of great Vivasvān, vanished as she was carried to her dwelling.

From mortal men, they hid the immortal lady, made one like her and gave her to Vivasvān. Saranyū brought to him the Aśvin brothers, and then deserted both twinned pairs of children (Yama and Yamī & Aśvins) (RV. X. 17. 1-2, Griffith).

This was the germ of the legend with cosmogonical implications. Tvashtā is the creator of forms (त्वष्टा रूपाणि पिशतु), He has a daughter named Saranyū typifying the principle of Movement. She is the same as *Saṁjñā* (Consciousness) in the Purāṇas. She is given away in marriage to Vivasvān who is Sūrya, the principle of universal consciousness and movement. Saranyū gave birth to Yama and Yamī. She could not stand the heat of her husband and departed from him leaving in her place her shadow or a female similar to herself whose name was Savarṇā, same as Chhāyā in the Purāṇas. Savarṇā became a mare and Sūrya went after her in the shape of a horse. The two mated and gave birth to the two Aśvins.

Yāska comments on the above two stanzas of R̥gveda and calls it *Itihāsa* (Nirukta 12. 10, तत्रेतिहासमाचक्षते). Certainly no historical event is implied here, but it is a kind of legendary history of the same pattern as the many legends of Indra and Vṛitra about which the Śatapatha has stated that they have no basis in historical fact, but that they were intended to explain cosmogonical truths (ŚB. 11. 1. 6. 10). In fact the R̥gveda itself lends support to this view by stating that the account of Indra's battles is an illusion, since he has no foe today nor found one before (RV. X.54.2, मायेत्सा ते यानि युद्धान्याहुर्नाद्य शत्रुं न नु पुरा विविस्ते ।)

Śaunaka gives in brief the above story in the Bṛihad-Devatā (6. 162-7. 7).

HORSE AND MARE IN GREEK MYTHOLOGY— It should be noted that the legend of Horse and Mare was of great

antiquity and had once an international distribution amongst the ancient Greeks also. Poseidon was the divine Horse, the wild galloping stallion named 'Hippios, which meant 'Horsey-one'. He fell in love with the goddess of the Earth, but she in her fear changed herself into a mare, thinking to escape. But the god turned himself into a stallion, pursued and won her. In another version the goddess is Demeter who changes herself into a mare and was pursued by Poseidon in the guise of a horse. Of their union two children were born: a girl goddess Persephone and a divine horse, Arion. "In ancient Indian mythology," as Sir James Frazer has pointed out, "the goddess Saranyū turned herself into a mare; Vivasvān turned himself into a horse, follows her, and embraces her, and she gives birth to the two Aśvins, who correspond somewhat to Castor and Pollux ... the Indian and Greek myths are identified, the Hindus and Greeks having inherited the myth from their common Aryan fore-fathers." (J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, IV, p. 1921; cited by Charles Seltman in 'Twelve Olympians', pp. 145-146).

MEANING OF SAMJÑĀ AND CHHĀYĀ— It was the Vedic doctrine of Light and Shade (*Ātapa* and *Chhāyā*, Kath. 3.5.1). which is put into this story. Light corresponds to the immortal creation of Purusha and shadow to the mortal creation of Prakṛiti. Sūrya is the symbol of both immortality and death; that which is beyond or on the other side of Sūrya is *Amṛita*, and that which is on this side is *Mṛityu* (तत्त्वैकचार्वीचीनमादित्यात्सर्वं तन्मृत्युनाप्तम्, अथ य एनमत ऊर्ध्वं चिनुते स पुनर्मृत्युमपजयति, ŚB. 10. 5. 1. 4). Saranyū and Chhāyā both are wives of Sūrya, the former is Immortality or Light and the latter is Death or Shadow or Darkness. That which is Light is also called *Samjñā*, namely Consciousness (= *Chetanā*) and that which is *Savarnā* or *Chhāyā* is Matter. Sūrya is conceived of as the Great Horse (Aśva) of the cosmic Aśvamedha sacrifice by which the whole world is being created as the process of his own dismemberment. He is called *Aśva* because of the principle of movement or dynamic motion that is first-released by Sūrya in the cosmic Yajña. In fact Sūrya is the highest exemplar of *Gati* or movement and there is no more perfect

movement than that released by the solar rays in the form of the smaller and bigger units of time. Sūrya therefore is called *Aśva* from the root अश 'to go', the same semantic etymology as is the basis of the word '*Aśva*' or Horse.

ETYMOLOGY OF AŚVATTHA— Once Sūrya was conceived of as *Aśva*, the imagery of the Cosmic Tree as *Aśvattha* and of its dynamic energy as *Aśvā*, Mare, was easy. The cosmos is called *Aśvattha* because a horse is at its centre; or because it stands like a horse on three legs and is free on the fourth; or because it itself depends on the power or movement of the archetypal Horse that is Sūrya. Thus the conception of Sūrya and Sūryā or *Aśva* and *Aśvā* as the parents of Yama and Yamī on the one hand and of the twin Aśvins on the other is consistent to Vedic thought. Yama also is Sūrya, the regulating principle, and Yamī his sister is the female power that is in the Sun. The two Aśvins also represent the principles of Prāṇa and Apāna or two-fold energy as it is becoming manifest on the plane of Matter in the conscious world.

STORY OF ILA—A small inset is the story of Ila, the eldest of the ten sons of Vaivasvata Manu, who was given the throne by his father. One day while out hunting, he entered the hermitage of Śiva, named Śravaṇa where Pārvatī had forbidden the entry of any male person, and ordained that any one who contravened it would be turned into a woman. So Ila immediately changed his sex, and became Ilā. In that condition Budha approached her with an offer of love, and from their union was born a son named Purūravas, who became the progenitor of the lunar dynasty with his capital at Pratishthāna (Mod. Jhusi, opposite Allāhabad).

SOLAR DYNASTY— Of the other nine sons of Manu, the eldest was Ikshvāku whose brothers were Nābhāga (= Kuśa-nābha), Arishta (= Prāṁśu), Dhṛishta (= Dhrishṇa), Śaryāti, Narishyanta, Nābhānedishta, Karūsha and Prishadhra. Śucha was the son of Narishyanta, Ambarīsha of Nābhāga, and Dhṛishta had three sons, viz., Dhṛitaketu, Chitrānātha and Raṇadhṛishta. Śaryāti had a son named Ānarta and a daughter named Sukanyā. The country called Ānarta was named after

him with capital at Kuśasthalī. The son of Rochamāna was Raivata also called Kakudmin, the eldest of his hundred brothers. His daughter Revatī was married to Balarāma. The descendants of Karūsha became known as Kārūshas (mod. Baghalekhand), Prishadhra was cursed by his teacher and degraded as Śūdra.

DYNASTY OF IKSHVĀKU— Having thus disposed of the other sons, the Purāṇa takes up the genealogy of Sūrya-Vamśa proper as it started from Ikshvāku through ninety-nine generations upto Śrutāyu who fell in the Bhārata-wār.

The dynastic list of the solar kings was first scrutinised by Pargiter, and then by several other scholars. The list given in the Matsya is not alone, but is found in fourteen other Purāṇas which may be divided into four groups as follows:—(i) Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Devī-Bhāgavata and Viṣṇudharmottara, (ii) Brahma, Harivamśa and Śiva, (iii) Kūrma and Liṅga, (iv) Matsya, Padma and Agni.

* The Mahābhārata also gives a list from the beginning up to Dhundhumāra (= Kuvalāśva) only, namely a small sector of only twelve generations. Amongst these the list of the Vāyu is the oldest; the Brahmāṇḍa has taken it *verbatim* and it calls itself *Vāyu-prokta*, i. e. a version of Vāyu. The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata also belong to this group but having only a superficial interest in the historical character of the genealogy. Viṣṇu gives the list in prose and the Bhāgavata in verse, but of its own composition. So also Garuḍa has its own verses, although of the same group. The lists in the Viṣṇu-dharma and the Devī-Bhāgavata are incomplete, and although following the Vāyu, they have their own verses. The Mahābhārata list upto Dhundhumāra is the same as in Vāyu, and the ślokas in the two also resemble. Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Viṣṇu-dharmottara and the Devī-Bhāgavata belong to a later stratum of literary composition, but are helpful for furnishing useful details. This version may for the sake of convenience be designated as the Vāyu-version. Its good point is that it includes the names of all the Ikshvāku rulers and also contains historical comments in proper places.

BRAHMA RECENSION— The second recension of the Ikshvāku list is found in Brahma, Harivaṁśa and Śiva Purāṇa which we may name as the Brahma-recension. Brahma and Harivaṁśa are almost the same, and Śiva also follows them closely. In this version the strip of names between Kalmāśa-pāda and Dilīpa differs by six or seven kings, which, as will be shown later, is significant. Probably this portion of the genealogy was based on a different text of the Sūryavaṁśa.

KŪRMA-RECENSION— The third recension is based on the Kūrma and the Liṅga-Purāṇa, and may be named as the Kūrma version. In this list, kings from Manu to Ahīnagu (No. 75) are the same as in Vāyu, but after that the list up to the end of Dvāpara is quite different.

MATSYA-RECENSION— The fourth recension is that of the Matsya which is a Purāṇa of almost the same antiquity as Vāyu. This includes the Padma and Agni also. Matsya and Padma are literally the same. Agni gives the names of the kings in its own verses, but based upon a Vaṁśa-list in which the names of unimportant kings were left out. Moreover, from Manu to Ahīnagu, Agni follows the Brahma-recension and thereafter upto Dvāpara the Kūrma list.

The above four recensions of the Ikshvāku genealogy seem to be divided into two groups—firstly, Vāyu and Brahma, which are similar, and secondly, Kūrma and Matsya which also resemble closely.

It may also be mentioned that the word *Vaṁśa* is to be taken as not recording the line from father to son, but giving the names of rulers as they came one after another irrespective of family succession. For example, Hariśchandra (No. 34) is called a Vaidhasa in the Śatapatha, although the name of Vedhas does not occur in any Ikshvāku list. Similarly Rītuparṇa is said to be the son of Bhṛiṅgāśva in the Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa and the Mahābhārata, but the name of Bhṛiṅgāśva is not included in the Ikshvāku list. Hence Rītuparṇa seems to have been born in some different branch of the Ikshvāku

family, but his name occurs in the royal dynastic list. After Kalmāshapāda and before Dilīpa II, the Vāyu and Kūrma give seven names, but Matsya and Brahma give only five or six, and both of them are entirely different, so that their identity seems to be impossible, nor is it possible to accept the one and reject the other, because before and after this limited sector, the names are generally the same in the two recensions. It may be that for some generations two simultaneous branches were ruling and were accepted by the people. The facts seem to have been that Kalmāshapāda lost his throne because of a religious feud in which Vaśishṭha opposed and Viśvāmitra supported him.

It may also be noted that the names from Dilīpa II (No. 62) to Ahīnagu as found in Matsya-Kūrma version agree with those in the Vāyu-Brahma version. After that Vāyu and Brahma give thirty-one names as against the Matsya and Kūrma which give only six names and they two are entirely different. We know that Rāmachandra had divided his big empire amongst his sons and nephews, thus creating several smaller Ikshvāku kingdoms. It seems that for the post-Ahīnagu period the smaller list of Matsya and Kūrma was taken from one of these provincial branches,

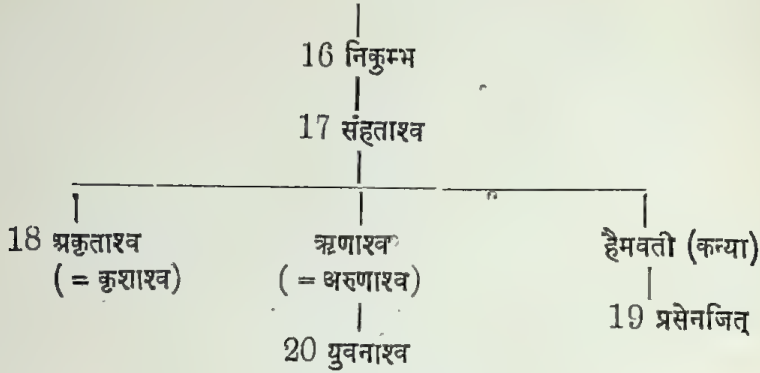
For the sake of facility it seems advisable to divide the Ikshvāku list into three portions :—

- (i) From Manu to Ahīnagu
- (ii) From the successor of Ahīnagu to the end of Dvāpara or the Bhārata-War in which the last descendant Brihadbala was killed.
- (iii) The Ikshvāku kings of the Kali-age who ruled in the post-Mahābhārata period. The kings of this third sector were known as the future Ikshvākus (*Bhavishya-Ikshvāku-Vaṁśāvali*) which we may omit in the present context as the Matsya gives it in Ch. 271. 4-17.

We may now take up the dynastic list :—

- मनु वैवस्वतः
1. इक्ष्वाकु
 2. विकुक्षि (= देवराज, शशाद) and 99 other sons
 3. ककुत्स्थ (= पुरंजय = इन्द्रवाह) and 14 other sons
 4. भुयोधन (= अनेता, अयोधन)
 5. पृथु
 6. विश्वगन्ध (दृषदन्ध = विष्टराध)
 7. इन्दु (= आर्द्र, चान्द्र, आर्द्र)
 8. युवनाश्व
 9. श्रावस्त (founder of श्रावस्ती)
 10. वत्सक (= वंशक)
 11. बृहदन्ध
 12. कुवलाश्व (also called धुन्धुमार, for his having killed the Asura Dhundhu)
 13. हृदाश्व दण्डाश्व कपिलाश्व (= भद्राश्व, चन्द्राश्व)
 14. प्रमोद 15. हयंश्व

[In the Matsya and Kūrma versions the son of हृदाश्व was प्रमोद, and of प्रमोद was हयंश्व who ruled one after another. But according to the Agni Purāṇa हयंश्व and प्रमोद were real brothers of whom प्रमोद was younger.]

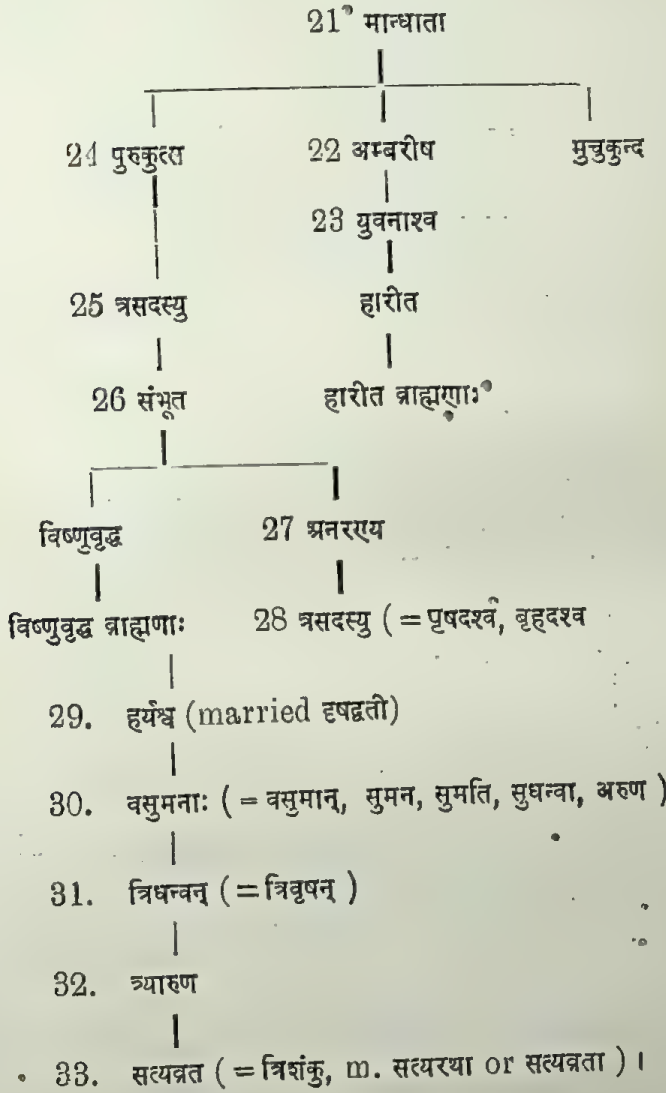


[The Vāyu and Brahma give the name of प्रसेनजित् after कुशाश्व. The Matsya has omitted the name of प्रसेनजित् as an unimportant king. Matsya and Karma mention युवनाश्व after कुशाश्व, and the former is called the son of ऋणाश्व. The Harivarṇśa (a part of the Brahma group, goes into details stating that संहताश्व, besides having two sons कुशाश्व and ऋणाश्व had also a daughter named हैमवती, whose son प्रसेनजित् sat on the throne after कुशाश्व. The son of युवनाश्व was मान्धाता.]

21 मान्धाता (married चैत्ररथी)

[The names after मान्धाता are a bit confusing. It is said in the Matsya that मान्धाता's sons were पुरुकुत्स, मुचुकुन्द and शत्रुजित्. The son of पुरुकुत्स was वसूद, his son संभूति and his son त्रिधन्वा. It appears that according to other versions मान्धाता had three sons, पुरुकुत्स, अम्बरीष and मुचुकुन्द. After these three names the Purāṇas first mention the generation after अम्बरीष whose name is missing in the Matsya list. The heir of अम्बरीष was युवनाश्व, his successor was हरित, whose descendants became the हारीत-क्षत्र Brāhmaṇas. Thereafter the Purāṇas mention पुरुकुत्स, his son was वसदस्यु (probably the same as वसूद of Matsya); from his queen नमंदा was born संभूत. He had two sons, विष्णुवृद्ध and अनरण्य. विष्णुवृद्ध also became a *Kshatra-Brāhmaṇa* from whom were descended the *Kshatra-ṛiddha-Brāhmaṇas*. अनरण्य became a king. His son was वसदस्यु. The purport of this is that after मान्धाता, अम्बरीष became king and his successor was युवनाश्व, but his son turned

a Brāhmaṇa and therefore the royal power reverted to his uncle पुरुकुत्स (brother of अम्बरीष). The line of kings after मान्धाता may therefore be fixed as follows.]—



[The Matsya gives after सत्यव्रत the name of king सत्यरथ, but that seems to be a misreading of सत्यरथा, who was his queen from the Kekaya country. The Brahma-group clarifies this position.]

- |
34. हरिश्चन्द्र (*m.* शैव्या)
- |
35. रोहित (= रोहिताश्व)
- |
36. हरित
- |
37. चञ्चु
- |
38. विजय
- |
39. रुक्क (= भिरुक, कारक, अलक)
- |
40. वृक

[In the Matsya group after रोहित comes at once the name of वृक, perhaps for the reason that the intervening kings from 36 to 39 were short-lived and weak.]

- |
41. बाहुक (= असित, *m.* कालिन्दी यादवी)
- |
42. हैहय
43. सगर (*m.* केशिनी वैदर्भी and सुमति शैव्या)

[The Matsya gives the names of two queens of सगर as प्रभा यादवी and भानुमती. प्रभा became the mother of 60,000 sons and भानुमती of असमञ्जस who became the *Vanśa-Kartā*.]

- |
- 43 A. असमञ्जस

[असमञ्जस proved a tyrant even while a prince, and therefore he was dispossessed, but the name still survived in the list.]

- |
44. अंशुमान्
- |
45. दिलीप I

[The Brahma group calls दिलीप as खट्वाङ्ग which cannot be accepted because other Purāṇas give the title खट्वाङ्ग to दिलीप II in order to distinguish him from दिलीप I. Moreover, in the Mahābhārata *Shoḍaśa-rājika* list, the patronymic of दिलीप खट्वाङ्ग is ऐडविडि. This can be true of दिलीप II only since इडविड was three generations anterior to दिलीप.]

- |
46. भगीरथ
|
47. श्रुत (= विश्रुत, श्रुतवान्)

[This name does not occur in the Matsya-group].

- |
48. नाभाग
|
49. अम्बरीष II
|
50. सिन्धुद्वीप
|
51. अयुतायु (= अयुताजित)
|
52. ऋतुपर्ण
|
53. सर्वकाम (= सर्वकर्मा in Matsya)
|
54. सुदास
|
55. मित्ररुह (= कल्माषपाद, m. मदयन्ती)

[After कल्माषपाद in the case of six or seven kings, the list of Vāyu-Kūrma group is totally different from the Brahma-Matsya group.]

Brahma-Matsya versions

- |
56. सर्वकर्मा
|
57. अनरण्य
|
58. निघ्न

Vāyu-Kūrma versions

- |
- अश्मक
|
- मूलक
|
- शतरथ (= दशरथ)

59.	 अनमित्र	 इडविड
60.	 रघु I	 वृद्धशर्मा
		 विश्वसह(=विश्वमहत्)

[According to both the Brahma and Matsya groups अनमित्र and रघु I were the sons of निम्न who became kings one after another.]

61. दुलिदुह

[The Matsya does not give this name, and after रघु the list is confused, but according to the Brahma group रघु was followed by दुलिदुह.]

62. द्वितीय खट्वाङ्ग (m. सुदक्षिणा मागधी)

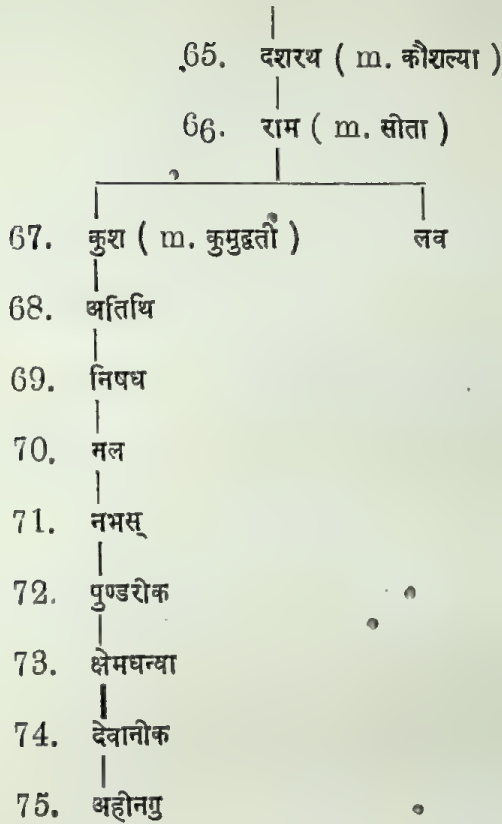
[Of these two branches the principal was that of सर्वकर्मा who was the eldest son of कल्माषपाद, whereas अश्मक was his youngest and Kshetrāja son. After दुलिदुह the main branch probably descended from अश्मक because in the Mahābhārata दिलीप खट्वाङ्ग, who was the successor of दुलिदुह is called a descendant of इडविड who belonged to the अश्मक branch.]

63. रघु (= दीर्घबाहु, so called in order to distinguish him from रघु I

[The Vāyu and Kūrma groups give the name of दीर्घबाहु between दिलीप खट्वाङ्ग and रघु, but in the Brahma-version दीर्घबाहु is clearly an epithet of रघु. Kālidāsa also mentions रघु as the son of दिलीप).

64. अज (m. इन्दुमती वैदर्भी)

[According to Matsya, the names from दिलीप are अजक, दीर्घबाहु, अजपाल ; but this is unsupported by any other version, and also by Raghuvamśa, and hence is unacceptable.



[From अहीनयु to the Bhārata-war we find two versions of the Ikshvāku list. Of these, the list of the Vāyu and Brahma versions was the original Kuśa-genealogy which is the same as in the Raghuvamśa. Hence only that is acceptable.]

In the Matsya on the other hand there are only half a dozen names, as अहीनयु, सहस्राश्व, चन्द्रावलोक, तारापीड, चन्द्रगिरि, भानुचन्द्र and श्रुतायु who was killed in the Bhārata War (M. 12.54, 55),

These names do not occur in any other list. The list of Vāyu and Brahma versions runs as follows :—

75. अहीनयु
- |
76. सुघन्वा (= रुह)
- |
77. पारिपात्र (= पारियात्र)
- |
78. शित (= शत, दल, देवल)

79. दल (= बल, बलस्थल, अनल) .
 80. उत्ताभ (औक, उलूक, उत्क, उक्थ)
 81. वज्रणाभ (व्रजनाभ)
 82. शङ्खन
 83. व्युषिताश्व (द्युषिताश्व, युषिताश्व)
 84. विश्वरुह (विधृति)
 85. हिरण्यनाभ (कौसल्य)
 86. परकौसल्य (हैरण्यनाभ कौसल्य)
 87. ब्रह्मनिष्ठ (वसिष्ठ, वरिष्ठ)
 88. पुष्य (पुष्प)
 89. ध्रुवसन्धि (अर्थसिद्धि)
 90. सुदर्शन
 91. अग्निवर्ण
 92. शीघ्र (शीघ्रग)
 93. मरु (मनु)
 94. प्रसुश्रुत
 95. सुसंधि
 96. अमर्षण (अमर्ष)

[This name occurs only in the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata]

97. सहस्वान् (महस्वान्)
 98. विश्रुतवान् (विश्वभव, विश्वसाह्व)

[The Bhāgavata gives here the names of प्रसेनजित् and तृतीयक, which being unsupported from other sources are left out]

99. बृहद्वल

[This बृहद्वल was killed in the Bhārata war. After him begins the third sector of the Ikshvāku genealogy known as the line of the Future Ikshvāku kings.]

PITRIS

ORIGIN OF PITRIS— Chapter 13 opens with a short prelude about the Pitris of whom seven classes are mentioned. Originally Prāṇa is undifferentiated and exists in its own centre as Svayambhū. But in the succeeding modalities the single original Prāṇa or life-principle becomes differentiated as male and female, father and mother. The first stage is called *Ṛishi-Prāṇa* and the second as *Pitri-Prāṇa*. The division of father and mother takes place in *Mahat*, *Virāj*, *Yoni*, *Prakṛiti* or in the ocean of *Rita* (माता पितरमृत आवभाज, RV. I. 164. 8), The mother becomes attached to the father by the power of her mind and intellect and thereby she becomes quick with the foetus (गर्भरसा निविद्धा, RV. I. 164. 8). The stage in which Purusha exists alone is that of *Ṛishis* and in which Purusha and Prakṛiti are both evolved is the stage of *Pitris*. Therefore it is said that the *Pitris* were born from the *Ṛishis* (ऋषिभ्यः पितरो जाताः, Manu 3. 201). From the union of the two parents *Vairāja Manu* is born who typifies the world of Gods in heaven and of men on earth (पितृभ्यो देवमानवाः, Manu 3.201.), where heaven means the immortal principle of Prāṇa and earth signifies the mortal principle of matter.

AGNI AND SOMA— The creation of Pitris is in accordance with the twofold principle of Agni and Soma. There are three Pitris belonging to the strain of Agni who are called *Amūrta* or formless, and four of Soma who are formed (*Mūrta*). Those who are formless are named *Soma-sad*, *Barhishad* and *Agni-shvāta*. Those who

* I am indebted for the above study of the सुयवंश genealogy to Rai Krishnadasa's paper 'Ikshvāku Genealogy in the Purāṇas' especially translated by me for the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin (Vol. II, pp. 128-150).

enter the formed manifestation are named as *Havirbhuk*, *Ājyapā*, *Somapā* and *Sukālin*. Of the latter category the *Somapā* or Soma-drinking Pitṛis belong to the Brāhmaṇas; the *Havirbhuk* to the Kshatriyas, the *Ājyapā* to the Vaiśyas and the *Sukālins* to the Śūdras (Manu 3. 197).

These Pitṛis represent the various temperaments and are associated with the Ṛishis of those types, e. g. the *Barhishad* Pitṛis are associated with Atri and are typical of Asura, Yakṣha, Gandharva, Suparṇas etc. (Manu 3. 196). The *Agnishvāta* Pitṛis belong to the Devas and are associated with Marīchi (Manu. 3. 195). They are mental traits of a higher order which do not enter into physical enjoyment of pleasures but only have a Prāṇic satisfaction through the power of Agni who is said to be the tongue of the Devas and hence their name *Agnishvāta*. The *Havirbhuj* Pitṛis belong to Ṛishi Aṅgiras, the *Somapā* Pitṛis to Bhṛigu, the *Ājyapā* Pitṛis to Pulastya and the *Sukālins* to Vasishṭha who are typical of hard sustained labour. The seven Pitṛis are said to be the sons of Vairāja Prajāpati, that is Vairāja Manu, who represents the manifestation of the formless Prāṇa or invisible universal parents incarnating in material manifestation or the corporeal modality of Matter.

DAKSHINĀ DIK OF THE PITṚIS— In Vedic cosmology the word Egg is conceived of into two Halves named as the upper and the lower, i. e. the north and the south, the former being the region of Purusha or Devas and the latter of Prakṛiti or the Pitṛis. Therefore the Pitṛis are always associated with the south (*Dakṣiṇā Dik*) in contradistinction to the north (*Udīchī Dik*) of the Devas. The conception of north and south is relative because Prāṇic Purusha must descend from the upper Half to the lower Half region of Prakṛiti, and then only Life-principle becomes manifest as the two parents.

If we look to the names of the Pitṛis, their secret becomes clear. After all, these are different forms of Prāṇas, the first three belonging to the unmanifested plane of Purusha and the second four to the manifested plane of Prakṛiti or Matter.

The first three do not enjoy or eat but only exist as spectators. One of them with Agni as its main impelling power is called *Agnishvāta*, and the other with Soma as *Somasad*. The intermediate one in whom both Agni and Soma combine is *Barhishad*, since *Barhiṣ* or *Kuśa* grass represents the mingling of the two principles of Soma and Agni.

Similarly amongst the four Pitṛis of manifest creation they partake in the pleasures of the senses and belong to the class of *Bhoktā Suparṇa*. They are called *Somapā* (Soma-drinkers), *Havirbhuk*, (eaters of *Havis* or offering) *Ājyapā* (drinkers of *Ājya* or *Ghṛita*), and *Sukālins* (the Three-Timers) in whom the former three characteristics are combined. The class of *Somapā* Pitṛis is strong in the principle of Mind or exists at the level of Mind; the *Havirbhuk* on the level of *Prāṇa*; and the *Ājyapā* on the level of the *Pañchaśhūtas*; but in the *Sukālin* class of Pitṛis all these three qualities of Mind, Life and Matter are balanced and co-exist without the one superseding the other.

ŚRĀDDHA— The Matsya only briefly touches the Pitṛi-vidyā saying that the human souls according to their actions are born as Pitṛis, and following the path of Yoga and Sāṅkhya, ascend to their former rank. To them *Śrāddha* should be offered. The principle of *Śrāddha* implies the propitiation of spirit or Agni through matter symbolised as *Anna*. The principle of *Śrat* is the same as *Satya*, *Śūrya*, *Indra* and *Buddhi* or *Manas*. Its counterpart is *Śraddhā*, also called *Kāmāyāni*. *Śrat* or *Prāṇa* cannot become manifest or real unless through *Anna* i.e. food or matter. Therefore it is inevitable to propitiate the principle of *Śrat* with *Anna*, and this forms the important ceremony of *Śrāddha*.

‘PĀRVATĪ— It is stated here that the mind-born daughter of the Pitṛis was married to Himālaya; she was Menā, who became the mother of Krauñcha and Maināka and also of three daughters, named Umā, Ekaparṇā and Aparṇā (M. 13.6.7.8). In this imagery Himālaya, the abode of snow, represents the higher principle of Mind, and Menā, the female power of the

Pitṛis, represents *Vāk*. *Manas* and *Vāk* are the two parents of the goddess named *Pārvatī*, 'Daughter of the Mountain'. She is the symbol of the highest female energy manifested on the plane of matter or in the body. We have explained that the spinal column (*Meru*) consists of 33 vertebrae, each of which is called a peak or *Parvā*, and the whole a mountain or *Parvata*. The mysterious power born from this mountain in the spinal column or the spinal canal is called *Pārvatī*. She is the goddess married to *Śiva* and both are combined in the half-male and half-female form of *Ardhanārīśvara*, who is the archetype of *Maithunī-sṛiṣṭi*, i. e. creation from the two parents. In the Yoga and Tantra *Sādhana* the practical side of *Śiva-Śakti* is much elaborated. It should suffice to mention that the conception of *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* was raised to the highest level by the Śaiva philosophers and in fact the philosophy and the cult of Śaivism on the one and of Śakti and Tantras on the other were developed in an exceptionally rich form in the Purāṇas.

Pārvatī is usually said to be the daughter of Himālaya, but here her trinitarian form is mentioned. *Umā*, *Ekaparṇā* and *Aparṇā* are but three names of the single goddess so mentioned as to correspond with the triple form of *Śiva*, the Tryambaka God. As a matter of fact, as the *Kuṇḍalinī* power she is alone, but manifests as *Idā*, *Pīṅgalā* and *Suṣumnā* in each organism. This doctrine of the three mothers or of the three eyes of *Śiva* as *Tryambaka* (RV. VII. 59.12) was rooted in Vedic symbolism where the three mothers are named as *Ambā*, *Ambikā* and *Ambālikā*.

LIFE-STORY OF PĀRVATĪ— The Rishis then raised a natural question about the life-story of *Pārvatī* in a previous birth when she was *Dākshāyaṇī*, daughter of *Dakṣa*, and becoming angry at the insult shown by her father to *Śiva*, she gave up her life to take birth again as *Pārvatī*. This story was well-known as a popular Purāṇic theme but here disposed of briefly. There are, however, several points to be noted. Firstly *Dākshāyaṇī* is spoken of by *Dakṣa* as the mother of the world (*Jagato mātā*) who had become his daughter as an act of grace.

(दुहितृत्वेन गता देवी ममानुग्रहकाम्यया, M. 13. 19). The goddess is called Satī, and Daksha says that there is nothing in the cosmos which is devoid of her presence (M. 13. 12, 19, न त्वया रहितं किञ्चिद् ब्रह्माण्डे सचराचरम्). Dākshāyaṇī Satī pronounces a boon for the good of Daksha, saying that he would be born as the son of the 10 Prāchetasa Rishis, the meaning of which has been explained before. She is more explicit in saying that the 60 daughters of Daksha were types of her own power (मदंशेनांगनाः षष्टिर्भविष्यन्त्यंगजास्तव, M. 13. 22).

DEVĪ-TĪRTHA

After this Daksha makes a request to know the places sacred to the Goddess (*Devī-tirtha*). This is a digression to find a place for an inventory of the 108 *Devī-Piṭhas* or holy spots where the Goddess was worshipped in the whole country. This list is illustrative of the idea of deifying the country as the holy land in which goddess Satī, the Great Mother has become omnipresent (सर्वं लोके यत् किञ्चिद् रहितं न मया विना, M. 13. 24). The list is found in the Matsya ; Padma Purāṇa, Śṛisṭi Khaṇḍa, ch. 17, Śloka 190-217 ; Devī-Bhāgavata, Book 7, ch. 30 ; and Skanda Purāṇa, Avanti Khaṇḍa, ch. 98. verses 46-92. This list has been critically studied by Dr. D. C. Sirkar in his paper "The Śākta Piṭhas" (JRASB., Vol. 14, 1958, pp. 1-108). I am giving here the names and their identifications, where such are possible :—

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Vārāṇasī—Goddess Viśā-lākshī. | 7. Gomanta—Gomatī, Gomanta is the same as modern Goa. |
| 2. Naimiśa—Liṅgadhārīṇī. | 8. Mandara—Kāma-chārīṇī. |
| 3. Prayāga—Lalitā Devī. | 9. Chaitraratha—Madotkaṭā. |
| 4. Gandhamādana—Kāmākshī. The Gandha-mādana mountain is in the Himalayas near Badarī-nātha. | 10. Hastināpura—Jayantī |
| 5. Mānasarovara—Kumudā. | 11. Kānyakubja—Gaurī |
| 6. Ambara—Viśvakāyā. Ambara may be Amber near Jaipur. | 12. Malaya-Parvata—Rambhā |
| | 13. Ekāmra—Kīrtimatī. Ekāmra-kshetra is modern Bhuwanesewar. |
| | 14. Viśveśvara—Viśvā |

15. Pushkara—Puruhūtā
16. Kedāra—Mārgadāyini
17. Himavat-prishṭha—Nandā
18. Gokaṛṇa—Bhadrakarnikā
19. Sthāneśvara—Bhavānī
20. Bilvaka—Bilva-patrikā
21. Śrī-śaila—Mādhavī
22. Bhadreśvara—Bhadra
23. Varāha-Śaila—Jayā, It was either Baramula in Kashmir, or Varāhakshetra in Nepal.
24. Kamalālaya—Kāmalā
25. Rudra-koṭi—Rudrāṇī. A tīrtha near the source of the Narmadā.
26. Kālāñjana—Kālī
27. Mahā-liṅga—Kapilā
28. Markoṭa—Mukuteśvarī
29. Śāligrāma—Mahādevī
30. Śiva-liṅga—Jala-priyā
31. Māyāpurī—Kumārī
32. Santāna—Lalitā
33. Sahasrāksha—Utpalākshī
34. Kamalāksha—Mahotpalā
35. Gaṅgā (v.l. Goyā)—Maṅgalā
36. Purushottama (Jagannatha Puri)—Vimalā
37. Vipāśā—Amoghākshī
38. Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal)—Pātālā
39. Supāśva—Nārāyaṇī
40. Vikūṭa—Bhadrasundarī
41. Vipula—Vipulā
42. Malayāchala—Kalyāṇī
43. Koṭitīrtha—Koṭavya, A goddess of south India named Koṭṭavi
44. Mādhava-vana—Sugandhā
45. Kubjāmraaka—Tri-sandhyā. Kubjāmraaka is identified with Kanakhala.
46. Gaṅgā-dvāra—Ratipriyā
47. Śiva-kuṇḍa—Sunandā
48. Devikā-taṭa—Nandinī. Deviklā is a sacred river of the Panjab now called Deg.
49. Dvāravatī—Rukmiṇī
50. Vṛindāvana—Rādhā
51. Mathurā—Devakī
52. Pātālā—Parameśvarī,
53. Chitrakūṭa—Sītā
54. Vindhyāchala—Vindhya-vāsinī
55. Sahyādri—Ekavīrā
56. Harmachandra (Hariś-chandra)—Chandrikā
57. Rāma tīrtha—Ramaṇā
58. Yamunā—Mṛigāvatī
59. Kavarīra—Mahā-Lakshmī. Karvīra is Kolhapur.
60. Vināyaka—Umā Devī
61. Vaidyanātha—Arogā
62. Mahākālā—Maheśvarī
63. Uṣṇatīrtha—Abhayā. The Ushna-tīrtha may be the Taptoda Kuṇḍa of Rajagṛiha.
64. Vindhyakandarā—Amṛitā
65. Māṇḍavya—Māṇḍavī
66. Māheśvarapura—Svāhā
67. Chhāgalāṇḍa—Prachandā
68. Makarandaka—Chandrikā
69. Someśvara—Varārohā
70. Prabhāsa—Puskarāvati

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 71. Sarasvatī—Deva-matā | 89. Śaṅkhoddhāra—Dharā |
| 72. Pārā-taṭa—Pārā (same as
the river Pārvatī in Mālāvā) | 90. Piṇḍāraka—Dhṛiti |
| 73. Mahālaya—Mahābhāgā | 91. Chadrabhāgā—Kālā |
| 74. Payoshiṇī—Piṅgaśvarī | 92. Achchhoda—Śivakāriṇī |
| 75. Kṛitaśaucha—Śimhikā | 93. Veṇā—Amṛitā |
| 76. Kārttikeya—Yaśaskarī | 94. Badarī—Urvasī |
| 77. Utpalāvartaka—Lolā | 95. Uttarakuru—Aushadhi |
| 78. Śoṇa-saṅgama—Subhadra | 96. Kuśa-dvīpa—Kuśodakā |
| 79. Siddhapura—Mātā | 97. Hemakūṭa—Manmathā |
| 80. Siddhapur is a famous
Matṛi-tīrtha in Gujarat.
Bharatāśrama—Aṅganā-
Lakshmī | 98. Mukuṭa—Satyavādinī |
| 81. Jālandhara—Viśvamukhī | 99. Aśvattha—Vandanīyā |
| 82. Kishkindhā—Tārā
Devadāru-Vana—Pushṭi | 100. Vaiśravaṇālaya—Nidhi |
| 84. Kāshmira Maṇḍala—
Medhā | 101. Veda-vaḍana—Gāyatrī |
| 85. Himādri—Bhīmā Devī | 102. Śiva—Siva's consort
Pārvatī |
| 86. Viśveśvara—Pushṭi | 103. Devaloka—Indrāṇī |
| 87. Kapālamochana—Śudhi | 104. Brahmā's mouth—
Sarasvatī |
| 88. Kāyāvarohaṇa—Mātā | 105. Sūrya-bimba—Prabhā |
| | 106. Mātrikāḥ—Vaiṣṇavī |
| | 107. Satī—Arundhatī |
| | 108. Women—Tilottamā, |
| | 109. Chitta (Heart)—
Brahmakalā |

This list of 108 names of the Goddess associated with 108 Tīrthas closes with a *phala-sruti*, which indicates that it was a later grafting on the text of this Purāṇa under the influence of the Śākta teachers.

The list of the 108 Devī-Pīṭhas is distinctly foreign to this context. It is a patch which interrupts the smooth flow of the topic of Piṭris and Śrāddha. The Puranic writer or later redactors had adopted this as a technique of *Upabrahmaṇa*, i.e. amplification to embed new matter somewhere in the midst of the old one and to indicate its exotic nature by appending to it a *Phala-sruti*. The readers and listeners of the Purāṇa texts well understood this as an approved technique of authorship.

PITṚIS— In Chapters 14 and 15 are related the several classes of Pitṛis in a Purāṇic setting giving the names of their father, wife, *Loka*, etc. For example, the *Agnishvāta* Pitṛis are the sons of Marīchi. They are the Pitṛis of the Devas. Their mind-born daughter is a river called Achchhodā. Amongst them was one named Amāvasu with whom she fell in love. This Achchhodā was born in the 28th Dvāpara as Matsyagandhā Satyavatī, mother of Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa who compiled the four Vedas. She was born as Satyavatī in this world and as Asṭakā in the world of Pitṛis. In this short inset we may see an attempt to correlate the famous characters in the world of men with those of the world of Pitṛis.

Similarly the *Barhiṣad* Pitṛis are said to reside in Vibhrāja world; they are the sons of Pulastya; their mind-born daughter is Pīvarī, who chose Śuka, son of Vyāsa as her husband (M.15.8). Her daughter is said to be Kṛitvī who became the wife of king Brāhmadatta of Pāñchāla.

The Pitṛis known as *Havishmat* (= *Havirbhuk*) are the sons of Aṅgiras and they are the manes of the Kshattriyas (M.15.17). Their mind-born daughter was Yaśodā, wife of Amśumān and mother of Dilīpa.

The Pitṛis named *Ājyapā* live in the world of Prajāpati Kardama. They are the sons of Pulaha and the ancestors of Vaiśyas. Their mind-born daughter is Virajā, who became the wife of Nahusha and mother of Yayāti. She was the personification of *Ekāṣṭakā*.

The Pitṛis named *Somapā* reside in the Mānasa Loka. Their mind-born daughter is Narmadā which is also the name of a river. They have created the Manus and men.

Thus five classes of Pitṛis are described here, omitting the *Somasad* Pitṛis of the *Amūrta* class and the *Sukālins* of the *Mūrta* class. We have already explained why the southern region (*Dakṣiṇa Dik*) is sacred to the Pitṛis (M. 15. 32.). The propitiation of the Pitṛis is enjoined as a necessary duty by the performance of Śrāddha. For this purpose Śrāddha-Deva to be

propitiated with Śraddhā was created in the beginning as king of the Pitṛis and he is no other than Sūrya (श्राद्धदेवः स्मृतो रविः M.15.42).

MEANING OF ŚRĀDDHA—Śraddha is the feeding of learned and high-souled Brāhmaṇas with intense devotion in order to satisfy the Pitṛis. The underlying principle is to bring back oneself from the sphere or influence of Soma to that of Agni. All food is Soma, and by eating the food the physical body is sustained and its manifest form of the Pañcha-Bhūtas with Manas and Buddhi is kept alive and functioning. All this belongs to the region of Soma. This is no doubt essential, but Soma symbolises the path of darkness and death; Soma is said to belong to Chandra, which is the form of Asura Vṛitra. The Moon is Mind which waxes and wanes, and so is all physical matter. The problem for the individual in his daily life is to minimise the influence of matter (i. e. food, physical body or mind soiled by matter) and to take recourse to the higher principle of *Vijñāna* or Intelligence, symbolised as Sūrya, which does not change or modify, but is fixed and eternal shining with its own light (स्वतःप्रकाश). Everyday this practice of self-sublimation ought to be cultivated and its spiritual technique is Śraddha. There are two elements in it, viz. meditating on the Pitṛis, one's own ancestors, or the Manes of the whole human race whose king is Yama. Yama is the lord of death as the principle of Matter, and of immortality as Dharma; in his latter aspect he is a Deva, drinking Soma with the host of Devas sitting on the summit of the Cosmic Tree (यस्मिन् वृक्षे सुपलाशे देवैः सं पिबते यमः, RV. X. 135.1). Each new born Life-Principle is a *Yāmāyana Kumāra*, and is a link in the endless chain of the preceding forefathers (पुराणां अनुवेनति). He inherits the total impressions of their minds and physical bodies through a very subtle mechanism devised by Mother Nature. This heredity consists both of the higher principle of the Spirit (*Purusha*) and of the lower principle of Matter (*Prakṛiti*). One has to redeem oneself from Matter and unite with the Self. This is the purpose of Śraddha, achieved by accepting Matter in its grossest form of food, since food is the manifestation of living consciousness in plant and animal.

forms. So on the one hand, the Manes who are archetypal of differentiated temperaments and creative forces, like the Seven Rishis or many other Heptads in the cosmos—the one becomes Seven for creation—should be meditated upon ; on the other, food should be offered to Agni which is the tongue of the Devas (देवानां जिह्वा) and which in actual rite is symbolised by the Brāhmaṇas (अग्निमुखा वै ब्राह्मणाः), since Vedic *Vāk*, which is but another form of Agni or the higher principle of Divine Wisdom, resides on the tongue of the learned priests (पंक्तिपावन ब्राह्मणाः, as वेदवेदांगपारगाः, पुराणवेत्तारः, सांख्ययोगविदः, etc.) who must be the true custodians of the traditional wisdom of the race.

The sublimation of Soma on to Agni, of the world of Matter on to the world of Spirit, is *Śrāddha*, a rite in which *Anna* for the Pitṛis is offered to the Brāhmaṇas as representing the principle of Agni. The highest being adored through *Śrāddha* is God Sūrya as *Śrāddha-Deva*.

Chapters 16-21 describe the *Śrāddha* ceremony and Chapter 22 gives a list of holy places or Tīrthas where *Śrāddha* should be performed for securing higher religious merit.

Śrāddha is said to be of three kinds, Nitya, Naimittika, and Kāmya. Nitya is the daily *Śrāddha* performed by offering oblation of water and food to the Pitṛis. The Naimittika *Śrāddha* is performed on special Parva days and called Pārvaṇa i. e. on the last day of the Ayana on the two Vishuvat days, or when Sūrya passes from one constellation to another, or on the Amāvāsyā day, or on the Pūrṇimā day, or on the Ashtakā day, and in this way several other special Tithis are mentioned for the performance of *Śrāddha*, e. g. the Pitṛi-Paksha (M. 17.2.9). The Kāmya *Śrāddha* is performed when one wishes, as Nāndīmukha on the birth of a son.

The main point is to invite only learned Brāhmaṇas to feed in the *Śrāddhas* and in this list are mentioned those who study the six Vedāṅgas (Shadāṅgavid), recite the Vedas, (Śrotriya), who study the Vedas (Vedavid), who are the masters of Purāṇas (Purāṇa-vettā), who study the science of Mimāṃsā, Yajña and

Dharma-Śāstra, Yoga, Sāman chants (Sāma-svara Vidhijñā) etc. This gives a sampling of the various fields of knowledge that were cultivated in that period. The reference to special masters of the Purāṇas is significant and it shows that Purāṇavidyā was included amongst the other sciences like that of the Vedas and Vedaṅgas, Mimāṃsa, and Nyāya etc.

Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa in the Harsha-charita also mentions the Paurāṇika teachers in a long list of learned men and religious doctrinaires. It seems that during the Kushāṇa-Gupta period each Purāṇa was cultivated as a special subject in a number of families from father to son who were responsible for the recitation, amplification and redaction of that particular Purāṇa which they had made their own. Those were the teachers who composed new topics and incorporated them in the manuscript under their care from which new copies were ordered. We may thus divide the Purāṇic teachers into two classes, viz. *Vāchaka*, who only recited *Kathā*, and *Brīṃhaka*, who dealt with the texts and their interpretations and only secondarily recited *Kathā*. Like all other branches of knowledge as Vyākaraṇa, Mimāṃsā and Nyāya, Purāṇa also was seriously cultivated during this period. It were such teachers in whose hands the original Purāṇa stated to be of four thousand ślokas in extent underwent revision and amplification with the result that it multiplied a hundred-fold and became a corpus of four lakhs of ślokas.

Details of the Śrāddha ritual are minutely described, mostly according to the directions given in the Manu Smṛiti. Different kinds of utensils, foods and religious texts are prescribed in relation to the Śrāddha ceremonies.

In Chapter 18 is described the *Ekoddishta Śrāddha*. Chapter 21 describes the merits that accrue from the performance of Śrāddha rites. It is said that one's own ancestors like Father, Grand-father and Great-Grandfather form a wheel from which one's own life comes into existence similar to the cosmic wheel constituted by the Devas known as Vasu, Rudra and Āditya. Whatever good things a man gets in his life, like food, power,

women, wealth, beauty and health and a devoted heart is a flower of the Śrāddha tree, and unity with Brahma is its fruit (M. 21. 11, श्राद्धपुष्पमिदं प्रोक्तं फलं ब्रह्मसमागमः).

CYCLE OF BIRTH— Chapter 20 describes the story of the seven sons of a Rishi named Kauśika, disciples of Rishi Garga. They sacrificed a cow in times of famine but offered it to the Pitris in Śrāddha to save themselves from sin. They were reborn as Vyādhas and again became a host of seven deer on the Kālāñjara mountain, and lastly became seven Chakravāka birds in the Mānasarovara lake, whence they were reborn as Yogins. One of them became king Brahmadata of Pañchāla and two became his ministers, viz. Bābhravya, who became the author of a special treatise on the Kāma-śāstra, and Kaṇḍarīka who became proficient in Vedas. Brahmadata is credited with knowing the speech of all creatures including ants. A story is then told how one day he heard a conversation between a male ant and a female ant, the former wooing and coaxing the latter, and this made the king smile to which her queen took objection, insisting to reveal to her the secret.

The other four sons of Kauśika were reborn as Yogins and became recluses leaving behind their old father, directing him to go to Brahmadata and obtain from him the desired wealth after reciting the following śloka—

ये विप्रमुख्या-कुशजांगलेषु दासास्तथा दाशपुरे मृगाश्च ।

कालञ्जरे सप्त च चक्रवाका ये मानसे ते वयमत्र सिद्धाः ॥

(M. 21. 28)

This appears to be a reference to the seven Pitris personified in three successive births as human beings, animals and birds and then finally becoming Siddhas or perfect beings or a band of seven Yogins who move together at each and every place. Births in three lives was an accepted motif to demonstrate the round of a person's good or evil actions, as in the Kādambarī, Puṇḍarikā takes the birth of a horse and a parrot to be delivered of his curse. Brahmadata with his two ministers also was reminded of his past life and joined the host of 7 on the Mānasarovara Lake.

This appears to be just a story for the delectation of the popular mind at the time of Śrāddha ceremony illustrating of course the basic idea of the 7 Pitṛis. King Brahmadaṭṭa of Pañchāla became the eponymous hero of such legends like his namesake king Brahmadaṭṭa of Kāśī in the Jātaka stories.

ŚRĀDDHA-TĪRTHAS

Chapter 22 gives a long list of Tīrthas where Śrāddha ceremony should be performed during the course of one's pilgrimage. The obvious idea is to link the institution of Śrāddha with that of Tīrtha-Yātrā, and in this way inculcate the subtle doctrine that the entire land is a holy land where one's ancestors lived in countless generations as mentioned in the Atharva Veda (यस्यां पूर्वे पूर्वजनाः विचक्रिरे, AV. 12. 1. 5).

ŚRĀDDHA-TĪRTHAS—The list of Tīrthas is as follows:

Gayā, Vārāṇasī, Prayāga, Baṭeśvara, Daśāśvamedhika, Gaṅgā-dvāra, Nandā, Lalitā, Māyāpurī, Mitra-pada, Kedāra, Gaṅgā-Sāgara, Brahma-saras, Śatadru-hrada, Naimisha on the Gomatī, (with Yajña-Varāha, Kāñchapa-dvāra), Ikshumatī, Kurukshetra, Sarayū, Irāvati, Yamunā, Devikā, Kālī, Chandra-bhāgā, Dṛishadvatī, Veṇumatī, Vetravatī, Jambū-Mārga (Nilakuṇḍa), Rudra-saras, Mānasarovara, Mandākinī, Achchhodā, Vipāśā, Sarasvatī, Mitrapada, Vaidyanātha, Kshiprā, Mahākālā, Kālāñjara, Vamśodbheda, Harodbheda, Gaṅgodbheda, Bhadreśvara, Viṣṇu-pada, Narmadā dvāra, Oṅkāra, Kāverī, Kapilā, Chaṇḍa-vegā, Amarakaṇṭaka, Śukra-tīrtha, Someśvara-tīrtha, Kāyāvarohaṇa, Charmaṇvatī, Gomatī, Varuṇā, Auśanasa-tīrtha, Bhrigutiṅga, Gaṇṇī-tīrtha Vaināyaka-tīrtha, Bhadreśvara-tīrtha, Pāpahara-tīrtha, Tapatī, Mūlatāpī, Payoshiṇī, Payoshiṇī-saṅgama, Mahā-bodhi, Pātāla, Nāga-tīrtha, Avantikā, Veṇā, Mahā-Rudra, Mahā-śāla, Mahā-liṅga, Daśārṇā-nadī, Śata-Rudrā, Śatāvahā, Viśvapada, Aṅgāra-vāhikā, Śoṇa, Gharghara, Kālīkā, Vitastā, Droṇī, Vaṭa-nadī, Dhārā-sarīt, Kshīra-nadī, Gokarṇa, Gajakarṇa, Purushottama, Dvārakā, Kṛishna-tīrtha, Arbuda-Sarasvatī, Maṇimatī, Girikarṇikā, Dhūta-pāpā, Lakshīṇa-Samudra, Meghakara-tīrtha, Mandodarī, Champā-nadī

tīrtha, Sāmalanātha, Mahāśāla-nadī, Chakravāka, Charmakoṭa, Janmeśvara, Arjuna, Tripura, Siddheśvara, Śrī-Śaila, Narasiṃha, Mahendra, Śrī-Raṅga, Tuṅgabhadra-nadī, Bhīmarathī-nadī, Bhīmeśvara, Kṛishṇa-veṇā, Kāverī, Kuṇḍmala-nadī, Godāvarī, Trisandhyā-tīrtha, Traymbaka-tīrtha, Śrī-parṇī, Tāmraparṇī, Jayā-tīrtha, Matsya-nadī, Bhadra-tīrtha, Pampā-tīrtha, Rāmeśvara-tīrtha, Elāpura, Āmrātakeśvara, Ekāmra, Govardhana, Hariśchandra, Tripuchandra, Prithūdaka, Sahasrāksha, Hiraṇyāksha, Kadali-nadī, Rāmādhivāsa, Saumitri saṅgama, Indrakila, Mahānāda Priyamelaka, Bāhudā-nadī, Siddhavana, Pāsupata-tīrtha, Pārvatikā-nadī, Godāvarī, Jāmadagnya-tīrtha, Sahasra-līṅga, Rāghaveśvara, Indraphenā-nadī, Pushkara tīrtha, Śalagrāma, Somapāna, Vaiśvanarālaya, Sārasvata tīrtha, Svāmī-tīrtha, Malandarā-nadī, Kauśikī, Chandrikā, Vaidarbha, Vairā, Payoshṇī (*Prānmukhā*, flowing east), Kāverī (*Uttarā*, of the north) Jālandhara-giri, Loha-daṇḍa, Chitrakūṭa, Gaṅgā-Vindhya-yogā, Kubjāra, Urvaśī-tīrtha, Pulina-tīrtha, Saṁsāra-mochana, Rīnamochana, Aṭṭahāsa, Gautameśvara, Vasishṭha-tīrtha, Hārīta-tīrtha, Brahmāvarta, Kuśāvarta, Haya-tīrtha, Piṇḍāraka, Śaṅkhoddhāra, Ghaṇṭeśvara, Bilvaka, Nila-Parvata, Dharaṇī-tīrtha, Rāma tīrtha, Aśva-tīrtha, Vedaśiras, Oghavati-nadī, Vasuprada-tīrtha, Chhāgalāṇḍa, Badarī-tīrtha, Gaṇa-tīrtha, Jayanta, Vijaya, Śukra tīrtha, Śrīpati-tīrtha, Raivataka, Śaradā-tīrtha, Bhadrakeśvara, Vaikuṇṭha-tīrtha, Bhīmeśvara, Mātṛigriha (at Siddhapur), Karvīrapura (modern Kolhapur), Kuśeśaya, Gaurī-śikhara, Nakuleśa-tīrtha, Kardamāla-tīrtha, Diṇḍi-puṇyakara-tīrtha, Puṇḍarikapura, Tapta-Godāvarī-tīrtha (M. 22. 7-78).

This is a long list of Tīrthas recommended for Śrāddha. Many of these names are the same as in the list of Devī-Pīṭhas, and they are repeated often as part of Tīrtha-yātrā itineraries. It is stated that this is but a summary list of Tīrthaś, their actual number is beyond description. As a matter of fact the real Tīrthas are *Satya*, *Dayā* and *Indriyanigraha* (Truth, Compassion and Self-restraint (सत्यं तीर्थं दया तीर्थं तीर्थमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः । वरुणिश्रमाणां गेहेऽपि तीर्थं तु समुदाहृतम्, M.22.80). It was a new conception of the glory of a house-holder's life according to the Bhāgavata

teachers saying that each home where Dharma is observed is a Tīrtha.

This chapter is given a special name in its colophon verses, viz. *Tīrtha-śrāddhānukīrtana* and a *Phala-śruti* is appended to it (M. 91-94). This is a sure sign of its late addition like the *Devī Pīṭhas*.

There is a similar *Tīrthāvalī* in the *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Revā-khaṇḍa*, Chap. 230, Śloka 3.106, containing even a longer list of Tīrthas.

A third list in the *Padma Purāṇa*, *Uttara-khaṇḍa*, Chap. 129, verses 5-36 includes the names of 108 Tīrthas similar to the 108 *Devī-Pīṭhas*.

The list of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, *Śrāddha-tīrthas* is repeated in the *Padma Purāṇa*, *Sṛisṭi-khaṇḍa*, Chap. 11, 2 67.

A fifth list occurs under the heading *Sarva tīrtha-Māhātmya* in *Brahma Purāṇa*, Chapt. 25, 8-83. The *Mahābhārata Vana-parva* also contains three *Tīrtha-yātrās*. A comparative study of this material from the point of view of the geographical expansion of the 'Holy Land' would be a fit subject for study.

As a matter of fact there is no end to the number of the Holy Tīrthas of the Motherland as the *Matsya* itself puts it: 'Vāyu has said that there are three and a half crores of Tīrthas on earth, in *antarikṣha* and in heaven, all of which have their abode in the *Gaṅgā* (तिस्रः कोट्योऽर्धं कोटी च तीर्थानां वायुरब्रवीत्, M. 102.5.).

'LAND-TAKING' TECHNIQUE—The creation of Tīrthas was a positive technique in the process of 'land-taking' or land settlement by the pioneers of race. The fore-fathers who first made the land their own created a Tīrtha and gave it a name after some Rishi or hoary ancestor or Deva who performed his Tapas there. Such region or spot is made holy in the minds of the people and binds them perpetually to the land. From this point of view the geography of India is a revelation and it would be difficult to find a beauty spot or a spot with natural scenery, a mountain peak, a river, streamlet,

reservoir of water or water-fall where the foot-steps of the pioneers and forebears had not reached and which they had not deified as a Tirtha. The institution of Tirtha and of Tirtha-padayātrā, i. e. travelling to the holy places on foot kept up the currents of civilization in constant circulation linking the four corners of the land in the most intimate cultural relationships. This became a natural and spontaneous institution and lives for ever.

LUNAR DYNASTY

Having disposed of the genealogy of the Solar kings, the Matsya Purāṇa picks up the story of the Lunar dynasty (*Chandra-Vamśa*) including an account of the lives of such great kings and heroes as Yayāti, Kṛishṇa and Dushyanta, who belonged to the direct or collateral branches of the Soma-vamśa (chh. 23-50).

PERSONAL STORY OF SOMA— Just as by way of introducing the Sūrya-Vamśa the personal history of Āditya and his family was given in the beginning, so also Chapter 23 opens with the personal history of Soma or Chandramā, which is a plexus of several Vedic and Puranic motifs as follows:—

1. Brahmā asked sage Atri to take up the work of creation.
2. Atri performs *Tapas* for this purpose.
3. By the power of *Tapas*, a particular *Tejas* entered the eyes of Atri. This *Tapas* is the source of the highest bliss, beyond the experience of the sense organs, the soul of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Ādityas and Rudra, producer of *Sānti*, and within its womb both Śiva and Pārvatī incarnated.
4. 1/8th of that form of Śiva became manifest as Soma or Moon.
5. From the eyes of Atri, Soma with its lustre was produced by the lachrymal flow and permeated the ten directions of Space.
6. The ten regions being of the female form received the above water as a foetus, but they were unable to carry it, and therefore it was emitted.

7. Brahmā collected and transformed it into a young man riding in a chariot of 1000 horses which was strengthened by the power of the Vedas.
8. The Rishis accepted him as their king.
9. The Pitris, the Devas, Gandharvas and Aushadhis also accepted him as their Lord.
10. He was praised by them as Brahmā with Vedic mantras whose deity is Soma (सोमदेवस्य मंत्र).
11. By the power of the mantras his lustre increased and encompassed the whole world from which all the plants and herbs were produced.
12. That light increases at night.
13. Soma is thereby known as the Lord of Aushadhis (*Ausadhīśa*) and the king of Brāhmaṇas (*Dvijēśa*).
14. The lunar orb filled with the sap of Vedic mantras waxes in the bright-half and wanes in the dark-half of the months.
15. For his beauty he was offered by Prāchetas Daksha 27 daughters in marriage.
16. The Moon-god performed penances for countless ages meditating on Vishṇu.
17. When Nārāyaṇa was pleased, Soma obtained from him a boon to become master of Indra-Loka.
18. He also wished that in his Rājasūya sacrifice the Devas should appear in visible form to eat the oblations and Brahmā and others become his priest.
19. Thus blessed by Vishṇu, Soma performed a Rājasūya sacrifice on a cosmic scale in which Brahmā himself became the Udgātā priest and Vishṇu officiated as Brahmā priest, and the three worlds were declared as the guerdon of the sacrifice (*Yajña-dakṣhiṇā*).
20. At the end of the sacrifice 9 goddesses leaving their husbands offered their love to Soma e.g. Lakshmī

of Nārāyaṇa, Sinīvālī of Kardama, Diti of Vibhāvasu, Tushṭi of Dhātā. Prabhā of Sūrya, Kuhū of Havishmanta, Kīrti of Jayanta. Vasu of Mārīcha Kaśyapa, Dhṛiti of Nandī. Their husbands could not do anything to Soma who shone with his glory in all the 10 directions as the sovereign Lord of the 7 Lokas.

21. In his haughtiness Soma fell in love with Tārā, wife of Bṛhaspati and inspite of the entreaties of the Gods would not return her.
22. Vāmadeva-Rudra with his *Brahma-śirsha* weapon came into the field against Soma who was persuaded by Brahmā to restore Tārā to Bṛhaspati.
23. To Soma and Tārā a son was born named Budha who married Ilā, the female form of the Solar king Ila, and from their union was born king Purūravas, founder of Chandra-varṁśa.

INNER MEANING OF THESE MOTIFS

It is pleasing to find a clustre of such Vedic and Puranic motifs assembled at one place, worthy of their inner meaning being explored. There is no doubt that these are motifs of *Sṛiṣṭi-vidyā* invoked in the story of Soma. Some knowledgeable writer has put them together in a succinct form by weaving them in a unified scheme.

1. *Atri*—He was one of the ten mind-born sons of Brahmā (M. 3. 6.), besides Bhṛigu and Aṅgiras. In Vedic symbolism Bhṛigu represents the principle of Cold or Waters, and Aṅgiras that of Heat or Fire. In the primeval ocean, or the First Cause of creation both Bhṛigu and Aṅgiras coexist, but none of them is able to create. Both are co-extensive in a state of equilibrium. Aṅgiras is three-fold as *Agni*, *Vāyu* and *Āditya*, the three kinds of Fires in a Yajña. Bhṛigu is also three-fold as *Āpāḥ*, *Vāyuh*, *Somaḥ*, and these three also are unable to create. Then these two, namely Bhṛigu and Aṅgiras, combined to form a new principle that is called Atri, in which the three world divisions do not

retain separate entity but become fused into one. This points to the etymology of *Atri*, that which lacks the three-fold division.

There is also another etymology in which *Atri* is associated with the potency of eating and identified with *Vāk* which eats the food वाग् वात्रिः, वाचा ह्यन्नं मयते, अतिर्ह वै नामतद् यदत्रिरिति, ŚB. 14. 5. 22). The implication is that *Atri-Vāk* represents the principle of primeval motherhood. Naturally she is ordained by *Brahmā* to create.

Now it is clear that there can be no creation by the principle of *Ātapa* or Light alone represented by the pure Fire as *Āngiras* and by the pure Waters as *Bhṛigu*. For creation shadow or Darkness is necessary. Creation is produced by Matter reflecting pure light and intercepting its rays, i. e. not allowing the light rays to pass through matter as a transparent entity. *Atri* therefore is the name of that *Prāṇa* which acts as a screen to check the progress of light rays in material sheath. Without this scheme there can be no reflection (*Ābhāsa*) of *Chit* or *Chetanā* which is the pure light of *Puruṣa*. This quality in the mother is found in her monthly course which corresponds to the two phases of the moon giving an equal place to darkness and light. This is the production of turbidity or muddiness in the clear transparent waters of motherhood. When a woman becomes in menses she is then called *Ātreya*, i. e. under the influence of *Atri* or in simple words *Rajasvalā*. In her particles of *Rajas*, dust or mud get mingled in clear secretions. This quality alone prepares the mother to receive the seed and to convert it into a sprouting germ which becomes the foetus. This *Rajas* becomes the real substratum of motherhood for the whole world. *Atri* is a *Dhāmachehhada Prāṇa*, a screen which by its presence makes motherhood fertile. It was because of this that of his ten sons *Brahmā* commanded *Atri* to create. The power of *Atri* may be seen in each small material particle which intercepts the rays of light and does not allow them to pass through it. A small seed of sesamum is placed in sun light and casts a shadow behind it by this quality of *Atri* being inherent in it.

2. ATRI'S TAPAS— Atri is the principle of motherhood in the muddy waters of creation, but even in that condition they do not become productive. The smallest particles of primordial matter that are splashed in the *Ekārṇava Samudra* or primeval ocean must themselves settle down to a condition of tranquillity and orderliness, that is to be organised into a system before they can become useful for procreation and fecundation by the parental seed. This is implied in Atri's performing *Tapas*. In the Vedas creation is spoken of as the outcome of *Abhiddha Tapas*, *Agraja Tapas*, or *Devaukṣya*, explained before as the Divine Heat which brings the cosmos into existence round a fiery centre in the form of *Sūrya* which is indispensable for each system and of which there are millions and billions of exemplars placed in a mysterious alignment.

THREE HUSBANDS OF THE MAIDEN— By this *Tapas*, the muddy secretions of motherhood become strengthened and purified. The principle of Soma is said to subsist in the first phase of the menstrual flow, but it needs to be purified for the mother to become fertile. This is why in the *Rigveda*, Soma is said to be the first husband of the maiden (सोमः प्रथमो विद्धि, RV. X. 85. 40).

The second principle that contributes to motherhood is that of *Gandharva*, namely *Gandha* produced by the flowering which is essential for fecundation wherever life is created. In each plant or tree the flowering stage is an essential technique in Nature's scheme of creating new life. That *Gandha* is *Gandharva* or the second husband of the maiden.

In the third stage it is the principle of Agni or *Vāk*, that is *Prāṇa* on the plane of matter which is needed. *Vāk* is *Śabda* which is the symbol of the five material elements and may be either expressed as *Śabda* at one end of the series or as *Prithivī* at the other end. *Ākāśa* and *Prithivī* are the two bracketing ends of Matter. When the above three elements become present in the mother, then she is ready for her sire—

सोमः प्रथमो विविदे गन्धर्वो विविद उत्तरः ।

तृतीयो अग्निष्टे पतिस्तुरीयस्ते मनुष्यजाः ॥

(RV. X. 85. 40).

The *Tapas* of Atri covers this four-fold principle of motherhood and prepares the ground for progenitive activity.

3. ĀNANDA—Motherhood or creativity is the result of *Kāma* which in other words is Bliss or the highest joy experienced by the parents on the three planes of Mind, Life and Matter, i.e. by the physical, vital and psychical, persons of which each individual is a composite form. This principle of *Ānanda* is symbolically represented as the Bull of Śiva (*Vṛishā*), the great sprinkler of seed, which is the same as *Kāma* and named in the Purāṇas as Nandī. God Śiva in each centre is *Nandikeśvara*, Lord of Nandī and his great exploit is that he planted his foot on the back of Nandī bull and by the power of his third eye controlled and sublimated the basic impulse of *Kāma*. It is said here that all the different divine powers like, *Brahmā*, *Vishṇu*, *Sūrya* and *Rudra* entered the *Tejas* or lustrous splendour of Atri. The womb of the mother (*Yoni*), also called Mahat, is Universal. The meaning being that all the earthly and heavenly powers that are mortal and immortal, that belong to matter and to Spirit, or to *Prakṛiti* and *Puruṣa*, are inherent in the mother's womb which creates new life. Those powers are described in the *Yajurveda*, Book 7, as so many cups for the drinking of Soma (*Soma-graha*), of which 40 are enumerated. All of them abide in the mother's womb where a flood of Soma is released and collected for the performance of the most mysterious *Yajña* in the cosmos, viz. the development of the foetus from a small germ to the birth of the child. It is a fruit on the branch of the cosmic tree which is distinctive from other fruits in that although it is separated from the mother-plant, it retains its principle of *Prāṇa* or life.

It is stated by the Purāṇa writer with praiseworthy insight that both Śiva and Pārvatī in the form of *Arḍha-Nārīśvara*, Half-Male and Half-Female, entered into the bright

splendour of Atri. The meaning is clear, viz. that in the Soma that is creating new life there is essentially a man and a woman inherent. If the foetus turns out to be a male it bears within it the substratum of a female, and if it is a female it carries within it a male. This principle of the *animus* and *anima* is clearly stated to coexist in each organic centre in the Rigveda—(स्त्रियः सतीस्तां उ मे पुंस आहुः RV. I. 164. 16). Umāpati Śiva and Umā-Pārvatī both entered the *Tejas* of Atri (यस्माद् उमापतिः सार्धमुमया तमधिष्ठितः, M. 23. 5).

4. ONE-EIGHTH PART—The Purāṇa writer here introduces a significant symbolism of which the meaning must have been clear to him. He speaks of Soma that was born as the one-eighth part of the power collected in all the gods and particularly in Śiva. Here is a reference to the *Aṣṭamūrti* form of Śiva which we have explained before. The eight forms represent the 8 principles of manifestation which must abide in each centre of life. They are included in the Vedic Sūtra *Manas-Prāṇa-Vāk*, that is Mind, Life in its two fold aspect of *Prāṇa* and *Apāna* (Heat and Cold, positive and negative), and the five gross elements of Matter. Without these eight there can be no life. These are called the *Aparā* or Lower Prakṛiti in which Chetanā or consciousness becomes reflected. Amongst these 8 forms of *Aṣṭamūrti* which in Vedic language were known as the *Aṣṭa Vasus*, the two which symbolise Heat and Cold are named Sūrya and Chandra. Thus Chandra represents only one-eighth portion or aspect of *Ardha-Nārīśvara*, that is visible to us as Soma. We have spoken above of *Kumāra* as the son of Agni. Here the Purāṇa describes Soma also as a *Kumāra* (तं दृष्ट्वा चाष्टमांशेन तस्मात्सोमोऽभवच्छिशुः, M.23.5). Both statements are valid, i.e. to speak of the life-principle as the son of Agni, or as the son of Soma, since each individual is an animal with the conjoint principle of Agni and Soma being operative together at all levels (अग्नीषोमीयं पशुमालभते, ŚB. 5.3.3.1; also अग्नीषोमात्मकं जगत्). According to the Śāntiparva, although Agni and Soma are opposed to each other, they were produced from a single womb (एकयोनी प्रवर्तितौ Śānti 329. 1). This was an

approved Vedic doctrine in which the two parents are compared to two inverted bowls facing each other and forming a single womb (उत्तानयोश्चम्बोयोनिरन्तः, RV. I. 164.33).

5. THE EYE OF ATRI—The Purāṇa writer mentions the eye of Atri as the receptacle in which his Soma lustre was collected. The eye is the symbol of the conscious world and of the sprouting germ which opens its eye to the Dyāvā-Prithivī of its existence. The eye is the most popular symbol in R̥gveda, Sūrya himself being spoken of as the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa, the Universal Parents in the formless Upper-Half, and of Agni in the formed Lower-Half (चक्षुर्मित्रस्य वरुणस्याग्नेः RV. I. 115. 1.). The eye is the Awakener (*Sambodhayitrī*) through which our link with the conscious world is restored from day to day out of the sub-conscious and unconscious depths of mind. Kālidāsa has referred to this flow of Soma from the eyes of Atri which permeated the space :—

अथ नयनसमुत्थं ज्योतिरत्रेरिव द्यौः । (Raghu. 2. 75.)

The mother's womb (*Yoni* or *Bhaga*) is the real Eye through which Prāṇa makes its manifestation. In fact the Universal Mother has a thousand wombs (*Sahasra-yoni*) which are her thousand eyes (*Sahasrāksha*). Life or Prāṇa itself has that quality and therefore identified with Indra (= *Madhya Prāṇa* ŚB. 6.1.1.1). Even in each individual centre the main principle of Prāṇa is accompanied by a thousand other Pranic manifestations which are present as so many organs and centres within the body and each of them may be conceived as an eye of the *Madhya-Prāṇa* through which it is making itself effective or looking on the world of Matter. It is stated in the Atharva Veda that Atri is a deity :—

अयं सो देवो अप्सवन्तः सहस्रमूलः पुरुशाको अत्रिः ।

य इदं विश्वं भुवनं जजान ॥ (AV. 13.3.15)

This is the God who dwells within the waters, the thousand-rooted, many-powered Atri. He who brought all this world into existence.

Speaking about Sūrya or Āditya it is said :—

विपश्चितं तरणिं भ्राजमानं वहन्ति यं हरितः सप्त बहोः ।

सुताद् यमत्रिदिवमुन्निनाय तं त्वा पश्यन्ति परियन्तमाजिम् ॥

(AV. 13. 2. 4.)

Victorious, inspired, and brightly shining, whom seven strong tawny-coloured coursers carry,

Whom Atri lifted from the flood to heaven, thus men behold thee as thy course thou runnest.

The R̥igveda refers to Atri as Brahmā and speaks of him to have established in heaven the eye of Sūrya :—

ग्रन्थो ब्रह्मा युयुजानः सपर्यन्तं कीरिणा देवान् नमसोपशिक्षन् ।

अत्रिः सूर्यस्य दिवि चक्षुराघात् स्वर्भानोरप माया अघुक्षत् ॥

The Brahman Atri, as he set the press-stone serving the gods with praise and adoration, established in the heaven the eye of Sūrya, and caused Svarbhānu's magic art to vanish.

(RV. V. 40. 8.)

The ten directions of space symbolise Dyāvā-Pr̥ithivī which form the unit of each created system or cosmos to receive the principle of Soma and Agni. For receiving Agni the Dyāvā-Pr̥ithivī are conceived of as an *Ukhā*, Fire-pan, and for receiving Soma as a *Droṇa-kalāśa* or Wooden Vat.

6. THE TEN QUARTERS OF SPACE— They are referred to here as female (तद् दिशो जगृहुर्घामि स्त्रीरूपेण सुतेच्छया, M. 23. 7). Apart from the word '*Diśaḥ*' being in the feminine gender, the 10 regions of Space typify the principle of *Ākāśa* which is the foremost of the material manifestations and therefore *Diśaḥ* stand for the principle of *Prakṛiti* which receives in their-womb the foetus from Atri's seed. The '*Diśaḥ*' are typical of Dyāvā-Pr̥ithivī or more truly Pr̥ithivī as the mother-principle.

Just as in the case of Agni, she was unable to bear the *Tejas* of Rudra and emitted the foetus into the river Gaṅgā, similarly the *Diśaḥ* could not bear the child in their womb

who was Soma. This Soma thus was emitted to become Universal in all directions.

7. BRAHMĀ AS THE UNIFYING PRINCIPLE—The foetus delivered by the 10 directions of Space was taken over by Brahmā and brought to a focus as a living centre (समादायाय तं गर्भमेकोकृत्य चतुर्मुखः, M. 23. 8). Brahmā is the principle of growth or *Prāṇa* or *Hiranya* as we have seen in our study of the *Ekārṇava* doctrine where Brahmā is spoken of as identified with Nārāyaṇa himself (ब्रह्मा नारायणात्मकः). Unless the principle of *Prāṇa* incarnates within the heart of Soma, Soma itself is merely the material egg and is life-less. The contact of Brahmā is therefore the same as the entry of Nārāyaṇa into the cosmic Egg. As the result of Brahmā's help, the foetus now develops into a young man as king Soma himself riding in a chariot of 1000 horses. The symbol of 1000 is an infinite number and both the chariot and horses stand for the principle of movement. The Vedas, as has been explained above, are the symbols of Trayī-vidyā or rhythmic Motion, and Soma was possessed of all these powers.

8. SOMA AS KING OF THE ṚISHIS— It is often stated that Soma is accepted by the Ṛishis as their king (सोमो अस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजा, VS. 1. 40; तत्र ब्रह्मर्षिभिः प्रोक्तमस्मत् स्वामी भवत्वयम्, M. 23. 10). Soma symbolises the Universal mind of the Creator (cf. चन्द्रमा मनसो जातः, RV. X. 90. 13). The Ṛishis represent the spiritual tradition, and the Kshattriya kings the temporal power. At the time of coronation when everyone takes an oath of allegiance to the anointed ruler, the Brāhmaṇa priests and the Ṛishis who represent the spiritual authority in the State take their oath of allegiance to king Soma and not to the Kshattriya ruler. Here Soma is clearly the Divine mind which is Universal and which the Brāhmaṇas and the Ṛishis worship in terms of *Dharma*.

9. SOMA AS THE KING OF PITRIS— In a compact statement it is said that Soma was also accepted as their Lord by the Pitris, Devas, Gandharvas and *Aushadhis*. The Pitris or manes are associated with Soma because they are attached to the region of matter as against that of Purusha which is Sūrya.

(पितृ देवतयः सोमः, ŚB. 3. 2. 3. 17). Darkness, After-noon, Night, second-half of the year were made the symbols of Prakṛiti and Soma or Chandra is one of them. It receives its light as the shadow of the Sun. The Pitṛis who are inclined to life in matter therefore are associated with Soma.

Soma is also associated with the Devas who always wish to enjoy Soma as the drink of immortality. Since Soma is food or *Anna* and the Devas as Agni are *Annāda* the connection between the two is obvious.

The connection of Gandharvas with Soma also may be understood; since the Gandharvas represent the principle of *Gandha* which is the attribute of Pṛithivī or Matter, therefore the Gandharvas love Soma. According to the Śatapatha, the Gandharvas love *Gandha* and *Rūpa* (ŚB. 9. 4. 1. 4.). Soma also represents the female principle typified as Apsaras and those who are in love with women are Gandharvas (लोकामा वै गन्धर्वाः, AB. 1. 27 ; Ś. B. 3, 2. 4. 3).

The *Aushadhīs* or plants represent the principle of life-sap as being produced from a seed and growing as a plant, to re-produce the fruit and the seed. This makes a complete cycle of the life-process being manifested through the plant world. From this point of view each human being or animal form is not different from a plant (सस्यमिव मर्त्यः पच्यते सस्यमिवाजायते पुनः, Katha 1. 6. 6.). As the Gītā says, the sap or Soma is the nourisher of plants and therefore called *Ausadhīsa* (पुष्पाणि चौषधीः सर्वाः सोमो भूत्वा रसात्मकः, Gītā. 15. 13).

10. SOMA PRAISED AS BRAHMĀ WITH VEDA-MANTRAS—The reference obviously is to the Vedic Mantras in the 9th Maṇḍala of the Rīgveda. Their deity is Soma and they appear to be a complete Book in themselves. The process of the growth, collection, purchase, crushing, straining, mixing with milk and drinking of Soma is described there at length in a symbolical language which holds good both in the case of the cosmos and the individual centre of life where Soma or life-secretions are being

subjected by Nature's device to all those processes which are demonstrated in the Yajña.

Soma or Chandramā is called here Brahmā (M. 25. 11.). This again is symbolical because Brahmā is the four-headed deity and in the Yajña, Brahmā is the fourth priest who superintends the Yajña and combines in himself the functions and duties of the other three priests. Similar is the position of Soma in contradiction to Agni. Agni typifies the cosmic Triad of the three Fires, three Devas, the three Lokas etc. Soma is different from Agni and represents the fourth Loka, or the world of waters. In the beginning of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa it is stated that Prajāpati Brahmā put himself to the ordeal of *Tapas* of Mind, Life and Matter, and as a result there appeared on his brow sweat (*Sveda*). His three-fold *Tapas* represents *Trayī-vidyā* called *Brahma*, and the fourth, namely the Waters on his brow became *Subrahma*, i. e. the fourth Veda of the Waters called Atharva Veda. That is why Brahmā has intimate relationship with Soma. The Vāk of Soma is called *Subrahmanyā* and the Varāha of Soma is named *Brahma-Varāha*.

11. INCREASE OF LUSTRE— By the power of the mantras, the lustre of Soma increased and his power was enhanced. The meaning is that the Vedic mantras represent the goddess Vāk which is the same as Agni and when Vāk is properly worshipped, she brings increased strength and lustre.

By this halo of light (*Tejovītāna*) round Soma the universe was filled with plants and herbs तेजोवितानादभवद् भुवि दिव्यौषधीगणः, (M. 23. 12.). Like Sūrya, Chandramā also is thousand-rayed and in comparison to the universal mind each individual mind is a single ray or a plant receiving its sap from the Soma in heaven.

12. INCREASE OF LIGHT AT NIGHT— It is a patent symbolism that the light of Moon increases at night. The meaning is that the principle of Mind as Soma finds its best expression in the material world, whereas that of Buddhi (*Vijñāna*) as Sūrya in the higher world of Puruṣa,

13 & 14. SOMA WAXES AND WANES— It is said that Soma increases its light in the bright-half and decreases in the dark-half of the month. The two halves of the month demonstrate to our eyes the principle of *Darśa* and *Pauruṣmāsa*, which together constitute the rotation of the cosmic wheel, owing to a basal duality symbolised as Light and Darkness. There is something at the root of the creative mystery which becomes visible in the duality of Day and Night, or the bright-half and dark-half of the month. These two aspects are symbolised respectively as Soma being the king of the plants and herbs (अौषधीश) which refers to its material or mortal side, and secondly Soma as the king of Brāhmaṇas (द्विजेश, M. 23. 13), which refers to its spiritual and immortal side.

15. TWENTY-SEVEN DAUGHTERS OF DAKSHA— Daksha had 60 daughters, out of whom he offered 27 to Soma (M. 23. 15). The symbolism clearly refers to the 27 constellations amongst which Soma completes his movement. They are symbolical of the time-units associated with the rotation of the Moon and forming a month, 12 of which make up the year. The daughters of Daksha, as we have said, represent the different spiritual and material powers, the primeval ordinances by which the cosmos is functioning. The 27 constellations fill the heaven which as the *Dyāvā-Prithivī* unit or the 10 divisions of Space, first carried Soma within their womb and then consorted with him. As for Aditi, mother of Daksha and later his daughter, a two-fold symbolism is applicable, viz. the daughters of Daksha as *Disaḥ* being the mother of Soma and also his wives.

16. TAPAS OF SOMA— Soma is a *Devatā* with an immortal life ordained by Prajāpati to discharge his functions from the beginning of time to the end of it. This continuous life-session is impossible without recurrent *Tapas* for renovation through innumerable ages. It is therefore said quite appropriately in the Purāṇa that Soma meditated on the majesty of Lord Viṣṇu for millions and billions of years and thereby realised the glory of Great Lord Nārāyaṇa by which he obtained internal light and power in his heart.

17. VISHṆU'S BOON TO SOMA—By the power of *Tapas*, Soma won the favour of Vishṇu and asked of him a boon to become the lord of Indra-Loka. Indra-Loka here means the world of Gods, Svarga, which symbolises the immortal heavenly powers that are at the root of creation. In the Vedas they are symbolised as *Dyauh* or *Amṛitam*. In creation the heavenly immortal Soma must descend to the plane of matter but retaining all his pristine glory. The problem before Soma was how to accomplish this. He concentrates on obtaining mastery over Indra. Indra is the king of Gods, he is Sūrya, Prāṇa, Hiranya, Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā etc. In order to achieve this power, Soma had to perform a cosmic Yajña.

18. RĀJASŪYA YAJÑA OF SOMA— It is stated here that Soma asked of Vishṇu that in his Rājasūya sacrifice the Devas should appear in a visible form and that Brahmā as well as all other gods should take part in his Yajña. It is the same kind of Yajña as *Sarva-hut* Yajña which the transcendent Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa himself had performed to create the world of Paśus (Matter) and the Vedas (RV. X. 90. 8 9). The insistence on the gods coming to the Yajña in manifest form points to the principle of Soma as becoming manifest in matter. It is the principle of consciousness within the body where the divine priests are actually participating to perform a Yajña on the plane of Matter.

19. YAJÑA DAKSHINĀ— In his Rājasūya, Soma declared that the three worlds would become as the *Dakṣhiṇā* of Yajña. Here two things should be understood, viz. the meaning of *Rājasūya* and of *Dakṣhiṇā*. Rājasūya is literally a Yajña in which *Rājā* is produced. Rājā has two meanings, either an earthly king or Soma itself. Now there are four kinds of Soma: *Amṣu*, *Graha*, *Rājā* and *Vāja*. All these four relate to the four modalities in the making of Man, *Amṣu* refers to the plant or the physical body nourished by food. *Graha* refers to the organs of sense (*Indriyāṇi*) which make up the Prāṇic person or vital man. *Rājā* is that aspect of Soma which relates to the Mind. Manas is called a *Yakṣha* (यक्षं यक्षमन्तः प्रजानम् Yajur. 34. 2) and a

Yaksha was called *Rājā*, a radiant light which appears for a time and is no more. (Cf. Kubera as राजराज). The flash of mind appears like a fire-fly and becomes dim again. Thus in each individual centre there is a *Rājasūya Yajña* for the generation of the Mind-principle.

Dakṣiṇā is the female power of *Yajña*. There can be no *Yajña* without *Dakṣiṇā*. *Dakṣiṇā* is motherhood by which the *Yajña* fructifies. *Dakṣiṇā* is identified with *Gau* or the Universal Cow, i. e. Mother Nature who is creating all forms. The principle of *Dakṣiṇā* has become inherent in the Universal Mother and is multiplying itself thousand-fold in each individual centre. According to the Vedic imagery, there existed in the beginning the Great Mother *Aditi* (RV. V. 47. 1), and this Eternal Mother has a thousand youthful daughters through whom she is creating all forms. Each one of these daughters carries a foetus in her womb (युक्ता मातासीद् धुरि दक्षिणाया अतिष्ठद् गर्भो वृजनीष्वन्तः, RV. I. 164.9). Thus whatever exists as a living or conscious organism has the principle of *Dakṣiṇā* ingrained in it.

20. SOMA LOVED BY THE 9 GODDESSES—This is a symbolical description of the 9 *Mātrikās* who love Soma. The *Mātrikās* refer to the principle of *Vāk* who is spoken of as *Ekapadī*, *Dvipadī*, *Chatushpadī*, *Aṣṭāpadī* and *Navapadī* which is the maximum number containing all the possibilities of manifestation. The 9 powers of *Vāk* or speech love the single principle of Soma or the Mind.

The 7 *Lokas* again refer to the complete cosmological scheme of the Vedic world stated as *Sapta Dhāma* of Viṣṇu, namely *Bhūh*, *Bhuvah*, *Svah*, *Mahah*, *Janah*, *Tapah*, *Satyam*.

21. SOMA'S LOVE FOR TĀRĀ— Having reached the height of his glory, Soma falls by his love for *Tārā*, wife of *Bṛihaspati*, teacher of the Gods. Nobody liked this and the Gods wanted to dissuade Soma from sin, but he would not listen. Then *Rudra* with his hosts took the cause of *Bṛihaspati* and challenged Soma to battle. *Brahmā* interceded and Soma agreed

to restore Tārā to his teacher Bṛihaspati, but Tārā had become *enciente*, and she gave birth to a son who was named Budha.

MEANING OF TĀRĀ— The meaning of this symbolism is a little obscure but rooted in the Vedic doctrine of Soma. We have explained above the four classes of Soma, viz. *Amśu*, *Graha*, *Rājā* and *Vāja*. *Rājā Soma* refers to the principle of Mind and that is personified as king Soma of this story. Higher than *Soma-Prajñāna* is the superior principle of *Vijñāna* which is symbolised amongst the gods as Bṛihaspati. The power of Bṛihaspati is called *Vāja*. *Rājā Soma* wanted to become master of the power of *Vāja*, symbolised as Tārā the female energy of Bṛihaspati. Tārā also literally signifies a star which is analogous to Soma or Moon. There are several aspects of the power of Mind that which is the highest on the side of Matter is Soma himself, but superior to that is the power of higher Intelligence called *Buddhi* or *Vijñātmā*, i. e. the intuitional reserve of mind which belongs to the sphere of Bṛihaspati, teacher of Indra himself. Bṛihaspati represents the higher Universal Mind, and Soma the individuated mind about whom it is said that it was the first to be created with *Kāma* as its seed (कामस्तदग्रे समवर्ततामि मनसो रेतः प्रथमं यदासीत्, RV. X. 129. 4). The higher mind of Purusha rules over the lower mind that is reflected in Prakriti. Soma woos the mind of Purusha but only succeeds for a time in winning its affection; permanently the mind in matter cannot become master of the principle of intellection in Purusha. The two levels of consciousness are distinct in their potentiality although they are inter-related and may be said to be in rivalry (cf. वैश्वानरो यतते सूर्येण, RV. I. 98. 1).

Bṛihaspati, as the name indicates, is akin to *Mahat* (= महि, महिमा), the Universal. The Gods first made their effective manifestation in the form of Sūrya who is the same as Indra, with the teacher Bṛihaspati. Like Indra, Bṛihaspati also restored the cows from the caves of demon Vala (cf. Odysseus rescuing cows from the caverns of the Cyclopean Giant), where the cows are the forces or motions intent on creative activity. The rays of the Sun are the cows of Indra and Bṛihaspati. Thus the

symbolism of Bṛihaspati in its Vedic background was related to the principle of *Vāja* which is higher than *Rājā*. The whole creation is conceived of as the birth of *Vāja* (वाजस्य प्रसवः).

22. VĀMADEVA RUDRA— He is the deity of the immortal half as denoted by the name *Vāma*, 'the left one' as against *Dakṣha*, 'the right one,' whose daughters were married to Soma. When Soma was not amenable to the advice of others, Vāmadeva-Rudra used his *Brahma-śirsha* weapon against Soma. *Brahma-śirsha*, literally the head of *Brahmā*, is the symbol of the pure divine principle or Puruṣa unsoiled by Matter.

23. BUDHA— From the union of Soma and Tārā, a son was born named Budha who became the progenitor of the Lunar dynasty. Budha is the same as Prajñāna, i. e. the mind interested in creative activity. He symbolises the conscious sphere of the activity, the mind that opens on to the visible world or manifest creation and becomes cognisant of it at all levels. This Budha is conceived of as the offspring of Soma which may be compared to the sub-conscious mind, and Tārā, the energy of the higher unconsciousness. Budha marries Ilā who is the metamorphosed daughter of Manu and represents his female energy for the sake of creation. Budha and Ilā enter into marital union and give birth to king Purūravas, the founder of the Lunar dynasty.

PURŪRAVAS AND URVAŚĪ— The story of Purūravas and his love for Urvaśī is told in the R̥gveda (X. 95. 1-18) where Purūravās Aila and Urvaśī appear both as R̥ishi and Devatā of the Sūkta. The Hymn is obscure since it is pregnant with a great deal of symbolism about Urvaśī and Purūravas. According to the story given in the Ādi-parva, Purūravas brought the Three Fires of Yajña for the worship of gods in company with Urvaśī. Urvaśī, as the name indicates, is the symbol of Universal energy that takes her birth from the primeval flood. She is the Lady of the Lake (*Apsaras*) and is fleet in her movement, stopping short with Purūravas on three express conditions. The first is that she would subsist on one drop of butter as her daily food (घृतस्य स्तोकं सकृद्दहन्नाम, RV. X. 95. 16.)

MEANING OF URVAŚĪ— Urvaśī is the life-principle in matter (*Prāṇāgni*) that lives upon her ration of one unit of *Ghṛita* from day to day. As we have explained above, *Ghṛita* is a form of Agni and the life-principle also is Agni which is kept up burning by its daily share of subsistence it is receiving from all sources. Life is sustained by life and energy by energy to continue for its full session in the human body or on the plane of matter. The period is said to be 100 years and the daily unit of fuel that is supporting life is symbolised as one drop of *Ghṛita*. Life is a measuring out of by the principle of *Rajas* and that is the form of Urvaśī also (रजसो विमानी, RV. X. 95. 17). Urvaśī is clearly an Apsarās celestial nymph (*Amānuṣhī*) who is wooed by mortal man (अमानुषीषु मानुषो सिषेवे, RV. X. 95. 8). She is the immortal lady of heaven whom the mortal man on earth follows and possesses for a while only. Their mutual covenant is that she will leave the mortal man when her daily drop of butter is stopped for her. The nature of Urvaśī is revealed by her in the R̥gveda: 'I am like the first of the Dawns, I move like the tempestuous wind difficult to capture, I flash brilliant as the falling lightning'. It is Purūravas, the individuated principle of *Prāṇa*, for whom Urvaśī has come down on earth or, as she herself says, 'thy birth had made me drink from earthly milch-kine' (RV. X. 95. 11). According to R̥gveda, Urvaśī is not alone but moves in a band with six other fairies, making in all the Seven Sisters (सप्तस्वसारः) who are typical of the seven-fold female powers or mothers of creation (सप्तमातरः).

The other two conditions of Urvaśī were that the king should protect her two lambs and that she should not see him unclothed. The frisking lambs are the, twin principles of ever-moving *Prāṇa* and *Apāna* whose mingled energy is lightning-like Urvaśī (Cf. अन्तश्चरति रोचनास्य प्राणादपानतो, RV. X. 189. 2). The veil over Purūravas is the physical body itself, the fabric of material form or corporeal modality which is essential as an element of life in matter. Urvaśī and Purūravas separate as soon as life leaves the mortal coil.

LUNAR DYNASTY—The Purāṇa writer, although referring to the story of Purūravas and his love affair with Urvaśī, does not go into the details of the Vedic legend and summarily passes on to the story as accepted by Kālidasa in the Vikramorvaśī. It is said that Bharata organized at the behest of Indra a dramatic performance called Lakshmī-Svayamvara in which Urvaśī was given the part of Lakshmī. Purūravas was present amongst the audience and in her infatuation for the king, Urvaśī on the stage forgot the instructions of the dramatic Teacher, for which she incurred the curse. She became a creeper on earth for 55 years, but in the end was reunited to Purūravas and became the mother of 8 sons who appear to symbolise the 8 Vasus (M. 24. 33). The eldest of them was Āyu; his son was Nahusha with four younger brothers of whom one was Raji. Raji had a hundred sons. His sons sided with the Asuras whom Brihaspati deluded by the false doctrine called Jina-dharma which was opposed to the Vedas.

गत्वाथ मोहयामास रजिपुत्रान् बृहस्पतिः ।

जिन धर्मं समास्थाय वेदबाह्यं स वेदवित् ॥

(M.24.47).

This motif of the preaching of *Jina-dharma* for throwing the Asuras into confusion or delusion about right action is often found in the Purāṇas; e. g. in the Liṅga Purāṇa, Viṣṇu is said to have created out of his own self a delusive teacher named *Māyī Śāstā*, who promulgated a *Māyā-śāstra* extending to 16 lakhs of ślokas, which was against the Śrutis and Smṛitis and Varṇāśrama Dharma, insist that both heaven and hell exist here on earth, and also created an order for women resulting in loose morals, and their leaving their husbands (Liṅga Purāṇa 1. 71. 72-84). This motif is also repeated in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. The writer of the Matsya, just in passing, touches it for the reason that Raji in the R̥gveda is made instrumental by Indra in his destroying 60,000 Asuras (RV. X. 26. 6).

YAYĀTI—Nahusha became the father of seven sons of whom Yayāti was one. He married two wives namely Śarmishthā, the

daughter of Asura Vṛisaparvā and Devayāni, daughter of Śukra Bhārgava. Devayāni became the mother of Yadu and Turvaśu, and Śarmishthā of Druhyu, Anu and Pūru. Yayāti did not think that he had enjoyed life enough, as he was engaged in long sacrifices, and so he asked his sons to exchange their youth for his old age. None agreed except Pūru, the youngest. For a thousand years Yayāti again enjoyed the pleasures of the senses but even then he remained unsatisfied (अनुत्त एव कामानाम्, M. 24. 69). However, he was much pleased with Pūru and blessed him that he would become the founder of the dynasty (*Vamśakara*, M. 24.69). Therefore the family came to be known as Paurava Vamśa (पौरवो वंश इत्येष वयाति लोके गमिष्यति, M. 24.70). The kings of the Bharata line were born in the dynasty of Pūru.

YAYĀTI-CHARITA—The Purāṇa writer then takes up the legend of Yayāti in a full-fledged form which is also given in the Mahābhārata, namely *Pūrva-Yayātam*, (Ādi-parva, chs. 70-80) *Uttara-Yayātam* (chs. 81-88) referring to the first part and second part of Yayāti legend respectively. The first part included Yayāti's marriage with his two wives and the second with Yayāti's ascent to heaven and the door being barred against him, his turning back and expounding his life-philosophy of Determinism (Niyati-Vāda).

SAÑJIVANĪ VIDYĀ—The Devas and the Asuras entered into a rivalry, the former chose Bṛihaspati as their priest and the latter Śukrāchārya. When the Asuras were killed in battle, their teacher revived them by his *Sañjivanī-vidyā* which the Devas did not know. They were filled with sorrow and deputed Kacha, the eldest son of Bṛihaspati to go to the teacher of the Asuras and get from him the secret of Sañjivanī. Kacha did as he was asked and Śukra accepted him as his pupil to lead the life of Brahmacharya for 1000 years. There Kacha had several experiences with the Asuras who naturally did not like him but he came through all of them successful by the grace of his teacher. Ultimately Śukra delivered to Kacha his knowledge of Sañjivanī (M. 25-54, विद्यामिमं प्राप्नुहि जीवनीं त्वम्). Then Devayāni offered her love to Kacha and created for him a difficult

situation. Kacha, however, remained faithful to his promise to the Devas who had sent him on a higher mission of obtaining knowledge, and so he declined the love of Devayānī.

In Chapter 26 is a dialogue between Devayānī and Kacha. In the end Devayānī became so disgruntled that she cursed Kacha that his knowledge would become futile. Kacha accepted the curse but added that even if the knowledge would become infructuous for him but would fructify in others who might learn from him the secret of Sañjīvanī. Thereafter Kacha returned to the Devas, who felicitated him for the act he had performed.

RIVALRY BETWEEN DEVAYĀNĪ AND ŚARMISHṬHĀ—Chapter 27 describes a quarrel between Devayānī and Śarmishṭhā, the two youthful daughters of Śukra and Vṛisaparvā. Devayānī full of great wrath came to her father who tried to pacify her (Chap. 28), but she would not become calm. Then Śukra also reacted and forced Vṛisaparvā to bow to the wish of Devayānī. She said that she wanted Śarmishṭhā to become her maid. Vṛisaparvā accepted and Śarmishṭhā in all humility came to Devayānī and said, 'I am now verily your maid and shall follow you wherever you go'. At this Devayānī made a very caustic remark mocking her, "Yes, you called me the daughter of your father's bard, why should you now be my maid?" (M. 29. 24).

It so happened that Devayānī was married to Yayāti and Śarmishṭhā also followed suit. Devayānī asked her but she evaded an answer. Then Yayāti begot on Devayānī two sons named Yadu and Turvaśu, and on Śarmishṭhā three sons, named Druhyu, Anu and Pūru. One day Devayānī saw the sons of her co wife and was filled with great indignation. She came back to her father to seek his aid. Śukra pronounced a curse on Yayāti that he would become old and decrepit since he had transgressed the right of his daughter Devayānī.

न जातु कामः कामानामुपभोगेन शाम्यति ।

हविषा कृष्णवर्त्मैव भूय एवाभिवर्धते ॥

यत्पृथिव्यां ब्रौह्मिणं हिरण्यं पशवः स्त्रियः ।

नालमेकस्य तत्सर्वमिति मत्वा शमं ब्रजेत् ॥ (M. 34.10-11).

Yayāti then called Pūru and restored his youth to him and also gave the kingdom with the approval of the Paura-jānapada subjects. He himself went to the forest and at proper age ascended to heaven. The Matsya Purāṇa itself says that from this point onward the latter part of Yayāti's story begins (हन्त ते कथयिष्यामि ययातेरुत्तमां कथाम्, M, 35. 10).

INDRA-YAYĀTI DIALOGUE— An elevating didactic discourse between Indra and Yayāti is related in this part of the story. Yayāti relates his life-experience in some of the most edifying verses found in Sanskrit literature (M. 36. 6-13). In one word it is a eulogy of the moral virtue of *Titikṣhā*, or Forbearance even in the face of the gravest provocation, as supplemented by sweetness of speech (*Madhurā Vāk*). In reply to a question from Indra about his merits, Yayāti said that his *Tapas* was incomparable. For uttering words of such conceit he fell from his high position.

YAYĀTI'S PHILOSOPHY— A prince named Ashṭaka saw him in this condition and asked the reason. A long dialogue follows which seems to have preserved some of the ancientmost didactic poetry originally composed in some Vedic School (*Charaṇa*).

The quintessence of the dialogue is the inculcation of several ancient philosophical doctrines of which a fuller account is found in the Moksha-Dharma Chapters of the Śānti-parva. They are listed in the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad as Kāla-vāda, Svabhāva-vāda, Niyati-vāda, Yadṛichchhā-vāda, Bhūta-vāda, Yoni-vāda, Puruṣa-vāda etc. It is clearly stated in the Mahābhārata Udyoga-Parva, 40. 30) that Dhritarāshṭra and Yayāti believed in the Determinist philosophy (*Niyati-vāda*) which had been preached by Maṅkhalī Gośāla. According to it, it is Fate that shapes man's life and activity, and endeavour is useless.

NİYATI-VĀDA— In the beginning therefore Yayāti expounds the *Niyati-vāda* philosophy (M. 38. 4 10). Whatever things happen to men are in the hands of Destiny and there is no element of free action. One should be convinced that Fate alone is all-powerful :

नाना भावा बहवो जीवलोके देवाधोना नष्टचेष्टाधिकाराः ।

तत्तत् प्राप्य न विहन्येत धीरो दिष्टं बलीय इति मत्वात्मबुद्ध्या ॥ (M. 38. 6).

An ancient word for fate was *Dishṭa* which is used here thrice. Pāṇini refers to the followers of this philosophy as *Daishṭika* (अस्ति नास्ति दिष्टं मतिः, Sūtra IV. 4. 60). As Fate wills it so do men become in this world :

घाता यथा मां विदधाति लोके द्रुवं तथाहं भवितेति मत्वा (M. 38. 8).

There were several implications of such a belief, e. g. equanimity in happiness and sorrow, freedom from fear and unrest.

KĀLA-VĀDA— Then Yayāti is asked by Ashtaka about the inevitable wheel of time which rotates and brings to each individual his varying experiences. Yayāti in reply explains the point of view of Kāla-vāda, viz. that the heavenly joys and their separation all follow a settled routine of time :—

तत्र स्थितं मां देवमुखेषु सक्तं काले ऽतीते महति ततोऽतिमात्रम् ।

दूतो देवानामब्रवीदुग्ररूपो, ध्वंसेत्युच्चैर्ब्रिः प्लुतेन स्वरेण ॥

(M. 38. 18).

YONI-VĀDĀ— In the next round Yayāti explains the doctrine of Yoni-vāda i. e. birth in a particular form of existence as man, animal, bird or any other creature determines the entire course of life for each individual. The next birth is determined by the good or bad deeds done in previous life. The five gross elements of Matter enter the foetus and create the different bodies of men and animals (M. 39. 11).

MĀNA AND MAUNA— Yayāti next explains the philosophy of Māna and Mauna which also was an ancient philosophical point of view as incorporated in the Sanat-Sujātīya portion of the Mahābhārata (Udyoga-parva) :—

न वै मानं च मौनं च सहितौ चरतः सदा ।

अयं हि लोको मानस्य असौ मौनस्य तद्विदुः ॥

(Udyoga Parva, 42. 30).

Māna implies egoistic consciousness in doing religious actions or performing virtuous acts. This is a futile approach unproductive of any real change of the individual. Mauna, on

the other hand, implies an open-hearted approach towards all beings in one's actions and thereby merging one's ego in the broader universal consciousness which amounts to the opening of the door of heaven. In Chapter 40 the point of view of Mauna is explained at length and Mauna is summarised as primarily an attitude of mind, whether a person stays in the house or goes to a forest. A real Muni is he who, while he stays in the forest, does not drag in his mind the luxuries of the householder's life, and a real householder is he who cultivates the composure and detachment of the life of a recluse while he is living with his family :—

न ग्राम्यमुपयुञ्जोत य आरण्यो मुनिर्भवेत् ।

तथास्य वसतोऽरण्ये ग्रामो भवति पृष्ठतः ॥ (M. 40. 11).

The chapter ends with a casual reference to a routine of life named as Govrata, i. e. living the care-free life of a bull roaming at will and eating his food also unceremoniously with the mouth instead of with the hands (आस्येन तु यदाहारं गोवन्मृगयते मुनिः). Amongst many obscure religious cults in ancient India there was one called Govrata, its followers being known as Govratika.

MORAL BASIS OF THE DETERMINIST SCHOOL— Chapters 41 and 42 carry the story of Yayāti to new exalted heights in the form of a dialogue between himself and his maternal grandsons Ashtaka, Pratardana, Vasumān and Śibi. This portion has its own value because it tells us what the moral attitude of the Determinist philosophy was. The Niyati-vāda School was not be jeered or ridiculed, but was characterised by sublime moral principles, one of which was *Avivitsā*, freedom from greed. According to the Mahābhārata, there were five main doctrines of the Niyati-vāda philosophers, viz. *Sarva-sāmya* (a belief in the equality of all), *Anāyāsa* (absence of endeavour), *Satyavāk* (truthfulness), *Nirveda* (indifference) and *Avivitsā* (refraining from desiring that which belongs to other) (Śānti-parva, 171.2).

In this brilliant discourse the four other kings offered to Yayāti one after another the accumulated merits of their lives so that he might go to *Svarga*, unmindful of their having

to enter hell. Yayāti, as a true *Niyati-vādī*, declines with thanks these generous offers saying: A Kshatriya should not live by charity and I do not desire what is not properly mine. What would be I like if I begin to covet others' wealth :—

नाब्राह्मणः कृपणो जातु जीवेद् यद्यपि स्याद् ब्राह्मणी वीरपत्नी ।
सोऽहं यदेवाकृतपूर्वं चरेयं विवित्समानः किमु तत्र साधुः ॥

(M. 41. 12 ; 41. 18 ; 42. 4).

Yayāti emphatically declares that he cannot entertain *Vivitsā* or desire to possess what does not belong to him. The word *Vivitsamāna* occurs thrice here. In an additional verse found only in Matsya, *Avivitsamāna* is explained as *Alipsa-māna* (M. 42. 12). Yayāti's words should be written in letters of gold :—

अहं तु नाभिगृह्णामि यत्कृतं न मया पुरा ।

(M. 42. 11.)

'I cannot accept that for which I have not laboured before'.

Then five golden cars appeared in the sky and the four kings asked for whom they had come. Yayāti said that they had come for all to go to heaven. Ashtaka said that Yayāti should alone go first and they would follow later, but Yayāti believing in the doctrine of equality (*Sarva-sāmya*), protested saying that they must all go together for having displayed equal moral ability. Again Ashtaka who claimed personal friendship with Indra protested against Śibi entering heaven before him. To this Yayāti replied with the same generous feeling that Śibi Auśīnara had done so many acts of charity in his life that he had earned the highest rank amongst them.

Here a list of eight virtues of moral character are enumerated which were observed by Śibi as cardinal principles (*Vṛitta*). There is some textual variation in the transmission of this particular verse as given in the Matsya and in the Critical edition of Ādi-parva (88.19). The readings in the two texts are :—

दानं शौचं सत्यमथोऽहिंसा ह्रीः श्रीस्तितिक्षा समतानुशस्यम् । (M. 42.20)

दानं तपः सत्यमथापि धर्मो ह्रीः श्रीः क्षमा सौम्य तथा तितिक्षा ।

(Ādi parva, Poona, 88.19)

In the Poona text, *Kṣhamā* and *Titikṣhā* are a repetition and *Saumya* also is superficial. From the variants noted in the Critical Apparatus it appears possible to restore the correct text as साम्यमथोऽविवित्सा, i. e. साम्य and अविवित्सा. Then three of the five articles of faith of the Niyativādī philosophers come in the list, viz. *Satya*, *Sāmya* (equality) and *Avivitsā* (desirelessness for the possession of others, same as *Alipsā*). The other virtues as given here were *Dāna*, *Tapas*, *Dharma*, *Hrī* and *Śrī* according to Ādi-Parva and they indicate that the Niyativādī teachers also accorded importance to these moral traits in their scheme of life, the highest place being given to *Dāna* and *Satya* as explained by Yayāti (M. 42) :—

सत्येन मे द्यौश्च वसुधरा च तथैवान्निज्ज्वलते मानुषेषु ।

न मे वृथा व्याहृतमेव वाक्यं सत्यं हि सन्तः प्रतिपूजयन्ति ॥

सर्वे देवा मुनयश्च लोकाः सत्येन पूज्या इति मे मनोगतम् ॥ (M. 42. 25-26)

Thus ends the legend of Yayāti which occurs *verbatim* in the Ādi-parva also. It offers a lucid commentary on the Niyativāda philosophy as applied in the life of a great king like Yayāti.

YADU-VAMŚA

Yadu was the eldest son of Yayāti born from Devayānī. He was the founder of a dynasty known after him as Yādava-vamśa. He had five sons, of whom two viz. Sahasrajit and Kroshtu, became founders of royal lines. Sahasrajit became the head of the Haihaya dynasty, and Kroshtu of the Yādava dynasty proper. The son of Sahasrajit was Śatajit who had three sons, Haihaya being the eldest. After him the kings of Māhishmatī became known as the Haihayas. The son of Haihaya was Dharmanetra whose son was Kunti. This king became the founder of Kunti Rāshṭra, modern Kontwar near Gwalior. His son was Sāhaṅga (Sāmhata in Matsya) whose son was Mahiṣhamān. This king became the founder of Māhishmatī, present

Oṃkāra Māndhātā. His son was Rudraśreṇya (also Bhadrāśreṇya) who became the king of Vārāṇasī. His son was Durdama whose son was Kanaka. Of the four sons of Kanaka, the eldest was Kṛitavīrya who was the father of Kārtavīrya Arjuna. Arjuna had his capital at Māhishmatī (M. 43. 29).

KĀRTAVĪRYA ARJUNA— The life of Arjuna is described at length (M. 43. 13-44). Kālidāsa in Raghuvamśa has also described Kārtavīrya Arjuna of Māhishmatī (Raghu, 6. 38-40). The following motifs are common to both :

1. Arjuna had a thousand arms (*Sahasra-bāhu*, which is taken rightly by Pargiter as his epithet or second name).
2. He was a Yogī by virtue of his hard penances. (M. 43. 25).
3. He became sovereign of the earth with seven continents (*Sapta-dvīpā Prithivī*). Kālidāsa has changed it to 18 Dvīpas which had become a conventional number in the Gupta period including Bhārata and other Islands, as Simhala, Indradyumna, Nāgadvīpa, Malaya-Dvīpa, Yava-Dvīpa, Bali-Dvīpa, Karmaraṅga-Dvīpa, Suvarṇa-Dvīpa, etc. by which was understood the entire group of Islands across the seas which were known as Dvīpāntara. Bāṇa also mentions the 18 Dvīpas as the adornment of Bhārata-Varsha (अष्टादशद्वीपाष्टमंगलकपाला मेदिनी).
4. Arjuna's empire had extended across the seas (एको बाहुसहस्रेण वगाहे स महारण्वम् (M. 43. 32, 34, 35).
5. He had performed numerous Yajñas in the different Dvīpas which correspond to the statement of Kālidāsa about the installation of sacrificial pillars in the 18 Dvīpas (अष्टादशद्वीपनिखातयूपः, Raghu. 6. 38).
6. By his powers he apprehended offenders as soon as any evil idea entered their minds (M. 43. 25; Raghu. 6.39), obviously an implication of his title *Sahasra-bāhu*.
7. He bound Rāvaṇa of Laṅkā with his bow-string and threw him into prison at Māhishmatī.

8. Māhishmatī was situated on the Narmadā,
9. The Matsya says that Arjuna was the follower of Dattātreyā (M. 43. 15); but Kālidāsa mentions his descendant Pratīpa as अगमवृद्ध-सेवी, which may be a reference to Dattātreyā, pre-eminent amongst representatives of the Śaiva Āgama tradition.

The Matsya Purāṇa seems to give an additional historical reference that King Sahasrārjuna conquered a king of the Nāga dynasty who was the son of Karkoṭaka Nāga (M. 43. 29).

Kārtavīrya Arjuna entered into a conflict with Paraśurāma which brought his ruin. He had a hundred sons of whom five were important. Jayadhvaja was one of them. He had a son named Tālajaṅghā whose descendants became known as the Tālajaṅghas. His son was Vītihotra; his son was Ananta; his son Durjaya and his son was Supratika.

Amongst the Haihayas there were five lines of kings, named Vītihotras, Śāryātas, Bhojas, Avantayāḥ and Tuṇḍikerāḥ.

I.A—YADU DYNASTY—KROSHṬU LINE (MATSYA, CH. 44)

[१-अ यदुवंश-क्रोष्टुशाखा]

Kroshṭu was one of the five sons of Yadu and grandson of Yayāti. He became the founder of a dynasty which became famous as the Yādava line.

Yadu—Kroshṭu (M. 44. 15)—Vṛijīṇvant—Svāha (v. 1. Svāhi)—Rushaṅgu (v. 1. Rushadgu) Chitraratha—Śaśabindu—Prithuśrvasas—Antara (omitted in Matsya)—Suyajñā—Uśanas—Titikshu (others Śineyu)—Marutta—Kambala-Barhis—Rukma-Kavacha—Rukameshu (= Parāvṛit)—Jyāmagha (became ruler of Vārāṇasī)—Vidarbha—Kratha-Bhima—Kunti—Dhṛishṭa—Nirvṛitta (= Nirvṛiti)—Vidūratha—Daśārha—Vyoman—Jīmūta—Vimala (= Vikṛiti) Bhīmaratha—Navaratha (= Rathavara)—Dhṛitaratha (= Daśaratha)—Śakuni—Karambha—Devarāta—Devakshatra—Devana—Madhu—Puruvaśa—Puru-dvant—Jantu(= Amśu)—Satvant—Bhīma Sātvata (M.44.15-46).

Sātvata had several sons from his wife Kausalyā of whom Andhaka and Vṛishṇi became founders of new lines.

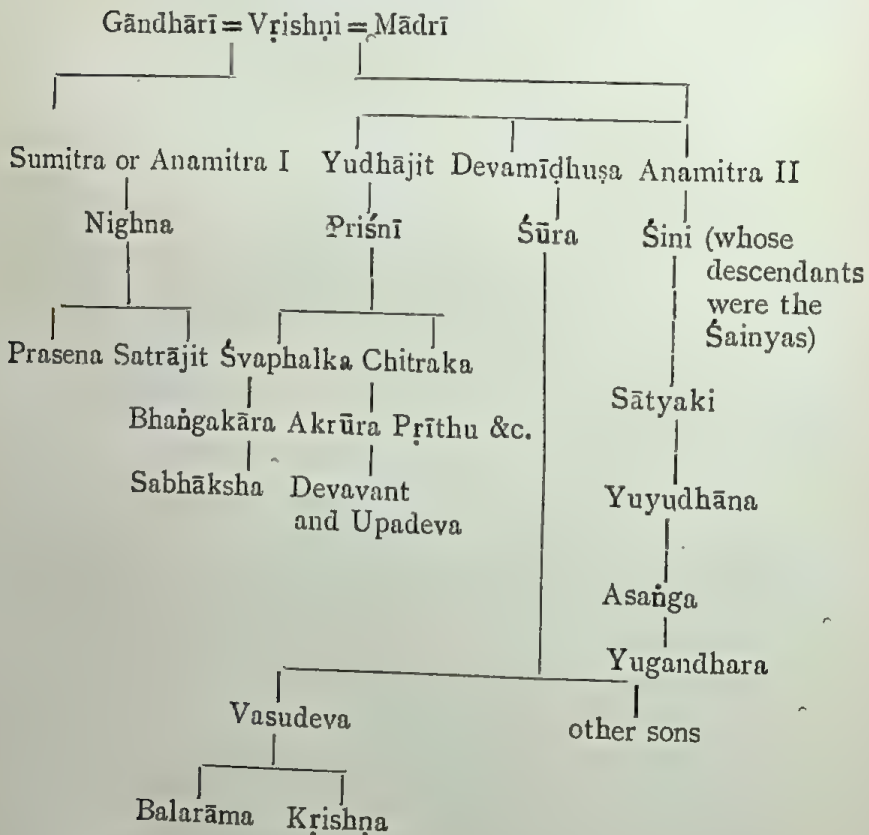
LINE OF ANDHAKA

Andhaka was the son of Sātvata and founded a line of kings as follows :—

Andhaka — Kukura — Vṛishṇi — Dhṛiti — Kapotāromā — Taittiri (= Viloman) — Nala (daughter's son of Taittiri) — Abhijit (= Abhijāta) — Punarvasu — Āhuka (his sister Āhukī married to the king of Avantī) — Ugrasena (King of Mathurā) — Kāṁsa (= eldest of his nine brothers).

LINE OF VṚISHṆI

Vṛishṇi was the son of Sātvata; his line was as follows:—



•PĀNCHA-VṚISHṆI HEROES— Chapter 47 introduces a motif that Vasudeva and Devakī were the incarnations of

Kaśyapa and Aditi and Brahman-Vishṇu himself was born as Kṛishṇa in the Vṛishṇi family. Kṛishṇa's wife Rukmiṇī was the mother of Pradyumna. His son was Aniruddha and his son Sāmba. Here, besides giving the names of other descendants of the Vṛishṇi family, an important statement is made—

सत्यप्रकृतयो देवाः पञ्चवीराः प्रकीर्तिताः । (M. 47. 23).

The meaning is that Balarāma, Kṛishṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Sāmba were together known as *Pañchavīrāḥ*. They are the same as mentioned in the Mora Well Inscription from Mathurā as *Pañcha-Vṛishṇi-Vīrāḥ*, 'Five Vṛishṇi Heroes'. Their worship had become current in the first century B.C. in the time of Mahā-Kshatrapa Śoḍāsa, but it is more likely that the worship of the five Vṛishṇi Heroes had come down from several centuries before. The question also arises why they were called *Satya-Prakṛitayaḥ*. In the corresponding portion of the Vāyu Purāṇa the reading is *Manushya-Prakṛiti*.¹ The meaning seems to be that these five Vṛishṇi heroes were regarded as of real human origin, whereas the *Pañchavīra* set of Yakshas like Kubera, Māṇibhadra, Pūrṇabhadra, etc. was mythical.

DEVĀSURA BATTLES—In reply to the Ṛishis asking about other incarnations of Kṛishṇa, Sūta draws attention to the basic motif of the conflict between the Devas and the Asuras (M. 47. 36) and gives a list of twelve Great Daivāsura Battles :

(1) Nṛisimha-Hiranyakaśipu battle ; (2) Vāmana-Bali ; (3) Varāha-Hiranyāksha ; (4) Amṛita-Manthana ; (5) Skanda-Tārakāsura (तारकामय-संग्राम) ; (6) Āḍi-Baka ; (7) Śiva-Tripura (त्रैपुर-संग्राम) ; (8) Śiva-Andhaka, (9) Indra-Vṛitra ; (10) Dhātra ; (11) Hālāhala ; (12), Kolāhala, in which Indra overcame the Asuras and two of them, namely Śaṇḍa and Marka appeared at the time of the final bath of his Yajña. The meaning of *Dhātra*, *Hālāhala* and *Kolāhala* is not quite clear. Āḍi-Baka is explained in the Mārkaṇḍeya as the fiercest life-long enmity between Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra

1. मनुष्यप्रकृतीन् देवान् कीर्त्यमानान् निबोधत ।

संकर्षणवासुदेवौ प्रद्युम्नः साम्ब एव च ॥

अनिरुद्धश्च पञ्चैते वंशवीराः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ (Vāyu, 97. 1-2).

who were not satisfied in one life and so were reborn as Black Ibis (Skt. अटि) and White Ibis¹ (Skt. श्वेत बक). Vasishṭha was *Āḍi* and Viśvāmitra was *Baka* (Mārkaṇḍeya, Ch. IX ; Devī Bhāgavata 6.18.30-34). *Dhātra* may be an adjectival phrase from *Dhātri* or *Brahmā* and probably refers to his partisanship for *Devas* against *Asuras*. *Hālāhala* was the name of a deadly poison and as I have shown in my 'India As Known To Paṇini', it was a Semitic loan-word, and probably the *Hālāhala* conflict refers to the opposed pair of immortality and death which is a symbolical battle motif of *Amṛita* and *Mṛityu*.

Several other mythical reasons for the incarnations of Viṣṇu are imagined, e.g. the slaying of Śukrāchārya's mother by Viṣṇu for her support of the *Asuras* and the consequent curse by Śukra or Viṣṇu that he would be born seven times as a human being (M. 47.103).

A second time Bhṛigu propitiated Mahādeva and on obtaining boons from him extolled him in a *stotra* (M. 47.125-165), which is a string of names of Śiva partly taken from the Śatarudriya of the Yajurveda and partly from the Classical Sanskrit Literature.

I. B. YADU-VAMŚA

SAHASRAJIT—HAIHAYA BRANCH

[१. आ. सहस्रजित्—हैहयशाखा]

Yadu had two *Vamśa-kartā* sons, Sahasrajit and Krosṭu. The dynasty of Sahasrajit was as follows :—

YADU—Sahasrajit—Śatajit — Haihaya — Dharmanetra — Kunti — Sāhaṇja (Sambhata) — Mahishmant — Bhadra-Śreṇya (Rudra-Śreṇya) — Durdama — Kanaka — Kṛitavīrya — Arjuna (Sahastrabāhu, Kārtavīrya) — Jayadhvaja — Tālajaṅgha — Vitihoṭra—Ananta (= Ānarta) — Durjaya — Supratika (Matsya Chap. 43)

1. I am obliged to Sri Karuṇāśaṅkara Dave of Nagpur, a famous bird-expert, for the above identification of *Āḍi-Baka* (Hindi, काला बूजा, सफेद बूजा, Indian Scientific Nomenclature of Birds by Dr. Raghuvira and K. S. Dave, No. 2203, page 423).

II. LINE OF TURVASU

[२. तुर्वसुवंश]

Turvasu was one of the five sons of Yayāti. His dynasty was short-lived as it was cursed by his father Yayāti.

YAYĀTI— Turvasu — Garbha — Gobhānu — Trisāri (= Trisānu) — Karandhama (also called Traisāri) — Marutta (wrongly Bharata in Matsya)—Dushyanta (the Paurava king in whom the Turvasu line merged, M. 48. 1.2.)

That was the end of the line of Turvasu. They disappear from the scene, but it is curious that the Purāṇa makes a statement that Pāṇḍya, Chola, Keralas and Kūlya (wrongly Karṇa of Matsya) claimed their descent from Turvasu :—

पाण्ड्यश्च केरलश्चैव चोलः कूल्यास्तथैव च ।

तेषां जनपदाः स्फीताः पारङ्ग्याश्चोलाः सुकेरलाः ॥ (M. 48: 5)

It seems that the descendants of Turvasu moved westward and most probably they had mingled with the Indus Valley people, and from there migrated to the extreme south and founded the kingdoms of Pāṇḍya, Chola, Kerala and Kūlya. These became the Dravidian people of the ancient Tamil land. It seems likely that they were once settled in the Indus Valley where they left behind a linguistic island in the form of the Brahui language.

III. LINE OF DRUHYU

[३. द्रुह्युवंश]

Druhyu was one of the five sons of Yayāti, born of Śarmi-
shthā, daughter of Asura Vṛishaparvan. It is stated that the
descendants of Druhyu settled down in Gāndhāra and the North-
West Frontier (ख्यायते यस्य नाम्नासौ गन्धारविषयो महान्, M. 48. 7),
and even spread out beyond and established kingdoms in the
Mlecchha country :—

प्रचेतसः पुत्रशतं राजानः सर्वे एव ते ।

म्लेच्छराष्ट्राधिपा ह्यदीचीं दिशमाश्रिताः ॥

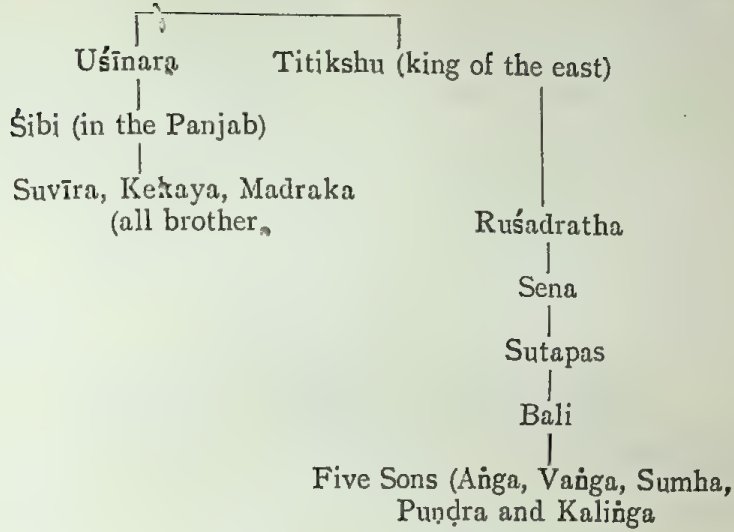
Druhyu—Aṅgāra-Setu—Śaradavan—Gāndhāra — Dharma—
Dhṛita—Durdama—Prachētas—Many other sons all with the title
Rājā (Pargiter, AIHT. p. 108).

IV. LINE OF ANU

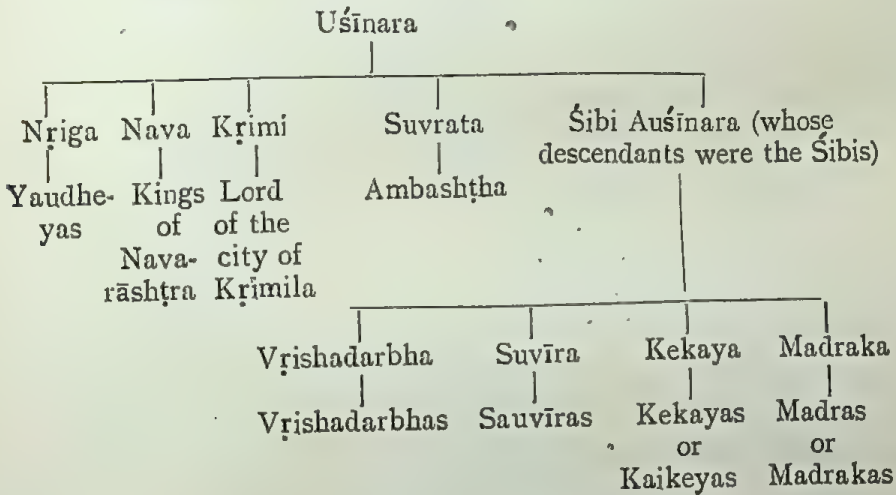
[४. अनुवंश]

Anu was one of the five sons of Yayāti born of Śarmishthā. His descendants were the Ānavas. The seventh king after Anu was Mahāmanas. He had two sons, Uśīnara and Titikshu. Under them the Anavas divided into two great branches : Uśīnara and his descendants occupied the Panjab, and Titikshu founded a new kingdom in the east (Pargiter, AIHT. p. 104). The Uśīnara branch spread all over the Punjab comprising the kingdoms of Madraka (Sialkot), Kekaya (Shahpur-Jhelum), Sauvīra, (North Sind), Sindhu (Sindhu-Sagar Doab). Ambashthā, Navarāshtra (M. 48. 18-21). The Titikshu line in East Bihar, Bengal and Orissa (पूर्वस्यां दिशि विवृतः, M. 48.22), had many sons and grandsons and it seems that they married amongst the Austric tribes giving birth to five Kshetrāja sons viz. Aṅga, Vaṅga, Suhma, Puṇḍra and Kaliṅga. These were the five eastern kingdoms which are thus mythically connected with five eponymous heroes of the Lunar dynasty of Anu.

Yayāti
|
Anu
|
Sabhānara
|
Kolāhala
|
Sañjaya
|
Purañjaya
|
Janamejaya
|
Mahāśāla
|
Mahamanas



WESTERN LINE OF ANU IN THE PANJAB



The region in the east became known as Bāleya Kshetra inhabited by Bāleya Brāhmaṇas (M. 48.25).

STORY OF DĪRGHATAMAS— Here a fanciful account is introduced according to which Dīrghatamas Māmateya, a Vedic Ṛishi of high antiquity and wisdom and author of 25 philosophical Sūktas (RV. I. 140-164) is introduced into the picture and he is said to have begotten Sudeshṇā, queen of Bali, five sons bearing the names Aṅga, Vaṅga, etc. (M. 48. 77-78). Dīrghatamas is said to be a follower of Godharma (M. 48. 80),

i. e. of Bovine Morals with laxity in food and sex (M. 48. 42-57). The legend of Dīrghatamas is retold in ch. 49. Dīrghatamas is dragged here crudely for the element *Tamas* of his name which agreed with the ethnology of the above five tribes. Dīrghatamas is the author of the Asyavāmīya Sūkta (RV. I. 164. 152), an abstruse hymn containing subtle statements about a number of Vidyās, including 10 mantras on Go-vidyā, a Vedic theme signifying the Universal Cow or Mother Nature. In one mantra he has said :

स मातुर्योना परिवीतो अन्तर्बहुप्रजा निर्ऋतिमाविवेश ।

(RV. I. 164. 32).

‘He lies concealed in his Mother’s womb and as begetter of many sons hath sunk into destruction.’

This seems to have led the Purāṇa story-tellers to connect the sage with *Godharma* morals.

THE LINE ON AṅGA (अंग-वंश)

Aṅga was one of the five sons of Bali from Ānava ancestry. His line was as follows :

Aṅga—Dadhivāhana—Diviratha—Chitraratha—Satyaratha—Lomapāda—Chaturaṅga—Prithulāksha—Champa—Haryaṅga—Bṛihadratha—Bṛihatkarman—Bṛihadbhānu—Jayadratha—Bṛihadratha—Viśvajit (= Janamejaya)—Aṅga—Karna—Vṛishasena—Prithusena (M. 48. 91-103).

V. THE DYNASTY OF PŪRU

[५. पौरव वंश]

Pūru was one of the five sons of Yayāti. The genealogy of the Pauravas is the most important in the Lunar race. The Bharatas belong to the Paurava line and the whole of Madhyadeśa, excepting Kosala, came in the possession of the Pauravas, who seem to have inherited the main kingdom of Yayāti. The Paurava line may be conveniently divided into three parts :—

1. From Pūru to Ajamīdha
2. From Ajamīdha to Kuru
3. From Kuru to the Pāṇdavas.

The genealogy is as follows :—

Yayāti—Pūru—Janamejaya I—Prāchinavant—Pravīra—
Manasyu—Pītāyudha (= Abhayada)—Dhundhu (= Sudhanvan)
—Bahugava (= Bahuvīdha)—Sāmyati (= Sāmpāti)—Ahaṁyuti
(= Ahaṁvarchā)—Bhadraśva (Raudraśva)—Richeyu (= Aucheya
in Matsya)—Matināra (= Antināra in Matsya)—Amūrtarayas—
Uncertainty of pedigree—Ilinā (a woman but turned into king
Ilinā)—Dushyanta—Bharata (son of Śakuntalā)—Bharadvāja
(Kshatriya-Brāhmaṇa)—Vitatha—Bhuvamanyu — Bṛihatkshatra
Hastinā (founder of Hastināpura)—Ajamīdha (his brother Dvi-
mīdha founded a separate line)—Riksha I (continued the
main line at Hastināpura)—Sāmvarana (transferred himself to
Kurukshetra from Prayāga)—Kuru (three sons; Parīkshit I, the
eldest, continued the main line; his brother Sudhanvan's descen-
dants included Vasu who founded the kingdom of Chedi)—
Parīkshit I—Janamejaya II—Vidūratha—Sārvabhauma—Jayat-
sena—Arādhin (= Ruchira in Matsya)—Mahābhauma (= Bhauma
in Matsya)—Ayutāyus (Tvaritāyus in Matsya)—Akrodhana—
Devātithi—Riksha II (Daksha in Matsya)—Bhīmasena—Dilīpa—
Pratīpa (three sons : Śāntanu, Devāpi, disowned by the people,
and Bālīka, founder of seven Bālī kingdoms); Śāntanu
(married Gaṅgā)—Devavrata Bhīshma—Vichitryavīrya—Dhṛita-
rāshṭra (brother Pāṇḍu)—Duryodhana (killed in Bhārata War)—
Five Pāṇḍavas—Abhimanyu—Parīkshit—Janamejaya—Śatā-
nīka—Adhiśīma Kṛishṇa—Vivakshu (= Nichakshu; Hastināpura
was submerged by a flood in the Gaṅgā, hence Vivakshu changed
his capital to Kauśāmbī).

KAUŚĀMBĪ BRANCH OF THE BHARATAS [M. 50. 78-87]

[कौशाम्बी-पौरवंश]

Thereafter occurs a list of kings in the newly founded Paurava
line of Kauśāmbī as follows :—

Nichakshu—Bhūri (in Matsya)—Chitraratha—Śuchid-
ratha—Vṛishṇimat—Sushēṇa—Sunītha—Rucha—Nṛichakshu—
Sukhibala—Pariplava (Parishṇuva in Matsya)—Sutapas (= Su-

naya)—Medhāvin—Nṛipañjaya—Urva (= Durva in others)—Tigmātman—Bṛihadhratha—Vasudāman (= Vasudāna)—Śatānika—Udayana—Vahīnara—Daṇḍapāṇi—Nirāmitra—Kshemaka.

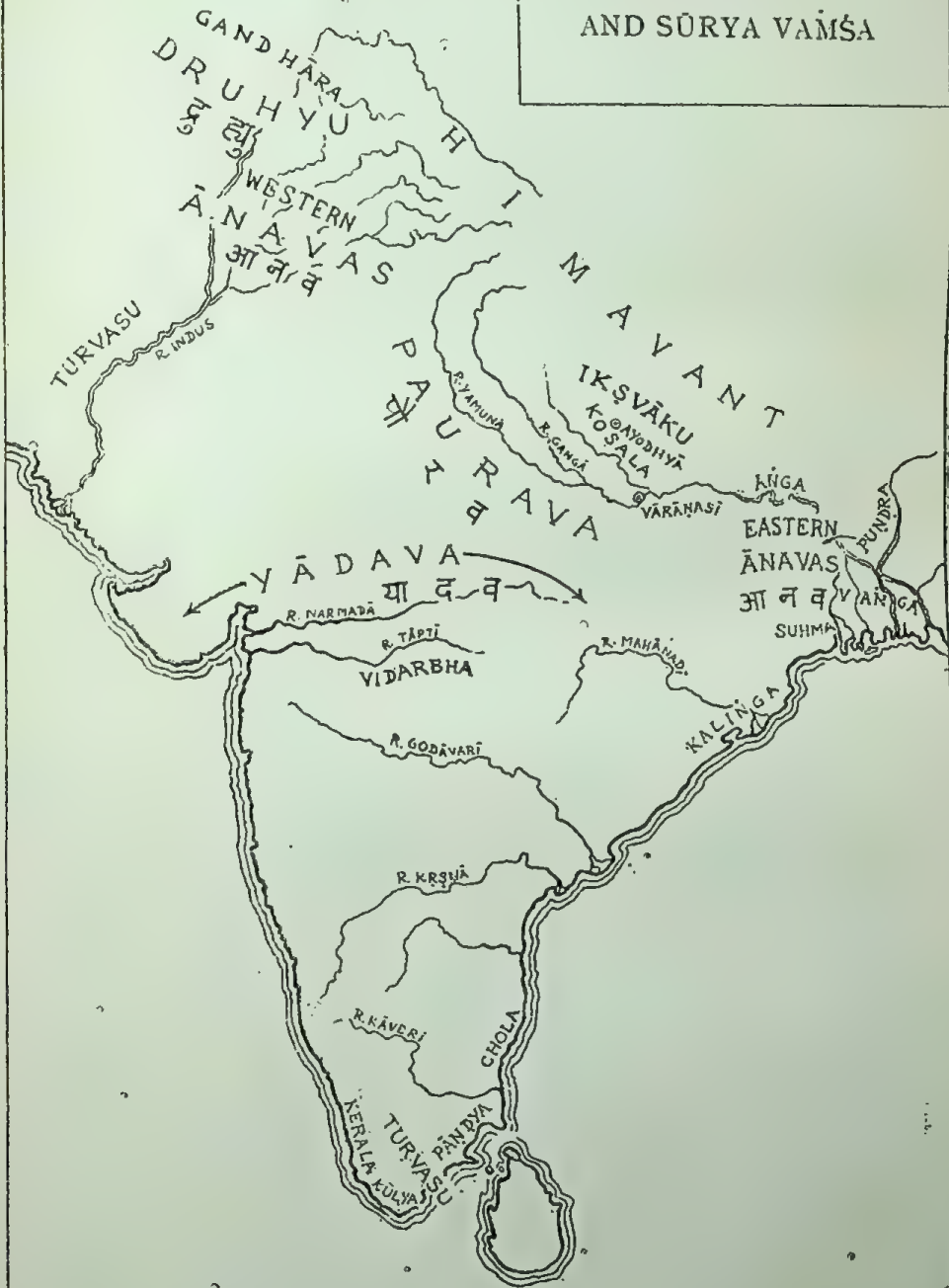
After giving the names of these 25 kings, the Matsya states that the race from which descend Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas, will, after Kshemaka, reach its end in the Kali age (M. 50. 88). As a matter of fact the line of Kauśāmbī is said to belong to the future kings and should have been included in Chapter 271 where other future dynasties are enumerated (see Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali age*, pp. 3-8).

VAMŚA OR GENEALOGIES— In the *Pañchalakṣhaṇa* definition of Purāṇa, *Vamśa* forms an essential element. This originally consisted of the genealogies of the Solar and Lunar dynasties. The origin of these two has been with ingenuity unified to a common ancestor named Vaivasvata Manu. From his son Ikshvāku were descended kings of the Sūrya-Vamśa proper. Another son of Manu named Ilā was changed into a woman Ilā, who became the mother of Purūravas, the founder of the Chandra-Vamśa, Lunar dynasty. His great-grandson was Yayāti, from whom the Ailas divided into five great branches whose genealogies have been given above. Amongst them the lines of Yadu and Pūru were really important. The descendants of Pūru were the Bharatas who occupied the Kuru-Pāñchāla country. The Yādava line was divided into two important branches, viz. the Haihayas descended from Sahasrajit and the other from Kroshtu represented by the Vidarbha, Daśārha, Sātvata, Andhaka, Vṛishṇi, Kukura and others. In fact these became better known as the Yādavas.

GEOGRAPHICAL PICTURE— If we take a conspectual view of the distribution of the five tribes descended from Yayāti, we get the following picture. The Madhyadeśa or the territory of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā came in the possession of the Pauravas or descendants of Pūru. South of the Narmadā the whole belt from Saurāshṭra to Baghelakhaṇḍa came into the possession of the Yādava line divided as above into an eastern (Haihaya) group and a western (Yādava) group.

भारत

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRI-
BUTION OF CHANDRA
AND SŪRYA VAMŚA



In the Panjab which included the territories of Madra, Kekaya, Sindhu, Sauvira, Śibi, and Ambashṭha, the descendants of Anu (the Ānavas) entrenched themselves. These were the western Ānavas. The eastern branch of the Ānava race under Titikshu occupied the country from Kaliṅga to east Bihar and north Bengal. It was a congeries of five kingdoms well-known in Indian history with distinctive geographical areas. Aṅga is Champā (modern Bhāgalpur); Puṇḍra was north Bengal famous in history as Puṇḍravardhana-Bhukti; Suhma was south-west Bengal with capital at Tāmralipti; and Vaṅga was east Bengal. The whole area was full of Austric tribes, and, as the Puranic account indicates by introducing the Asura king Bāli, cross-marriages between the Aryan colonisers and the aboriginal races took place.

The north-western frontier regions included in Gāndhāra and possibly up to Bālhika Mūjavant and Kamboja, came under the possession of the descendants of Druhyu whose line is traced for a while and then left off. They merged with the western peoples referred to by the general name of Mlechchhas.

The line of Turvasu presents some problem. They are said to have gone westward, but the southern dynasties of Pāṇdyas, Cholas and Keralas and Kūlyas (on the sea-coast near Quilon = कूलम् in Kerala) are stated to be their descendants. This is a most amazing statement, but gains semblance of historicity from the view set forth above, viz. the common ancestry of the Tamil-speaking peoples with those who spoke the Brahui language in the Indus Valley.

The Vamśa portions of the Purāṇas were preserved from the earliest times with much fidelity, as Pargiter has shown by a comparative study of the Aikshvāka and Aila genealogies occurring in the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya, Kūrma, Garuḍa, Brahma, Harivamśa, Padma, Viṣṇu (account mainly in prose), Agni and Bhāgavata (late reversified account).

The genealogical records in the Matsya may be divided into the following three parts :—

- (1) Accounts of the Aikshvakus, Śāryatas and other sons

of Mānu. This differs from the Vāyu version, the verses being quite different, although the pedigrees are in the main the same. In the first part the account is very concise.

(2) The Matsya account of the early Ailas down to Yayāti. This portion also differs from the Vāyu version and is marked by wide divergences or corruptions in names. This part is briefer than the Vāyu version and the legends are also narrated differently.

(3) The Matsya account of genealogies of the five Aila races, Yādavas, Pauravas, Ānavas, Druhyus and Taurvasus. This part resembles the Vāyu version (वायुप्रोक्त), and appears to be based on the same original text. On the whole, the Matsya record is a valuable and in many points independent authority (Pargiter, AIHT., p. 79).

It is obvious that the Vamśa portions have suffered from ill-conceived patches (Dīrghatamas legend) and interpolations marring its original compact nature as a historical text of high antiquity and authenticity (cf. chh. 13-22 ; 23-42 ; 45-47).

It may also be noted that a time came when the Purāṇa writers found that the current of historical events had pretty advanced from the Bhārata battle up to their own time (circa 4th century A.D.) This period has been covered by an account of those dynasties which are known to us in history by their coins and inscriptions or monuments and these have been designated as future genealogies (*Bhavisya-Rāja-Vṛttāntu*). They were conscious of the fact that many foreign tribes (*Bahīścharāḥ*, M. 50.75) had entered the country and become rulers like the Śakas, Chūlikas, Yavanas, Ābhīras, et.

क्षत्रा पारशवाः शुद्रास्तथाऽन्ये ये बहिश्चराः ।

अग्निः शकाः पुलिन्दाश्च चूलिका यवनास्तथा ॥

कैवर्त्तभीरशवरा ये चान्ये म्लेच्छसम्भवाः ।

पर्यायतः प्रवक्ष्यामि नामतश्चैव तान्मुपान् ॥ (M. 50. 75-76)

Their accounts also were incorporated in the portions about future kings (M. et. 271)

AGNI-VAMŚA

Chapter 51 deals with the theme of Agni Vamśa, a natural corollary of Sūrya and Chandra Vamśa, but having nothing to do with a true historical genealogy. It is not history at all and it is no use frowning at it as 'imaginary genealogy' (Pargiter, *AIHT*, p. 122). It is a Vedic topic in which some well informed scholar has enumerated the names of 49 Agnis and arranged them in the form of a family-tree. The subject is repeated *ad verbatim* in the Vāyu (Chapter 29), from where it possibly came into the Matsya, also in Brahmanḍa (Anushaṅga pāda, Chapter 10). The Mahābhārata (Āraṇyaka-parva, Chap. 207, Poona edition), Mārkaṇḍeya (Chap. 52. 20-21), and Viṣṇu (1. 10. 14-17) also deal with this topic in a summary manner.

AGNI AND SVĀHĀ— Agni is said to be the mind-born son of Brahmā as we have explained before. Brahmā is the same as Hiranyagarbha or Prāṇa which was identified with Agni. Svāhā was the wife of Agni. Svāhā and Svadhā are two goddesses, the former for the Devas and the latter for the Pitṛis. Agni is the symbol of all the Gods, (*Agniḥ sarvā devatāḥ*) and as such he consorted with Svāhā. The symbolical significance of the two may be understood by referring to the two principles of *Prayati* and *Svadhā* mentioned in the Nāsadiya Sūkta. There *Prayati* is the higher principle of energy or Puruṣa and *Svadhā* is the lower principle of Matter or Prakṛiti (*Svadhā avastāt prayatiḥ parastāt*, R.V. X. 129. 5). Thus *Svāhā* is the same as *Prayati* which belongs to the upper-half of the divine creation and is the same as *Chetanā* or *Prāṇa* or Divine Energy. *Svāhā* (*Sva + ā + hā*) as divine power is always to be dedicated in the service of the Gods, whereas *Svadhā* (*sva + dhā*) implies the depositing or conservation of the principle of Matter with which the physical forms are created by the two Parents.

Svāhā became the wife of Agni. She gave birth to three sons named *Suchi*, *Pāvaka*, *Pavamāna* (M.51.3.). The fire in heaven is called *Suchi* (शुचिरग्निः स्मृतः सौरः, M. 51. 4), the fire in Antarikṣha *Pāvaka* and the fire on earth *Pavamāna*. Here again a

division may be made, namely that the heavenly light or fire, i. e. Sūrya, is immortal and divine, and the fire on earth (i. e. *Vaiśvānara*) is earthly and mortal, i. e. residing in the bodies of men, animals and plants (*Sthāvara*, M. 51. 4.).

PAVAMĀNA— The Pavamāna Agni also bears the significant name of Nirmathya (निर्मथ्यः पवमानः), so called because it is produced by attrition of the two churning sticks (*Araṇi-manthana*) and is graphically described as the child of the two Araṇis (अरण्योर्निहितो जातवेदा गर्भं इव सुधितो गर्भिणीषु, RV. III. 29. 2.). The earthly fire or *Pavamāna* is produced by friction and constantly kept alive by the use of Force (*Sahas*) on account of which it is called *Sahoja* Agni or *Sahasah sūnuh*. This process of Force becomes manifest as contraction and expansion (*Samañchana-Prasāraṇa*) or any rhythmic cyclical movement.

PĀVAKA— The fire in the Antariksha region is called *Pāvaka* and also *Vaidyuta Agni*, said to be the son of Pāvaka (अग्निर्वैद्युतः पावकात्मजः, M. 51. 3.). Its synonym is *Indrāgni*, having the nature of *Vidyut* or radiant light which on the one hand derives its active force from the Sun, and on the other becomes visible as the power in Matter. Without the *Pāvaka* fire, *Suchi* and *Pavamāna* cannot function, the former remains unmanifest and the latter ineffective. Mother Nature or the Universal Cow is stated to assume the form of lightning and by her flashes enter the mortal creation :—

सा चित्तिभिर्नि हि चकार मर्त्यं

विद्युद् भवन्ती प्रति वज्रिमौहत (RV. I. 164. 29)

Śaunaka also gives the intermediate *Pāvaka* Agni of Antariksha the name of Indra, i. e. *Aindra vidyut* :—

अग्निरस्मिन्नथेन्द्रस्तु मध्यतो वायुरेव च ।

सूर्यो दिवोति विज्ञेयस्तिष्ठ एव हि देवताः ॥ (Bṛihaddevatā, 1. 69)

It is one great Sūrya, the power of Brahman (ब्रह्मसूर्यं समं ज्योतिः Yajur. 23. 48), who having divided himself into three, is called Agni on earth, Indra and Vāyu in the middle region and Sūrya in heaven, who are to be recognised as the three deities :—

“Of what is and has been and is to be, and of what moves,

and is stationary,—of all this the Sun alone is the origin and the cause of dissolution. This Fire abides in three forms in the three worlds (कृत्वासौ हि त्रिधात्मानमेव लोकेषु तिष्ठति, *Bṛihad-devatā* 1. 61, 63, 69). Owing to the majesty of these deities different names are applied to them. Because of their divisibility (*Mahā-bhāgya*) the one is becoming manifest as the many.

The principle of these three fires is the bed-rock of the entire Vedic symbolism. In Vedic terminology they are known as *Manas*, *Prāṇa* and *Vāk*, the first corresponding to the Psychical Man, the second to the Vital Man and the third to the Physical Man. These are the three Persons who make up the single composite form of each individual organism :—

1. *Suchi*—*Sūrya*—Mind (*Manas*)—Heaven
2. *Pāvaka*—*Indra* and *Vāyu*—*Prāṇa* and *Apāna* (*Vital Energy*)—*Antariksha*
3. *Pavamāna*—*Agni* on earth—*Vāk* (five elements of Matter)—*Prithivī*

Thus there are the three Fires, three Devas and three Lokas, which make up the composite principle of *Vaiśvānara*, i.e. Life in Matter :—

अहं वैश्वानरो भूत्वा प्राणिनां देहमाश्रितः ।

प्राणापानसमायुक्तः पचाम्यन्नं चतुर्विधम् ॥ (*Gītā*, 15. 14.).

The mid-most fire has two names, *Indra* and *Vāyu* justifiably, since as *Indra* it is linked to heaven and as *Vāyu* to earth,

SONS— The son of *Pavamāna* on earth is named *Kavya-vāhana* in *Vāyu*, against *Havyavāhana* of *Matsya*, a misreading the fire which carries oblations to the *Pitṛis*. The son of *Pāvaka* in *Antariksha* is the *Saha-rakshas* fire which is sacred to the *Asuras*. The son of *Suchi* fire in heaven is *Havyavāhana*, which is sacred to the gods. Here the *Pitṛis* are associated with the earth because of the principle of *Svadhā* or Matter which propitiates them in the form of *Anna*.

The *Saha-rakshas* *Agni* belongs to *Asuras* (सहस्रक्षोऽसुराणां तु, *M.* 51. 6). *Saha-rakshas* literally means that which is with ashes

(Skt. *Rakshas*-Hindi राक्ष), since the Asuras represent the principle of Darkness. Agni is here conceived as two-fold, viz. in an aspect of light that relates to the Devas, and in the other aspect of Darkness or latent power that belongs to the Asuras. For example, the burning charcoal is of the form of Devas, whereas the black charcoal is of the form of Asuras.

FORTY SONS AND GRANDSONS

The above nine fires are stated to have forty sons and grand-sons (M. 51. 6). Two sons of Pāvaka (ब्रह्मौदन and दध्यङ्घ्र्यर्वा)

BRAHMAUDANA FIRE— The foremost of them is the fire called *Brahmaudana* whose other name is *Bharata*. *Brahmaudana* is the great principle of Brahman himself whose food (*Odana*) is the cosmos. The Fiery principle of *Brahma* or *Brahmaudana* stands in its own right as the self-existent Creator (*Svayambhū*) with all its powers withdrawn into its own centre into which the worlds are being offered as oblation or food (विश्वा भुवनानि जुह्वत्, RV. X. 81. 1.), or who is performing the *Sarvavut* sacrifice (RV. X. 90. 8). *Bharata* is said to be the name of *Brahmaudana*. *Bharata* is Agni which, as *Prāṇa*, carries the food to the Gods:—

प्राणो भरतः (AB. 2.24)

अग्निर्वै भरतः स वै देवेभ्यो हव्यं भरति (KB. 3. 2.)

एष अग्निर्हि देवेभ्यो हव्यं भरति तस्माद् भरतोऽग्निरित्याहुः, ŚB. 1.4.2.2.

एष (अग्निः) उ वा इमा प्रजाः प्राणो भूत्वा विभति तस्मादेव भरतवदिति,
ŚB. 1.5.1.8.

This *Bharata* Agni is said to be the fire whose mouth is *Vaiśvānara* or the metabolic fire produced by the mutual friction of *Prāṇa* and *Apāna*. Therefore the equation as given in the Matsya is :

ब्रह्मौदन = भरत = वैश्वानर = अपां रसः = पवमान

दध्यङ्घ्र्यर्वा or दक्षिणाग्नि

DAKSHINĀGNI—As is well known, *Dakshināgni* is the middle one of the three fires in the Yajña ; its origin is explained here with significant symbolism. In the beginning existed *Atharvan*, Genius of Fire (*Athar* = *asar* = fire), He churned the *Pushkara*

(the World-Lotus) and from that produced a son called *Amrita* that became the *Dakṣiṇāgni* Fire. Atharvan himself was the son of *Bhrigu* and Atharvan's son was *Āṅgiras*. This is a blending of several Vedic motifs based on the following mantra—

त्वामग्ने पुष्करादव्यधर्वा निरमन्यत ।

मूध्नो विश्वस्य वाघतः ॥ (RV. 6. 16. 13)

This is translated in the *Matsya* as—

अमृतोऽव्यधर्वाः पुत्रो मधितः पुष्करादधि । (M. 51.9, पुष्करोदधिः is a corrupt reading for पुष्करादधि).

Who is *Atharvā* ? What is *Pushkara* ? What is *Manthana* ? What came out of the churning by Atharvan ? These are four questions to which an answer is as follows :—

(i) *ATHARVAN*—It is the genius of Fire, the supreme transcendent source in whom the fire originally existed and who brought it to the level of the earth by his *Manthana*.

(ii) *PUSHKARA*—The meaning of *Pushkara* takes us to the *Ekārṇava* doctrine because originally Fire existed within the womb of the Waters. It was like the divine temperature equally distributed in the expansive ocean (*Samudra*) or primeval flood (*Salilam*) who were the Mothers (*Āpah*) carrying the babe Agni in their womb. Surely that heat was evenly distributed in the ocean and by means of friction, it was collected at focal centres. *Pushkara* refers to that Oceanic Flood. It is stated that Indra after slaying *Vṛitrāsura*, became afraid and entered the Waters, saying to them that he was stricken with terror and so a shelter for him should be devised. The Waters offered their Sap (*Apām rasah*) and said that the same would form a *Pura* for Indra ; since they created a *Pura* they became known as *Pūshkara* which is called *Pūshkara* and the same for the sake of the hidden meaning became *Pushkara*.* Thus the Waters as the maker of *Pura* are known as *Pushkara* (आपो वै पुष्करम्, ŚB.

* इन्द्रो वृत्रं हत्वा नास्तुषीति मन्यमानोऽयः प्राविशत् ता अब्रवीद् बिभेमि वै पुरं मे कुस्तेति स योऽपां रस आसीतमूध्वं समुदौहंस्तामस्मै पुरमकुर्वन्तस्मात्पुष्करं पुष्करं ह वै तत्पुष्करमित्याचक्षते परोक्षम् । (ŚB. 7.4.1.13).

6.4.2.2). They were churned and threw up from their depth their quintessence (*Rasa*) which was the 'Life-sap, that became manifest as the Lotus on the surface of waters. This lotus is the abode of *Indra*, *Prāṇa*, *Brahma*, or the manifest Life-principle, of the progenitive womb of the mother from which life is created. The cosmic lotus (*Bhuvana-kośa*, *Bhū-padma*) was churned out of the Waters and that is the symbol of the immortal Fire produced by Atharvan. This is called *Dakṣhiṇāgni*, the 'Rightsided Fire,' as we have explained that *Dakṣhiṇa* stands for the region of *Prakṛiti*.

(iii) MANTHANA—It is a symbolical term signifying agitation (*Kṣobha*) of the First Cause which has many names, e. g. *Manthana*, *Samindhana*, *Jāgarana*, *Prāṇana*, etc. Churning is rhythmic movement and in terms of the creative process it is best expressed as *Prāṇana-Apānana* or *Samāñchana-Prasāraṇa* (*Prāṇo vai samāñchanan-prasāraṇam*, SB. 8.1.4.10; also Yajurveda 97.45), or *Sanṅkocha-Vikāsa* in the Purāṇas. This rhythmic swing of the pendulum of time is the mighty process produced by cosmic churning.

(iv) The net result of the Universal churning which is taking place in the most distant stars and the minutest cells and atoms is the manifestation of energy or life-principle or consciousness which is the immortal Fire. It is called *Dakṣhiṇāgni* for the reason that *Dakṣha* means the 'right-sided one,' namely the material world as against *Vāma* which is the unmanifested Upper-half of the cosmological unit. As already explained, *Puruṣa* is the left-half and *Prakṛiti* the right half of the Cosmic Egg.

It is also said that *Bhṛigu* produced *Atharvā* and *Atharvā* produced *Āṅgiras*. In fact *Bhṛigu* and *Āṅgiras* are the symbols of Water and Fire, the principles of Heat and Cold. They both exist in the primeval Waters or the First Cause as stated in the *Gopatha* :

आपो भृवंगिरोरूपमापो भृवंगिरोमयम् ।

* *Atharvā* is the mid-most point between *Bhṛigu* and *Āṅgiras* and as a link agitates both of them.

DADHYAÑNATHARVĀ— In the Vāyu version this significant term has been used as the name of a fire said to be the son of Aṅgiras, who was the son of Atharvan (दध्यङ् वा अंगिरसो देवानां पुरोधानीयः, PB. 12. 8. 6 ; Vāyu 29. 9.). The etymology of *Dadhyañ* points to the principle of *Dadhi*, i. e. curdling of the milk of the Universal Mother Cow. In the Brāhmaṇas, *Dadhi* is stated to be the symbol of Earth or Matter ('दधि हैवास्य लोकस्य रूपम्' ŚB. 7. 5. 1. 3.). *Dadhyañ* or *Dadhichi* was the name of a mythical horse or Rishi, but in fact it is Sūrya as the great horse in the cosmic sacrifice, who is creating the material forms (*Dadhi*).

It is further pointed out that the Pavamāna or Nirmathya Fire corresponds to the Gārhapatya Agni of the sacrificial ritual (M. 51. 11.).

The Gārhapatya Fire had two sons named *Sabhya* and *Āvasathya* fires (Vāyu 29. 12.; Matsya, 51. 12.).

THE DHISHṆYĀ FIRES (विष्ण्याग्नयः)

Āhavanīya Fire fell in love with 16 rivers, and dividing himself into 16 forms enjoyed with each of them. The names of these rivers are : 1. Kāverī, 2. Krishṇavenī, 3. Narmadā, 4. Yamunā, 5. Godāvarī, 6. Vitastā, 7. Chandrabhāgā, 8. Irāvati, 9. Vipāśā, 10. Kauśikī, 11. Śatadru, 12. Sarayū, 13. Sītā, 14. Sarasvatī (Manasvinī in Matsya), 15. Hrādinī and 16. Pāvanī (M. 51. 13-14.). These are identified with the Dhishṇyā Fires of the Soma Yajña. A two-fold symbolism is implied; the first is the colonisation of the holy land by means of *Yajñas* along the banks of rivers extending from Sītā in Central Asia and through the 'land of the five rivers', through Madhya Deśa with the rivers Yamunā, Sarayū and Kaushikī and Hrādinī, upto Kāverī in the extreme South. This fact was ingrained in the consciousness of the people :—

एवं त्वजनयद् घिष्ण्यान् वेदोक्तान् विविधान् बहून् ।

विचरन् विविधान्-देशान् भ्रममाणस्तु तत्र वै ॥

(Āraṇyaka-parva, 212. 20.)

The sacrificial fire travelling along the banks of the rivers created the Dhishṇyāgnis in numerous places. In fact the list of rivers in describing the holy land could be extended at will, as the Āraṇyaka-parva list contains 33 names against 16 of the Matsya. The fires are said to be associated with the waters of the rivers and one is as numerous as the other (यावन्तः पावकाः प्रोक्ताः सोमास्तावन्त एव च, Āraṇyaka-parva, 212. 25).

From the fires along the river-banks many sons and grand-sons (*Nadī-putra*) were born, obviously referring to the Yajña-cult spreading in each area and house-hold.

SOMA-DHISHṆYAS—The Dhishṇyā Fires in the Soma sacrifice are eight in number. They are placed between the Vēdi of the Śrauta Yajña and the Uttara-Vēdi especially made for the Soma Yajña. The Dhishṇyā was a sort of subordinate or side-altar, generally a heap of earth covered with sand on which the fire was placed. The foremost of them, the Āgnīdhra fire, was placed in the Āgnīdhra house and the seven in the *Sadas* or a shed erected in the sacrificial enclosure to the east of the *Prāchīna-Vamśa*. The eight *Dhishṇyā* Fires are as follows :

1. *Āgnīdhriya* in the Āgnīdhra house.
2. *Hotrīya*, belonging to the Hotṛi priest.
3. *Maitrā Varuṇa*, of the Praśātrī or Maitrā-Varuṇa priest.
4. *Brāhmaṇāchchhamśiya*, belonging to the Brāhmaṇāchchhamśin priest, who recites after and assists Brahman, the chief priest at a Soma sacrifice.
5. *Potrīya*, of the Potṛi priest, an assistant of Brahman meaning Purifier.
6. *Neshṭrīya*, of the Neshṭri priest, one of the chief officiating priests at a Soma sacrifice, who leads forward the wife of the Yajamāna and prepares the Surā.
7. *Achchhāvākīya*, belonging to the Achchhāvāka priest, who is an assistant of the Hotṛi priest.
8. *Mārjālīya*, meant for all the priests for washing of sacrificial utensils etc,

Of the four principal priests the *Dhishṇyā* Fires were as follows :

1. Hotā—Three *Dhishṇyā* Fires, the two others being for his assistants Maitrā-Varuṇa (*Praśāstā*) and Achchhāvāka.
2. Udgātā—No *Dhishṇyā* Fire.
3. Adhvaryu—Only one *Dhishṇyā* Fire for his assistant, Neshtā.
4. Brahmā—Three *Dhishṇyā* Fires for his assistants, namely Brāhmaṇachchham̐sin. Āgnīdhra and Potā.

We find the earliest conception of these *Dhishṇyā* Fires in the *Ṛigveda* :

तवाग्ने होत्रं तव पोत्रमृत्विष्यं तव नेष्ट्रं त्वमग्नीहोतायतः ।
तव प्रशास्त्रं त्वमध्वरीयसि ब्रह्मा चासि गृहपतिश्च नो दमे ॥

(RV. II. 1. 2 ; X. 91. 10)

8. UPASTHEYA FIRES— The Purāṇa writer has made two divisions of the 16 *Dhishṇyā* Fires, viz. *Upastheya* and *Viharaṇīya*. The *Upastheya* class of fires were so called because they were to be approached at their fixed place in the Uttaravedi of the sacrifice. The 8 *Upastheya* Fires were as follows :

1. *Samrāḍ Agni* of the second Uttara-Vedi (द्वितीयोत्तरवेदिकः) also called *Kriśānu* or *Vāsava Agni*.
2. *Parjanya*.
3. *Samuhya*, called *Samūhya* in Pāṇini and so, also called *Pāvakoṣṭhā*.
4. *Havya-sūda*, also called *Sāmitra* and *Asammṛijya*.
5. *Satadhāmā* (v. 1. *Ritadhāmā*), also called *Svarjyoti* (*Sudhājyoti* in Matsya or *Raudraśvarya*).
6. *Brahmajyotiḥ*, also called *Vasudhāmā* in the place of Brahman (*Brahmasthānīya*).
7. *Ajāikapād*, also called *Sālāmukhīya* because it was placed at the entrance of the Agniśālā.

8. *Ahribudhnya*, also called *Anirdēśya* and placed inside the Sadas.

8. VIHARAṆĪYA FIRES— The 8 Viharaṇīya Fires are said to be so named as they were taken to any spot considered necessary on the day of the Yajña (विहरन्ति यथास्थानं पुण्याहे समुपक्रमे, M. 51.18). There is some confusion of names between the lists of Matsya and Vāyu, the reading in the Vāyu suffers from repetition (cf. Vāyu, 29. 20, 26), but at the same time gives an ampler list. These Fires were subsidiary to the 8 Dhishṇyā Fires enumerated above; for the sake of clarity, they may be tabulated as follows: Both the Matsya and Vāyu also indicate their mutual relationship as father and son:

1. Hotriya's son *Barhisha* (Matsya), *Pravahana* (Vāyu).
2. Pautra's son *Prachetas*, also called *Sānti* (Vāyu), *Sāmsuhāyaka* in Matsya.
3. Brāhmaṇāchchham̐sin's son *Viśvavedas* (Viśvadeva in Vāyu), said to be *Brahmasthānīya*.
4. Achchhāvāka's son *Svāmbha*, also named *Setu* and *Apāṁ yoniḥ* in Matsya where its relation with Achchhāvāka is not given, but in Vāyu the correct name *Avasyu* is given as the son of Achchhāvāka and its synonym *Svāchchha* is also recorded (Vāyu 29. 28; the variants in the footnote give the correct reading).
5. Neshṭriya's son not given in the Matsya, but named in the Vāyu as *Uśik* Agni and also *Kavi* (उशिगग्निः कविर्यस्तु नेष्ट्रीयः संविभाव्यते, Vāyu 29.29).
6. Mārjālīya. It appears that two names of the list are missing in the Vāyu text. The Matsya text gives only four names without indicating their parental relationship.

AGNI'S 20 OTHER DESCENDANTS

Up to now 29 names have been enumerated. In the third round 20 sons and grandsons of the same three Fires, Śuchi, Pāvaka and Pavamāna are given as follows:

I. SONS OF PĀVAKA—Pāvaka is said to have six descendants. In the Matsya and Vāyu they are spoken of as related to each other as father, son, grandson, etc. as follows :—

1. *Avabhṛitha*, also called *Apān-garbha* (Vāyu) and *Adhvaryu-garbha* in the Matsya according to a variant reading (M. 51 27.) It was also named *Hṛich-chhaya* (Vāyu) or *Hṛidayāgni* (Matsya). The Vāyu has said that the *Viharaṇīya* Agnis were propitiated by *Ājya* or *Soma*, but the *Avabhṛitha* Fire by making oblation in water (अप्सु हूयते, Vāyu 29.31). Also called *Yogāgni*.
2. *Manyumān* Agni, also called *Jaṭharāgni* (M. 51.29), son of *Avabhṛitha* or *Hṛidayāgni*. Useful for digesting food (विद्वाग्नि).
3. *Samivartaka*, also called *Vaḍavāmukha*, which lives in the ocean and consumes its water (पिबन्नपः वसति समुद्रे वडवामुखे, M. 51. 30). The great *Vaḍavāmukha* Fire is *Sūrya* himself who drinks the *Soma* or waters of the *Pārmeshṭhya* ocean. It is said to be the son of *Manyumān* Agni and of terrific form (*Ghora*). It is प्रलयान्नि.
4. *Saha-rakshas*, son of *Vaḍavāmukha*. It has already been said that *Saha-rakshas* was the fire of the *Asuras* and son of *Pāvaka*, the fire in the *Antariksha*. Here the name is repeated.
5. *Kāmāgni*, son of *Saha-rakshas* (सहरक्षसुतः कामान् गृहे स वसते नृणाम्, M. 51. 31). Useful for householders.
6. *Kravyād* Agni, son of *Kāmāgni*; it is the fire which consumes the corpse in the funeral ground. There is a whole hymn in the *Rigveda* and *Atharva Veda* describing the evil nature of the *Kravyādagni*. As the name shows, this fire in the form of diseases affecting the mind and the body eats into the vitals of the human flesh. The opposite of *Kravyād* fire was known in the *Rigveda* as *Rakshohā* Agni, the fire that slays the demons.

MAHĀBHĀRATA EVIDENCE—The above group of six names is of Fires terrific in nature (*Ghōra*). In the Āraṇyaka-parva Bṛihaspati is said to have six sons whose names were *Niśchya-vana*, *Nishkr̥itin*, *Svana*, *Vaḍavāmukha*, *Manyu* and *Kāma* (209. 12 23). This list seems to correspond with the six names given in the Matsya and Vāyu as follows :—

1. Niśchya-vana corresponds to Avabhṛitha.
2. Nishkr̥iti to Kravyād as it is said to kill the person whom it affects. (209. 14).
3. Svana, said to be a disease producing fire (रुजस्कर पावक), same as Saha-rakshas of Matsya.
4. Vaḍavāmukha same as Sathvartaka.
5. Manyu same as Manyumant of Matsya and Vāyu.
6. Kāma, same as Kāmāgni of Matsya. The Āraṇyaka-parva also calls it *Uktha*, because *Uktha* represents the principle of mind of which the seed was Kāma (कामस्तदग्रे समवर्तताधि मनसोरेतः प्रथमं यदासीत्, RV. X. 129. 4.) It was also named Sakamāśva, 'Siring Stallion' (Āraṇyaka 209. 25).

It may be noted that the list of Agnis in the Mbh. is more elaborate but diffused and unsystematic, and surely a later grafting in imitation of the Vāyu and Matsya texts. The Mbh. also mentions two other sons of Bṛihaspati named *Bhardvāja* and *Bharata*, of whom Bharata is the same as in Matsya and hence Bhardvāja seems to correspond to *Dadhyaññ-Ātharvaṇa* of Matsya.

The descendants of Pāvaka having been given as above, there was occasion to enumerate in a separate list the descendants of Śuchi and Pavamāna. Both Vāyu and Matsya give a list of 14 Fires in two groups of 8 and 6, but assign all of them to the lineage of Śuchi. It seems, however, that the first group of 8 refers to the descendants of Pavamāna and the second list of 6 to these of Śuchi.

II. DESCENDANTS OF PAVAMĀNA—As said above it is a group of 8 Fires enumerated as follows :—

1. *Āyus*—It is said to be produced from the two churning sticks (मयितो यस्त्वरण्यां तु सोऽग्निराप समिन्धनम्, आयुर्नम्रा तु भगवान् पशौ-यस्तु प्रणीयते ॥ M. 51. 33). In the Puranic legend Āyus is the son of Purūravas and Urvaśī who symbolise Aśvattha and Śamī from which the two fire sticks were made to produce fire by friction. They symbolise the two parents. The Vedic name of this fire was *Jāta-vedas* (अरण्योनिहितो जातवेदा गर्भं इव सुभृतो गर्भिणीषु, RV. III. 29. 2). It was the same as *Samidhāgni*. (अग्निराप समिन्धनम्). It was also named *Praṇāyya* Agni in a Paśu Yāga.
2. *Mahimān*—son of Āyus, probably the same as *Mahat* or *Bhūtapati* of the Āraṇyaka-parva.
3. *Dahana*—Variant reading *Savana*, the Agni used in the Pāka Yajñas (Vāyu, 29. 38).
4. *Adbhuta* Agni, also name *Sahita*, which is said to be identical with *Prāyaśchitta* Agni.
5. *Vīra*—son of Adbhuta said to be the germ of Deva, i.e. Mahādeva-Rudra (अद्भुतस्य सुतो वीरो देवांसस्तु महान् स्मृतः). This Vīra Agni is the same as Skanda, viz. Kumāra whose exploits are described at length in the Matsya where it is named Vīraka (M. 154. 545, 554). It is described in the Śatapatha as *Kumāra* Agni (ŚB. 6.)
6. *Vividhāgni*, son of Vīra
7. *Mahākavi*, son of Vividhāgni
8. *Arka*, a fire symbolising the *Prāṇāgni* in the individual centre (प्राणो वै अर्कः, ŚB. 10. 6. 5. 2; वेत्यार्कमिति पुरुषं हैव तदुवाच, ŚB. 10. 3. 4. 5.)

SIX DESCENDANTS OF ŚUCHI—This list includes the following :—

1. *Rakshohā*—The fire for Kāmya Ishtis.
2. *Yatikṛit*—(Matsya), *Pitrikṛit* (Vāyu)
3. *Surabhi*

4. *Vasumān*, that is associated with *Vasus* or Jewels (वसुरत्नादौ प्रविष्टः, Vāyu 29. 40), also called *Rukmamān* (Vāyu). Seems to be the same as *Haryaśva*.
5. *Pravargya*—It is a well known Agni used for heating the *Pravargya* or *Maḥāvira* or *Gharma* vessel containing boiled milk in which ghee is mixed.
6. *Kṣhemavān*—Fire used in क्षेमवती इष्टि

In the Matsya list two more names, viz. *Nāda* (due to mislection) and *Haryaksha* are included making a list of 8, although only six names were required. In the Vāyu, only six names are given as *Anṛkavan*, *Asṛijavān*, *Rakshohā*, *Pitrikṛt*, *Surabhi*, and *Rukmavān*. In the two lists four names are common.

It is stated that the *Viharaṇīya* Fires are found in many places in the animate and inanimate creatures (एते विहरणीयास्तु चेतनाचेतनेष्वपि) and are invoked for a variety of *Kāmya* and *Naimittika* rites (काम्य नैमित्तिकाद्यास्ते, M. 51. 42). The *Upastheya* Fires stationary in the Yajña (स्थानाख्या जातवेदसाम्, M. 51. 44, also स्थानाभिमानिनः) and associated with Agnīdhra (M. 51. 42).

ONE AGNI—It is recognised by all writers that originally Fire was one but differentiated for the sake of different rites (अग्निर्यदा त्वेक एव बहुत्वं चास्य कर्मसु, Āraṇyaka, 207.3). Agni was the First Cause of creation produced by Brahmā to remove the primeval darkness (त्वमग्निः प्रथमः सृष्टो ब्रह्मणा तिमिरापहः, Āraṇyaka, 207. 13).

Agni is primeval Heat (अग्रज तपस्, Vāyu 5. 45, Liṅga 1. 7. 105), the mysterious Temperature that was produced in the beginning (ऊष्मा चैवोष्मणः जज्ञे सोऽग्निभूतेषु लक्ष्यते । आरण्यक). That Agni permeating the Cosmic Egg is creating universes upon universes :

अन्तःस्थश्च बहिःस्थश्च ब्रह्माण्डानां विभावसुः ।

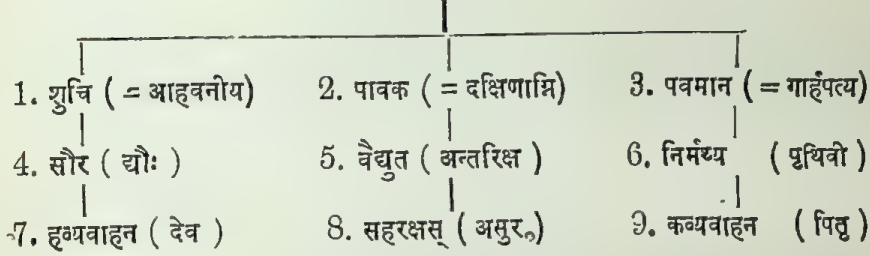
(Liṅga, 2. 12. 33).

The Agnis are said to be all different forms of Rudras (सर्वे रुद्रात्मकाः स्मृताः, Liṅga, 1. 6. 4). In the Atharva (3. 21), there is mention of many fires whose leader is named Vaiśvānara (वैश्वानरज्येष्ठेभ्यस्तेभ्यो अग्निभ्यः, AV. 3. 21. 6). The Harivaṁśa, stating the Agnis to be the attendants of Rudra, names five

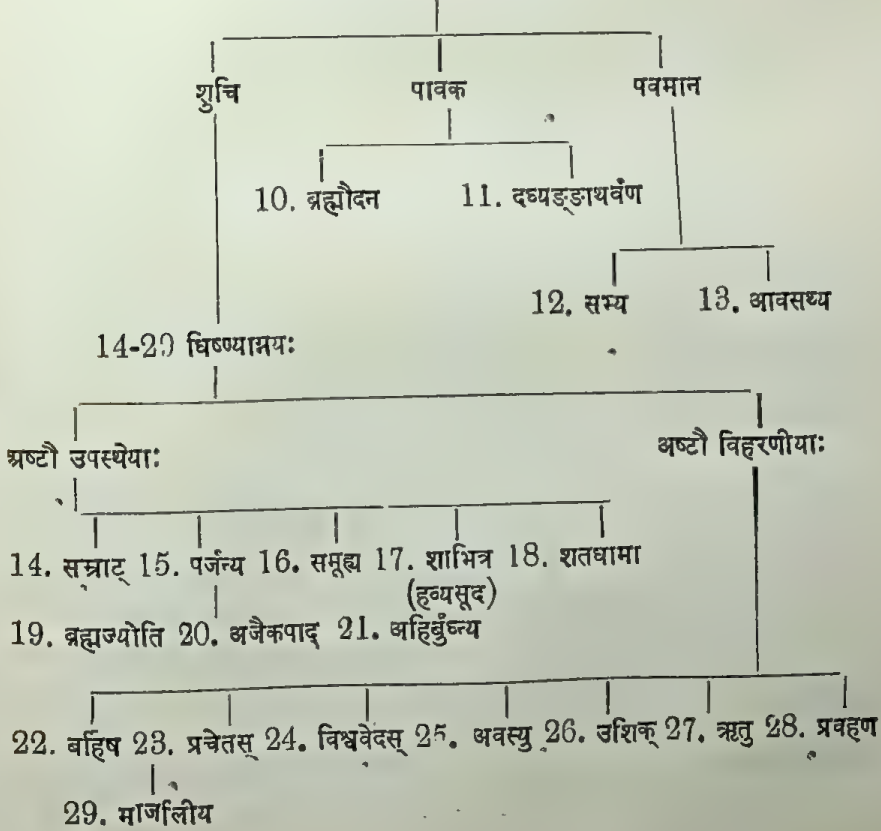
Agnis of Svāhākāra, 5 of Svadhākāra, Āhavanīya, Jyotishṭoma, and Vashaṭkāra, in whose midst Maharshi Aṅgiras moves with his *Triśūla* (trident, HV. 2. 122. 17-40). In the Sabhā-parva 27 Fires are stated to be present in the assembly of Indra (7. 18). It appears that there was always some elasticity in the names and numbers but finally a genealogical list of 49 Agnis was drawn up (मेदा एकोनपञ्चाशद्वेदविधिरुदाहृताः, Liṅga, 2. 12. 35).

अग्नि वंश [= अग्नि-निचय]

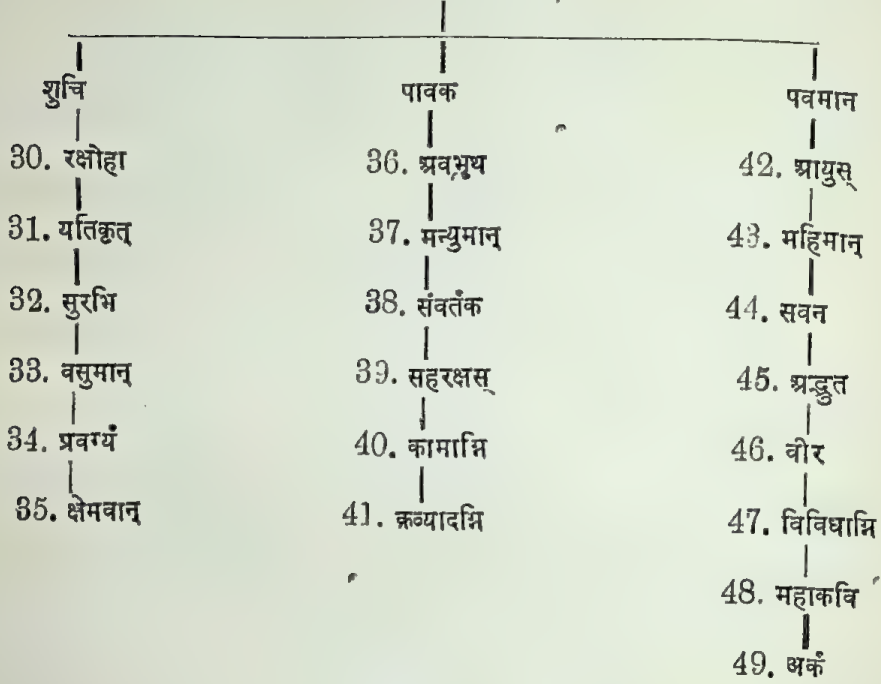
I First Pedigree



II Second Pedigree



III Third Pedigree



KARMA-YOGA

Ch. 52 introduces a new topic entitled *Karma-Yoga*, which was outside the *Pañcha-lakṣhaṇa* definition of Purāṇa and gives a sampling of the new material for which flood-gates had been thrown open at the time of recasting the ancient material. It is said here that the portions relating to *Sarga* and *Prati-sarga* having been recited, it was high time to listen to the philosophy of *Karma-Yoga* and *Sāṃkhya* which originated from Vivasvata Manu. It is truly the same as the statement in the *Gīta* about *Karma-Yoga* being first enunciated by Vivasvān to his son Manu, and by Manu to Ikshvāku and other kings in the Solar dynasty. The same doctrine of *Karma-Yoga* is embodied here with all its essential elements boldly stating that *Karma-Yoga* exceeds in merit a thousand *Jñāna-Yogas* (ज्ञानयोगसहस्राद्धि कर्मयोगः प्रशस्यते, M. 52. 5.). There can be no *Jñāna* except through *Karma*, *Jñāna* is produced by *Karma* (कर्मयोगोद्धवं ज्ञानम्, M. 5. 52. 6). No one has ever attained *Jñāna* without *Karma-Yoga* (M. 51. 12.). *Karma* is life devoted to good actions fulfilling its normal course by means of the five daily *Yajñas*, thirty *Saṃskāras*, *Vratas*,

Dāna, Upavāsa, Japa, Homa, and worship of gods. Attention is also drawn to the *Vibhūti*s of Viṣṇu detailed in *Gīta*, Ch. 10.

PURĀṆA-SĀṆKHYĀ

Ch. 53 is devoted to a stock-taking of the Purāṇa literature as it had attained its maximum development at the time when the cycle of 18 Purāṇas was completed. Several important points have to be noted here.

1. *Purāṇa* is said to have preceded even the Vedas and was the first to be produced from Brahmā's mouth. We have explained before its implication that the legends which formed the kernel of the *Śrīṣṭi-vidyā* in the Purāṇas existed from immemorial times, even prior to the formulation of Vedic legends, e. g. the legend of Sūrya as horse and his wife as mare.

2. In a previous *Kalpa* or duration of time there was one Purāṇa with a thousand million Ślokas (*Śata-koṭi pravistaram*), but later on knowledge was systematised under the scheme of four Vedas, six Vedāṅgas, Nyāya, Mimāṃsā and Dharmaśāstra which Brahmā had revealed to the ṛsages. We have explained at length under *Pramāṇaśṭaka* how this vast literature was considered as part of the *Trayī* or *Vedopaniṣad* tradition as given at length in the *Ahīrbudhnya Saṁhitā*. At one period it seems that the Purāṇa was interested in all other Śāstras but no one took interest in Purāṇa itself.

प्रवृत्तिः सर्वशास्त्राणां पुराणस्याभवत् ततः ।

कालेनाग्रहणं दृष्ट्वा पुराणस्य ततो नृप ॥ (M. 53. 8).

Therefore Viṣṇu himself had to incarnate as Vyāsa and become the author of 18 Purāṇas (पुराणानि दशाष्टौ च साम्प्रतं तदिहोच्यते) to the extent of 4 lakhs of Ślokas (चतुर्लक्षं संक्षेपेण विशेषितम्, M. 53. 11).

The idea is that knowledge in the mind of the Creator or in its source was unified and infinite. It became differentiated in many branches and became measured. One of these fields was *Purāṇa*, of which the original promulgator was Vyāsa. The Purāṇa was a *Samhitā*, i.e. a subject cultivated in Vedic academies (*Charaṇa*). In them the rule for naming books was of institutional

authorships, i. e. all literature was named after the name of the original Founder (*Tadviśayatā*, Pāṇini, IV. 2. 66). Hence whatever Purāṇa literature there was, or developed in course of time, was attributed to Vyāsa. According to the diplomatic of book-making in ancient India this was quite a normal phenomenon. The original Purāṇa Saṁhitā was of 4,000 ślokas, as stated in the Vāyu (चतुःसाहस्रिकाः सर्वाः, 61. 59) but was expanded to 4 lakhs of ślokas as said here.

LIST OF THE 18 PURĀṆAS WITH ŚLOKA NUMBERS

1. Brahma Purāṇa	ब्रह्म पुराण	13,000
2. Padma Purāṇa	पद्म पुराण	55,000
3. Viṣṇu Purāṇa	विष्णु पुराण	23,000
4. Vāyu Purāṇa (Śiva Purāṇa)	वायु पुराण (शिव पुराण)	24,000
5. Bhāgavata Purāṇa	भागवत पुराण	18,000
6. Nāradya Purāṇa	नारदीय पुराण	25,000
7. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa	मार्कण्डेय पुराण	9,000
8. Āgneya Purāṇa	आग्नेय पुराण	16,000
9. Bhaviṣya Purāṇa	भविष्य पुराण	14,500
10. Brahmavaivarta P.	ब्रह्मवैवर्त पुराण	18,000
11. Liṅga Purāṇa	लिङ्ग पुराण	11,000
12. Varāha Purāṇa	वराह पुराण	24,000
13. Skanda Purāṇa	स्कन्द पुराण	21,000
14. Vāmana Purāṇa	वामन पुराण	10,000
15. Kūrma Purāṇa	कूर्म पुराण	18,000
16. Matsya Purāṇa	मत्स्य पुराण	14,000
17. Garuḍa Purāṇa	गरुड़ पुराण	19,000
18. Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa	ब्रह्माण्ड पुराण	12,200

The name Vāyu Purāṇa is given in the Matsya list and of the Nāradya, but other Purāṇas mention Śiva Purāṇa in place of Vāyu. The Mārkaṇḍeya gives Nṛsiṁha Purāṇa in the place of Liṅga. As regards the Bhāgavata of 18000 ślokas, it seems to have been the Devī-Bhāgavata which contains the Gāyatrī-Varnana (M.53.20 'यत्राधिकृत्य गायत्रीं वर्यते घर्मविस्तरः', ABORI, 1932-33).

In the printed edition of Vishṇu Purāṇa the number of its ślokas is only about 7000, but if Vishṇu-Dharmottara be also taken into consideration, the number comes to about 23,000 as given in the Matsya.

Besides the above, the Matsya also mentions the Narasimha Purāṇa of 18000 ślokas (a much exaggerated number). Nandī Purāṇa in which goddess Nandā is glorified by Kārttikeya, Sāmba Purāṇa, and Āditya Purāṇa, all of which are included in the list of Upa Purāṇas given in the Devī Bhāgavata 1. 3. 13-16. [R. C. Hazra, Studies in the Upapurāṇas, Sāmba Purāṇa, pp. 32-108 ; Narasimha Purāṇa, pp. 219-266, gives a brilliant analytical study of the contents of these two Upapurāṇas].

Purāṇa Pañcha-Lakṣhaṇa—This is the well known definition of *Purāṇa*, according to which five main topics constituted the corpus of a *Purāṇa*, viz. *Sarga*, *Pratiśarga*, *Varṇa*, *Manvantara* and *Varṇānucharita* (M. 53. 65). These are referred to as *Panchāṅga* or *Pañcha-varṇaka*. Dr. Kirfel has demonstrated that the original Purāṇic material consisted of these five principal topics which were taken in the different *Purāṇas* from its single source ('*Das Purāṇa Pañcha-Lakṣhaṇa*'). It is possible to study and scrutinise the material of these five themes and to discover how the germ developed in various recensions. It is not necessary to enter into the subject here but it should be stated that during the course of time the traditional *Purāṇa* was found insufficient and a large number of new topics were admitted. The Matsya gives some indication of the new topics, e. g. glorification of the three deities Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva, and of Sūrya, description of the *Bhuvanas* which probably has reference to the important subject of *Bhuvana-Kośa* to which the *Purāṇa* writers gave as much attention as to the dynastic list or *Varṇā* portions (ब्रह्मविष्णुर्विक्रान्ताणां माहात्म्यं भुवनस्य च, M. 53. 66). In addition, the four topics of *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Moksha* find a large place in the recast versions of the *Purāṇas* (धर्मश्च चार्थश्च कामश्च मोक्षश्चैवात्र कीर्त्यते, M. 53. 67). *Dharma* has reference to the copious *Dharmaśāstra* chapters including both *sadāchāra* and *Vratāchāra* ; *Artha* refers to *Vārtāśāstra* which included *Rāja tantra* and *Daṇḍa-nīti* ; *Kāma* refers to

the material relating to the householder's life, and *Moksha* has reference to the philosophies of Yoga and Sāṅkhya.

A fuller list of topics for the Matsya is found in Chapter 290 (*Granthānukramāṇi*). The Bhāgavata being subsequent to the four lakh śloka compilation found it necessary to modify the number of topics from five to ten (Bhāgavata 12. 9-10; also 2.9.43 तस्मादिदं भागवतं पुराणं दशलक्षणम्). The inordinate expansion of knowledge dealing with a very large number of new subjects is found in the *Akṛibudhnya Samhitā*, Chapters 11-12, all of which found ready welcome in the Purāṇa literature and needs to be carefully sifted and identified. (Also Vāyu, 104. 11.17).

Besides the Purāṇas, the Bhāgavata teachers also laid emphasis on Itihāsa comprising the Mahābhārata of one lakh ślokas (भारताख्यानं लक्षेण एकेन यत्प्रोक्तम्) and Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa of 25000 ślokas. This made up a total of 5½ lakhs of ślokas (एवं सपादः पञ्चैते लक्षा मर्त्ये प्रकीर्तिताः, M. 53. 72). The Purāṇa writer is conscious that the one lakh extent of the Mahābhārata was achieved by the process of *Upa-brinḥana* (M. 53. 70) a technical word with a definite meaning and purpose in Puranic vocabulary.

PURANIC RITES AND CUSTOMS

We are in this succeeding portion face to face with a kind of new material that was taken in the Purāṇas, e. g. *Vrata*, *Dāna* and *Tīrtha*. Chapters 55-81 describe a number of *Vratas*; Chs. 82-92 *Dānavidhi*, Chs. 93-94 worship of nine planets (*Nava-graha pūjana*), Chs. 95-101 (*Vratopavāsa*), Ch. 102 a list of *Tīrthas*, 103-112 *Prayāga-Mahātmya* or a detailed topographical description of Prayāga. A similar account of Vārāṇasī (Chs. 180-185) and of Narmadā (Chs. 186-194) forms part of not only this Purāṇa but of several other Purāṇas.

VRATOPAVĀSA— This subject was developed both by the Bhāgavatas and the Pāśupata Śaivas as a positive prescription for the householders desiring health, beauty, life, wealth, success in this life and Mukti afterwards (श्रीमदारोग्यरूपायुर्भूग्यसौभाग्यसंपदा, M. 54. 4). The Vishṇu-Dharmottara develops the list into 12

specific vratas of this nature (VD. 3.202-13). The problem was to make the householder interested in a religious routine involving physical and moral discipline (*Sādhanā*) to make him a devotee of Śiva or Viṣṇu. Chapters 54 described a *Nakshatra-Purusha Vratas* in which Nārāyaṇa is conceived as the Person comprising 27 Nakshatras in his body who is creating the power of Time. It would mean a fasting regime of about a month (M. 54. 28).

UPAVĀSA— The central point in most of these Vratas was fasting. It was developed almost into a science and numerous combinations and variations of fasting regimes and courses were devised. The Viṣṇu-Dharmottara and the Liṅga-Purāṇa give a picture of the extent to which the various *Vratas* with *Upavāsa* were carried. It was also realised that alternative rites should be prescribed for those who found it difficult to observe a fast (M. 55. 1). For example, those who cannot keep a complete fast of 24 hours may take food at night (उपवासेऽप्यशक्तानां नक्तं भोजनमिष्यते, M. 55. 2). They knew that proper fasting contributes to a person's health. Those who cannot take the full course for want of will-power or owing to ill-health may carry out partial regimes of fast. One such is named *Āditya-Sayana* in which God Śiva who is the same as Sūrya is worshipped by partial denial of food (उमापते रवेवापि न भेदे दृश्यते क्वचित्, M. 55. 6). On the days of fast, salt, oil, meat etc. were to be avoided. Just as a *Yajña* is always accompanied by *Dakṣiṇā*, so also a religious vow in the form of a *Vrata* or *Upavāsa* was followed by liberal gifts to deserving persons according to one's status or capacity. The Purāṇa writers go into detailed instructions about these matters.

An ingenious way of bringing about a synthesis between the followers of Śiva and Viṣṇu was to prescribe a course of Śaiva worship in a *Vrata* named after Viṣṇu and *vice versa* (cf. *Kṛishṇāṣṭamī Vrata*, Chap. 56).

Chapter 57 gives a course of *Rohiṇi-Chandra Vrata* lasting for a year, of which the fruit was long life, health and increase of status.

Chapter 58 is rather an important one as it describes the construction of a pond (*Taḍāga-vidhi*), a well (*Kūpa*), stepped well (*Vāpi*), a lotus pond (*Nalinī*) and a garden of fruits and flowers (*Ārāma*). These were meritorious works of public utility for which citizens were encouraged. In the Kushāṇa inscriptions at Mathurā, these objectives of charity are often mentioned. It appears that they formed an essential part of the Bhāgavata movement, gradually taking the place of Vedic sacrifices since it was stated that the merits accruing from such works of public utility was in no way less than that of Yajñas. The final ceremony marking the completion of such an act of public generosity was a grand occasion in the life of the individual conceived almost on the scale of a Vedic Yajña.

In Chap. 58 are mentioned along with the *Taḍāga-Vidhi* a *Yūpa*, 25 *Ritviḥas* and the construction of an elaborate *Maṇḍapa* with *Vedi* and all other details including recitation of the Vedas and the chanting of the Sāman songs. In fact it is named a Yajña (यजस्वमिति तान् ब्रूयात्) and the person himself was called *Yajamāna*.

The persons who compiled this new material are named *Purāṇajña* or *Purāṇavid* (M. 57. 2 ; 60. 1) and it was recognised that they were doing so in the true tradition of the Vedas.

Chap. 59 prescribes a rite for tree plantation (*Pādapa-vidhi*) in horticultural sites specially selected for the purpose (*Udyāna-bhūmishu*, M. 59. 3). The ceremony is called *Vrikshotsava* (M. 59. 18) and it is said that the planting of even one sapling entitles the person to attain *Svarga* :—

यश्चैकमपि राजेन्द्र वृक्षं संस्थापयेन्नरः ।

सोऽपि स्वर्गं वसेद्राजन् यावदिन्द्रायुतत्रयम् ॥

(M. 59. 18)

Chap. 60 deals with a *Vrata* for obtaining *Saubhāgya*, beauty and marital happiness, which is to be observed on the bright third day of the month of Māgha when Śiva and Pārvatī got married (M. 60. 14-15).

Chap. 61 describes the birth of Agastya from a pot of water and refers to the Vedic legend in which the seed of Mitrā-Varuṇa out of their love for Urvaśī fell inside the Jar giving birth to Agastya. Mitrā-Varuṇa symbolise the dual potency of creation and Urvaśī is the cosmic principle of motherhood that sprang up from the primeval ocean as an Apsaras, and the Full Vase (*Pūrṇa-Kum'ha*) is the worldly substratum which contributes to the creation of life. It is said that Agastya lives on the Malaya mountain (M. 61. 37).

TITHI-KALPAS— Chapters 63, 64 and 65 describe details of *Vratas* observed on the *Tritīyā* days including the one called *Akshaya-Tritīyā* on the bright third day of Vaiśākha. In fact, a *Vrata* for each Tithi of the 12 months in the year was developed with its details as to the deity, objective rites, *Māhātmya* etc. This whole topic of *Tithi-Kalpa* is found at great length in the Purāṇa literature and was subsequently elaborated in the Nibandhas.

Chap. 66 describes the *Sārasvata Vrata* to worship Goddess Sarasvatī who is the deity of the Vedas, Śāstras and all arts (M. 66. 8). She has eight forms, viz. Lakshmī, Medhā, Prīthivī, Puṣṭi, Gaurī, Tusṭi, Prabhā and Matī.

Chap. 67 gives a small ceremony to be observed on the Eclipse Days. Chap. 68 describes a *Vrata* for getting rid of ill-fortune, consisting of the worship of Sūrya and performance of Homa. Chap. 69 relates a *Vrata* for obtaining *Ārogya*, the secret of which is fasting (*Uposhaṇa*) by which one's appetite can be strengthened like that of Bhīmasena *Vrikodara*. (*Bhīma-Dvādaśī Vrata* in Māgha).

Chap. 70 deals with a *Vrata* in honour of God Kāmadeva observed by courtesans. God of love is identified with Viṣṇu. It is prescribed that a Brāhmaṇa be invited for gifts. In verse 50 there is a reference to *Haima Netra-paṭa* meaning a silken cloth known as *Netra* with gold brocade made in its texture. The word *Netra* in this special sense was used for the first time by *Kālidāsa* (Raghu. 7. 39; also Matsya 265).

15). Its use became more frequent in Bāṇa and later literature ; it was a typical word of Gupta culture (see for its etymology and cultural background, my book 'Harsha-Charita—Eka Sānskritika Adhyayana'). The ancient Buddhist word 'Kalyāṇi' for a Veśyā is retained here (M. 70. 62).

Chap. 71-81 refer to miscellaneous *Vratas* in which there is respected emphasis on obtaining health and beauty which were the governing passion of men and women in the Golden Age of Indian history. The Vishṇu-Dharmottara Purāṇa refers to a set of 12 *Vratas* for the attainment of *Rūpa*, *Lāvanya*, *Saubhāgya*, *Arogya*, *Buddhi*, *Vidyā*, *Śīla*, *Dharma*, *Dhana*, *Śrī*, *Bhoga*, and *Sarvatra-Jaya* (V D. 3. 202-213). These are styled as so many attainments (*Avāpti*) which are essential for the perfection of personality. In prescribing hundreds of *Vratas* directed to this objective, the therapeutic value of fast is constantly kept in view and the fortnight or the month is punctuated by as many fasting days as possible.

TEN DHENUS— Chapt. 82 called *Vīṭoka-Dvādaśī Vrata* concentrates on the glorification of the cow. The fortune that is amongst men and gods is in the cow who is the goddess to confer mental peace:—

या लक्ष्मीः सर्वं भूतानां या च देवेष्ववस्थिता ।

धेनुरूपेण सा देवी मम शान्तिं प्रयच्छतु ॥ (M. 82. 11).

Lakshmī of Vishṇu, Rudrāṇi of Śiva, Svāhā of Agni, Brahmāṇi of Brahmā, Bhadrā of Kubera, Svadhā of the Pitris and the female powers of Sūrya, Chandra and Indra are all present in the cow (M. 82. 13-15). A new doctrine was evolved, namely ten kinds of *Dhenus*, e. g. fixed quantities of molasses, ghee, oil, water, milk, honey, sugar, curd, juice were to be given away as equivalent of the cow.

Chap. 83-92, following the preceding model of the gift of the ten kinds of cows prescribe the gift of ten kinds of mountains (*Meru*), consisting of grain, salt, molasses, gold, sesamum, cotton, *ghrita*, jewels, silver and sugar. The quantities requisite for each are prescribed, e. g. the mountain of *Dhānya* should measure one

thousand *Dronas* to be of the first standard, 500 of the middle standard and three hundred of the third standard (M. 83.12). A good deal of mythical and geographical conception is introduced in the observance of the rite, e. g. a reference to the Meru and Mandara mountains, *Chaitra-ratha Vana*, the Bhadrāśva continent, Jambu-Dvīpa, Gandha-Mādana, Uttara-Kuru etc. In the Gupta age, active strings of relationships with Central Asia, the region of Meru and Uttara-Kuru and with China (Bhadrāśva), Ketumāla (the western region of the Oxus up to the Caspian Sea) and other countries on the east and the west were maintained and it is pleasing to see even in the case of religious rites a broad Asian view in the hearts of citizens. The mention of Meru in the centre with Bhadrāśva, Jambu-Dvīpa, Ketumāla and Uttara-Kuru holds good in the context of the *Chaturdvīpī* conception of geography in which the earth was conceived as a four-petalled lotus (*Chaturdala-padma*) with Meru as the pericarp centre and the four continents as the four petals.

It is also stated that on the day of these gifts, a person should keep fast and if he is unable to do so he may eat at night. Attention is invited to the Upanishadic doctrine of Food as Brahman :

अन्नं ब्रह्म यतः प्रोक्तमन्ते प्राणाः प्रतिष्ठिताः ।

अन्नाद् भवन्ति भूतानि जगदन्नेन वर्तते ॥ (M. 83. 42).

For a mountain of gold the weight prescribed is 4000 *tolas* or 1 md. and 10 seers for the highest standard and lastly up to 4 *tolas* according to one's capacity.

Chap. 93 describes the worship of the 9 planets or more properly *Graha śānti*, the rite being called *Śāntika-Paushtika*. It is a complicated rite involving a good deal of ceremonial details. The ceremony is called *Nava-graha-makha* with *Laksha-homa* which was a very pretentious performance and therefore advised only for those who could afford it financially (लक्ष होमस्तु कर्तव्यो यथा वित्तं भवेद् गृहे). Even a *Koṭi-homa* involving a million *Āhutis* and a deserving *Dakṣhiṇā* is mentioned (M. 93. 119). It is said that the *Koṭi-homa* is equal in merit to 1000 *Aśvamedha*.

sacrifices. The *Vedi* or *Kuṇḍa* and *Maṇḍapa* for the big rites had to be constructed on the same scale.

Chap. 94 gives a list of nine planets including *Rāhu* and *Ketu*. It may be noted that in the beginning only 8 planets were depicted in sculpture, *Rāhu* and *Ketu* being shown as one, but later on shown separately. *Sūrya* in *Kushāṇa* art, 1st-3rd century A.D., was shown seated like a *Kushāṇa* emperor in a chariot drawn by two horses and wearing Scythian dress, namely long coat, trousers and boots (*Udīchya-vesha*). But gradually the features were Indianised leading to the image being shown in *Padmāsana*, riding in a chariot drawn by seven horses, yoked with 7 reins held in the hands of *Sūrya* shown as a two-armed figure :—

पद्मासनः पद्मकरः पद्मगर्भं समद्युतिः ।

सप्ताश्वः सप्तरज्जुश्च द्विभुजः स्यात्सदा रविः ॥ (M. 94.1)

The two lotuses held in the hands of *Sūrya* are seldom shown in *Kushāṇa* art but became a regular feature in the Gupta period and later.

Chapters 95-102 contain a dialogue in which *Śiva* himself introduces *Nandikeśvara* or *Nandī* Bull as the speaker who explains to *Nārada* several *Vratas* including *Siva-Chaturdaśī* observed every month beginning from *Mārgaśīrsha*.

Chap. 100 is based on the motif of the Golden Lotus given to a king by *Brahmā* on which he could move in all the worlds and therefore known as *Puspavāhana*. This was the motif associated with many gods and goddesses both in Hinduism and Buddhism, and during the Gupta period there is hardly a deity without a lotus seat. Just as in the *Dīpaṅkara Jātaka* the young man *Sumedha* offers lotus flowers to worship the Buddha, having obtained them after great difficulty from a maiden, similarly the king of this story offers his rare lotuses to *Vishṇu*'s image installed in a *Maṇḍapa*, and obtains thereby the highest merit.

In Chap. 101 in the list of several *Vratas* is one called *Sila-Vrata* (M. 101.39), i. e. the vow for cultivating moral virtues

of character. Another vow named *Bhīma-Vrata* prescribes a fasting regime for one month (*Māsopavāsa*, M. 101-51). There is a curious reference to a rite called *Brahma-Vrata* in which a Golden Egg representing *Brahmāṇḍa* is to be placed on a heap of sesamum and given away (M. 101.46-48).

TĪRTHA-YĀTRĀ

Chap. 102 introduces a new topic relating to Tīrtha-Yātrā in which as a general introduction, a bath in the Gaṅga is highly commended and several new names for the river are given, e. g. Nandinī, Nalinī, Dakshā, Pṛithivī, Vihagā, Viśvakāyā, Amṛitā. Śivā, Vidyādhari, Śāntā, Kshemā etc.

Chapters 103-112 are a compact text named *Prayāga-Māhātmya*. Similar to it is *Vārāṇasī-Māhātmya* given later (Chapts. 180-185). We know that Mathurā, Prayāga, Vārāṇasī, Pāṭalīputra and Ujjayinī were five great centres in the Gupta age, the first three of which were also far-famed religious centres in addition to their commercial and political importance. For these Sthala-Māhātmyas were composed for the practical use of pilgrims.

With respect to *Prayāga Māhātmya*, the topographical details given are of importance. It is called *Prajāpati-kshetra*, i.e. the place where *Prajāpati* *Brahmā* had performed his sacrifice. The boundaries are given as *Prayāga* (modern Allahabad) on one side, *Pratishṭhāna* (Jhūsi) on the other, *Vāsukihrada* (modern *Vāsuki Nāga* near *Daraganj*) and the shrine of the two *Nāgās* *Kambala* and *Aśvatara* on the southern bank of the *Yamunā*, (कम्बलाश्वतरौ नागौ विपुले यमुनातटे । M. 106. 27 Tīrtha-Prakāśa. p. 338). The confluence of *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā* and the *Akshayaṇa* are also mentioned (M. 104. 10).

The meeting of *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā* at *Prayāga* was considered to be the holiest spot, as, shown by its description in the *Raghuvaṃśa*. The Gupta emperors regarded the confluence at *Prayāga* as the visible symbol of *Madhya-deśa*. (as depicted in the *Uḍayagiri* cave in front of the *Mahā-Varāha* image), a.

place which Chandragupta Vikramāditya himself had visited during his expedition for the conquest of the earth.

SAMUDRA KŪPA—Some more details are given about local geography, viz. the situation of the Samudra-kūpa towards the eastern bank of the Gaṅgā in Jhūsi (पूर्वपाशे तु गङ्गायास्त्रिषु लोकेषु भारत) कूपं चैवतु सामुद्रं प्रतिष्ठानं च भारत, (M. 106. 30). The name Samudra-Kūpa is of cultural significance. It was considered to be the representative of the Ocean, or more truly of the Seven Seas (*Sapta-Sāgara*). There is a similar well at Mathura still called *Samudra Kūpa* (सात समन्दरी कुआँ), now situated in the compound of the Archaeological Museum, but still considered to be a holy spot for the performance of sacred rites. During the Gupta period such wells representing the Seven Oceans were considered as fit places for religious rites performed by those who had returned after a successful voyage across the seas, or for worship of the Sea-God by their relatives in their absence. Amongst the 16 *Mahādānas* given at the end of the Matsya, there is one named *Sapta-sāgara Mahādāna*, gift of the seven oceans (Chap. 287). Such rites were performed near *Samudra Kūpas*. After I had first known the *Sapta-Samudra Kūpa* at Mathura, I thought that such Wells should have existed at all the five great centres of Gupta civilization, and on my subsequent enquiries this fact was confirmed. There is a *Samudra Kūpa* at Prayāga mentioned here; another one at Pāṭaliputra, and a third one at Ujjayinī, as my friend Pt. Sūrya Narain Vyas has informed me. Here at Vārāṇasī there is a quarter named *Sapta-Sagar* in which there is a *Sapta-Samudra Well* and seven temples dedicated to the seven oceans each as a Śiva-liṅga and regular worship is performed.

HAṂSA PRAPATANA—This name is important. The Purāṇa gives its exact location at the site north of Pratisthāna and east of Gaṅgā i. e. the expansive swampy area overgrown by weeds towards north west of Jhūsi (उत्तरेण प्रतिष्ठानात् भागीरथ्यास्तु पूर्वतः, हंस-प्रपतनं नाम तीर्थं त्रैलोक्यविश्रुतम्, M. 106. 32). The name *Haṁsa-Prapatana* is meaningful signifying the place where the migratory Haṁsa birds returning from their abode in the Himālayas in the

month of October-November settle down on the banks of the Gaṅgā. What happens is that the birds of the duck family, especially Hāmsa and Krauñcha, leave the plains in about the month of April and May and fly towards the north for breeding in colder climates. Birds from Saurāshṭra, Gujarat and Rājasthan find their migratory passage across Punjab and Kashmir and virtually a river of them flows through the mountainous passes of Hunza in Kashmir which therefore was known as *Hāmsa-Mārga* in ancient geography. Crossing even the Pamirs they go up to Sīberia as has been ascertained by the rings round their feet put by field-workers of the Bombay Natural History Society. The other stream flies through what was known to the ancient geographers as *Krauñchu dvāra* (probably modern Lipu Lekh Pass) in the Himālayas leading towards Mānasa-sarovara where such birds breed in the rainy season. These birds return from their annual migratory flights at the beginning of the cold season and settle down in the plains near ponds and marshes. In north India during the months of October-November rows of Hāmsa-Krauñcha birds, geese and curlew, glide in the sky chirping in melodious tones. In Prayāga, the confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā offers a natural attractive ground for the winter-home of these birds and therefore the area north of Jhusi and on the east bank of Gaṅgā with flood-water overgrown with weeds was truly called *Hāmsa-prapatana*. There is still a Hāmsa-Kūpa at Jhusi to mark the Hāmsa-Prapatana Tīrtha.

Another holy spot is named *Urvaśī-Ramaṇa*, i. e. the place where King Purūravas and Urvaśī had enjoyed themselves. This also seems to be the vast stretch of white sandy area east of Jhusi (उर्वशीरमणे पुण्ये विपुले हंसपाण्डुरे) where king Purūravas had his palace gardens outside the city of Pratisthāna (बाह्योद्यान).

Several other local *Tirthas* of Prayāga are mentioned, e. g. Sāndhya-Vaṭa, Koṭi-tirtha, Bhogavatī, Daśāśvamedha Tīrtha (M. 106. 44.46).

Chap. 107 gives a reference to the *Māgha-Snāna* at Prayāga, a living institution to this day. Another reference is to the

ceremony of Fire Baptism at Prayāga on the Saṅgama, i.e. burning oneself on the slow fire of cow-dung cakes (*Kaśhogñi*, M. 107. 9). There is a *Mānasa-Tīrtha* on the north bank of the Gaṅgā and *Ṛṣya-pramochana-tīrtha* on the north bank of Yamunā. It is said that the extent of Prayāga-tīrtha is five Yojanas (M. 108. 9). Often for old Tīrthas like Mathurā and Vārāṇasī, *Pañcha krośi Parikramā* was prescribed for the pilgrims. On the south bank of the Yamunā is *Agni-tīrtha*, and on the north *Nirāñjanatīrtha*. There is a shrine of Veṇī-Mādhava to the north of Pratishṭhāna. Prayāga is the Vēdi of Prajāpati and all the Tīrthas have their representatives at Prayāga. In one word, Prayāga is the epitome of the holy land.

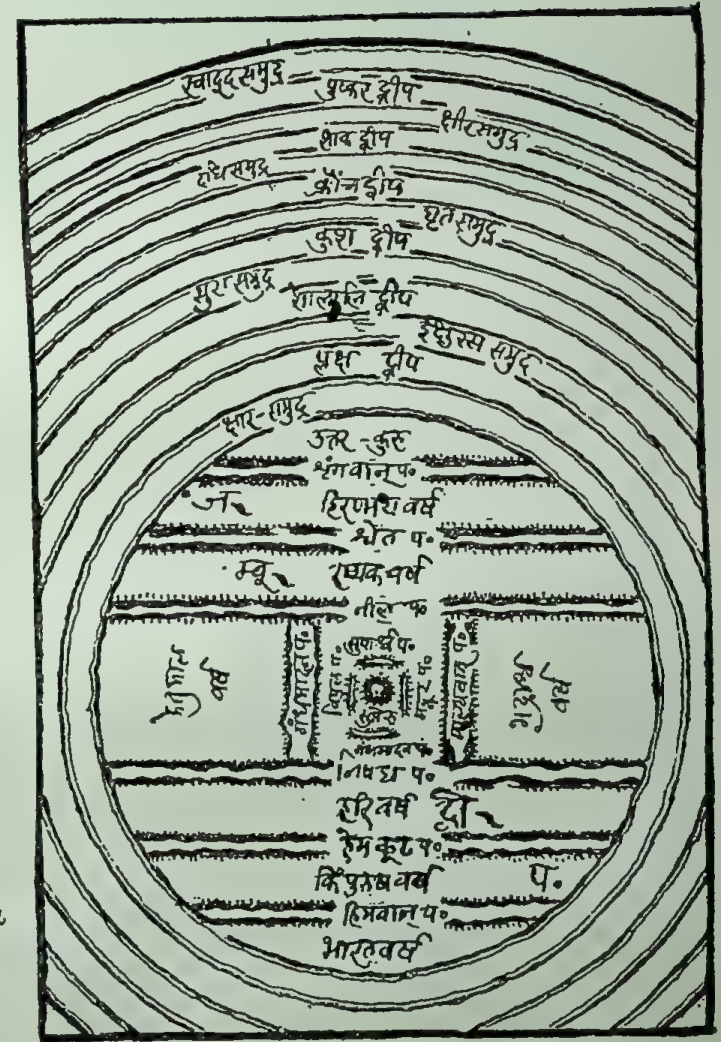
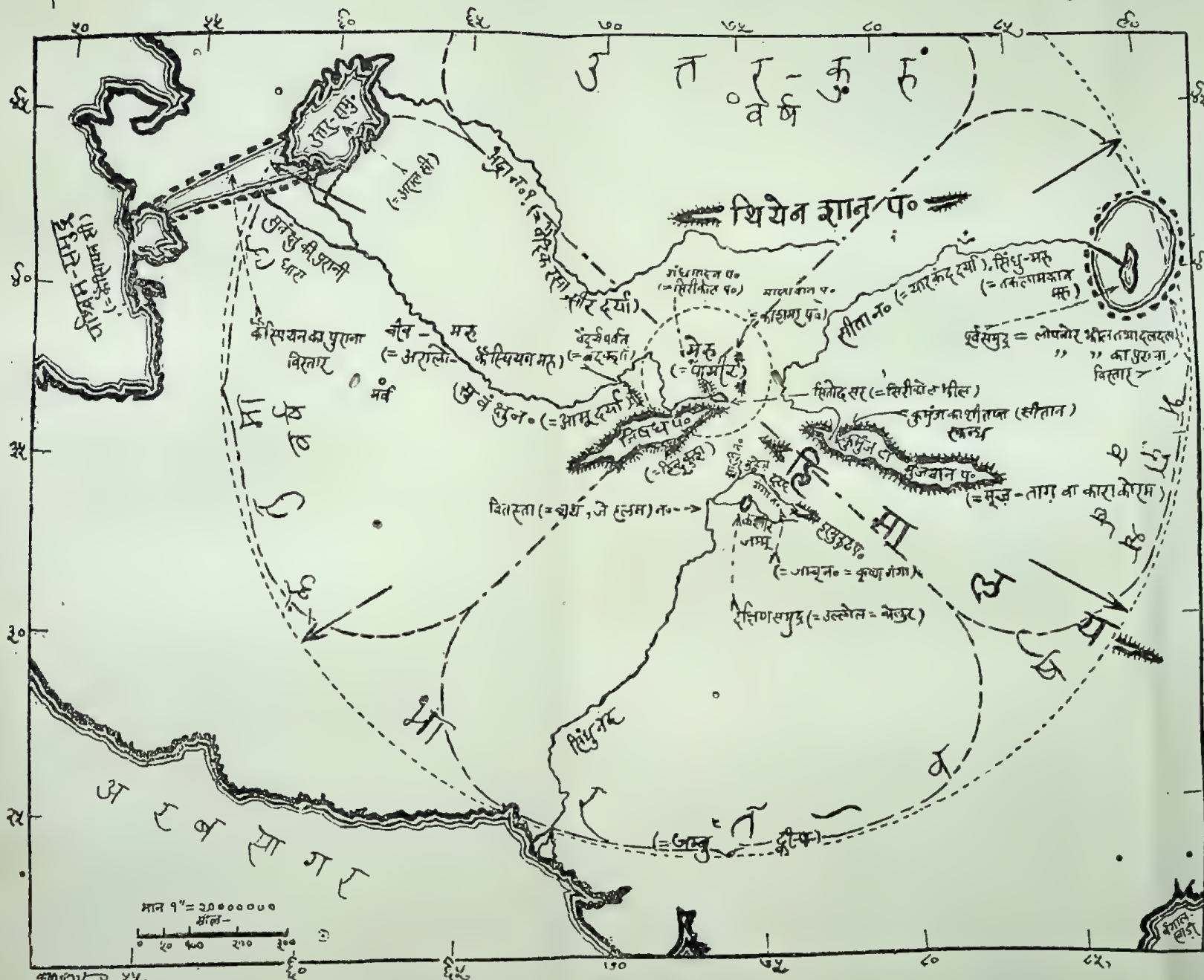
BHUVANAKOŚA

BHUVANAKOŚA MATERIAL—This was an important topic handed down from antiquity which received particular attention from Puranic writers. The chapters are found in varying lengths in the Matsya, Vāyu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Vāmana, Brahmāṇḍa and Kūrma. There are two types of Bhuvanakośa texts, a shorter list and a much longer list. The shorter list is found in Vishṇu (2. 3. 1-19), Kūrma (1. 47. 20-22), Śiva (18, 1-15) and Agni (118. 1-8). The longer list is found in Mārkaṇḍeya (57. 32-58), Brahmāṇḍa (1. 16. 40-69), Matsya (114.34-57), Vāyu (45.109-137), Brahma (27. 41-70) and Vāmana (13. 36-58). The above references are to the list of Janapada names only.

The fuller text of the Bhuvanakośa as given in the Matsya consists of five Adhyāyas, viz. Chs. 113, 114, 121, 122 and 123. Chapters 115-120 describe the visit of Purūravas to the Himālaya in the region where the river Irāvātī has its source, a beauty spot for the king's dalliances with Urvaśī. At the same time he installs an image of Śeṣhaśāyī Viṣṇu and builds his temple there. This is an exotic patch grafted in the midst of the Bhuvanakośa chapters.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE FOUR AND SEVEN CONTINENTS

The most important fact about the Bhuvanakośa is that there were two kinds of conceptions about the geography of the



By Courtesy, Rai Krishnadasa



earth. The first may be called *Chaturdvīpī* which was earlier and the second *Saptadvīpī* which was later and dove tailed into the former in a very confusing manner.

CHATURDVĪPĪ BHŪGOLA—According to this conception of *Padmākāra Prithivī*, Mount Mahā-Meru is the centre of the earth forming the pericarp (कर्णिकसंस्थान, *Vāyu*, 34.46) of the four-petalled lotus (चतुष्पत्र लोकोपचय, *Vāyu*, 34.45). The eastern petal is Bhadrāśva; the southern Jambūdvīpa (also called Bhārata-varsha), the western Ketumāla, and the northern Uttarakuru:

स तु मेरुः परिवृतो भुवनैर्भूतभावनैः । यस्येमे चतुरो देशा नानापाश्वेषु संस्थिताः ॥

भद्राश्वं भारतश्चैव केतुमालश्च पश्चिमे । उत्तराश्चैव कुरुवः कृतपुण्यप्रतिश्रयाः ॥

(M. 113. 43-44)

The word Bhadrāśva signifies the Auspicious Horse, White Dragon held sacred in Chinese religion, folk-lore and art, and Bhadrāśva signified China. Bhārata-varsha was also known as Haimavata Varsha south of the Himālayas; Ketumāla was the land of the Vaṅkshu River (Oxus) towards the west of Meru; Uttarakuru was the vast region from the Altai Mountain to the northern ocean. We have already seen in Chapter 83. 31-34 a clear reference to the geography of the four continents, Bhadrāśva, Jambūdvīpa, Ketumāla and Uttarakuru located on the four sides of Meru.

Meru is said to be four-cornered (चतुरस्रः, पार्श्वैः समः, M. 113. 11-13), in which an important epithet is used, viz. that Meru is similar to Prajāpati in being four-faced (प्रजापतिगुणान्वितः). The eastern face is white and of Brahmanical virtues, the south, yellow of Vaiśya ones, the west, black of Śūdra ones, and the north, red of Kshatriya ones. The centre where Meru itself is situated is called Ilāvṛita (मध्ये त्विलावृतं नाम महामेरोः समन्ततः, M. 113. 19). The north of Meru was named *Uttara-Vedyardha*, and south as *Dakṣhiṇa-Vedyardha* (M. 113. 20).

From this point another totally different geographical conception is introduced.

SAPTADVĪPĪ BHŪGOLA— This geography is based on the conception of 7 continents in place of the original four. They are accommodated as follows:—

From south to north first is Haimavata Varsha also called Bhārata-Varsha (इमं हैमवतं वर्षं भारतं नाम विश्रुतम्, M. 113. 28). Beyond that the second is Kimpurusha-Varsha, and the third is Hari-Varsha. Beyond these there is Ilāvṛita Varsha which is in the centre round Meru.

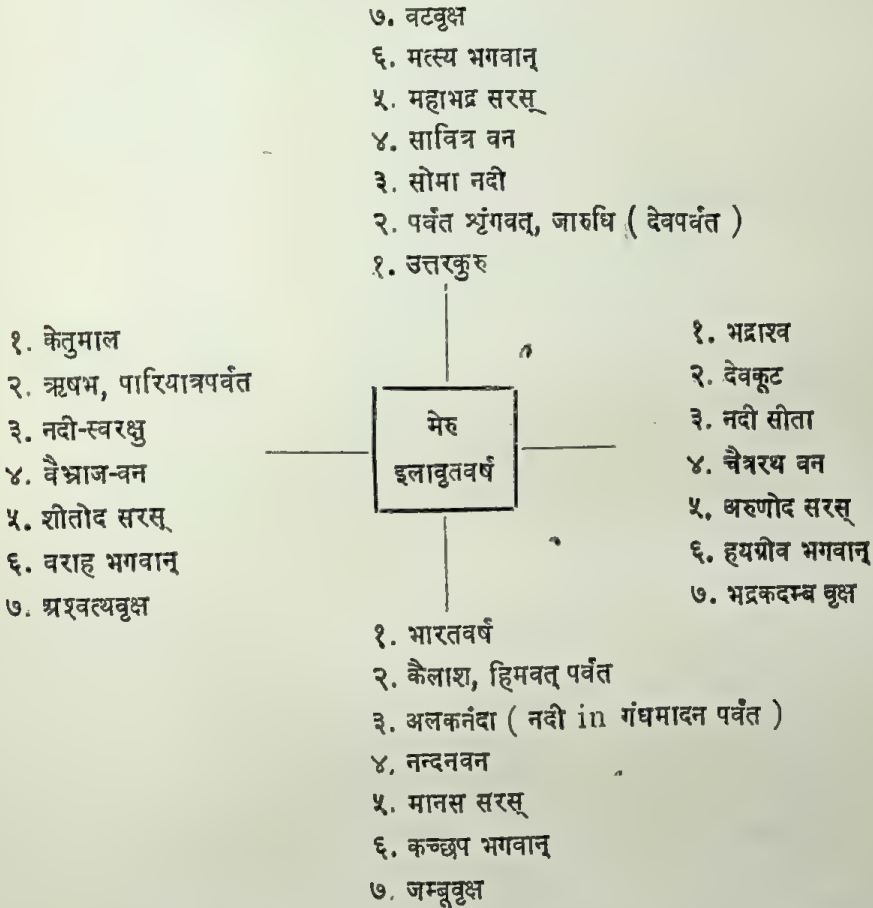
Towards the north of Meru in order from south to north are Ramyaka-Varsha, then Hiranyaka-Varsha and finally Uttarakuru. In the older scheme Jambū-dvīpa was only one of the four Varshas, but in the new scheme the name Jambū-dvīpa was given to the seven continents from the southern to the northern ocean (तानि वर्षाणि सप्त वै). Two facts were also noted in this new conception, the first is that Jambū-dvīpa is spherical in form and therefore the east-west (पूर्वपश्चिमे) length of the 7 Dvīpas contained in it is fore shortened accordingly (द्वीपस्य मंडली-भावाद्भासवृद्धी प्रकीर्तिते, M. 113. 25). The second point is that Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla Varshas of the Chaturdvīpī Bhūgola now did not find any adjustment in the Saptadvīpī conception and therefore they were left alone without any mention.

The third point is that in the Chaturdvīpī conception besides the four continents on the four cardinal points of Meru, there are names of four mountains, four rivers, four groves, four lakes and four animals as given on next page :—

This arrangement was rootly disturbed in the Saptadvīpī conception where a new scheme of 7 Mountains in Jambū Dvīpa was evolved as follows :—

1. Bhāratavarsha, north of it Himavān mountain.
2. Kimpurushavarsha, north of it Hemakūta mountain.
3. Harivarsha, north of it Nishadha mountain.
4. In the centre was Ilāvṛitavarsha round about Meru, on its east was supposed the Mālyavān mountain between Ilāvṛita and Bhadrāśva, and on the west Gandhamādana mountain between Ilāvṛita and Ketumālavarsha.
5. North of Ilāvṛitavarsha separating it from Ramyaka-varsha was the Nila mountain.

6. To the north of Ramyaka was the Śveta mountain, beyond which is the sixth Hiranyamaya Hiranyakavarsha.
7. To the north of Hiranyakavarsha is Shṛīṅgayān mountain, to the north of which is Uttarakuru, the 7th Varsha.



These 7 mountains were named Varsha-Parvatas separating one Varsha from the other. It was recognised that these seven Varsha-mountains are like the 7 zones of a sphere (Maṇḍala) which was the form of Jambū Dvīpa (द्वीपस्य मण्डलीभाव). The breadth of Jambū-dvīpa (*Vistāra*), therefore, determines the decreasing lengths of these mountains. Thus Nīla and Nishadha are equivalent, Śveta, and Hemakūṭa are of equal length with each other, but of smaller length than the former two (हीनाश्च ये परे).

M. 113. 22.) and lastly Śṛīṅgavān and Himavān are of equal length, but smallest of all. In the centre, the 7th mountain Rishabha equals in length the extent of Jambū Dvīpa (जम्बुद्वीपप्रमाणेन ऋषभः परिकीर्तितः, M. 113.23). This becomes perfectly clear on the map of the Saptadvīpī geography.

The Purāṇa writer takes care to put round Meru four great mountains as it originally was. In the new picture Nīla mountain had taken the place of Gandhamādana and Nishadha of Himavān and so he joins Nīla and Nishadha by Gandhamādana towards the west and Mālyavān towards the east both being placed north-south :—

दक्षिणेन तु नीलस्य निषधस्योत्तरेण तु ।

उद्गायतो महाशैलो माल्यवान् नाम पर्वतः ।

अनीलनिषधायतः पर्वतो गन्धमादनः ॥ (M. 113. 34-36)

From śloka 37 begins again the Chaturdvīpī geographical description based on the four continents, their mountains, lakes etc. as shown in chart. This is a very clear statement which has no connection with the intervening Saptadvīpī ślokas (M. 113. 21-36). In the fourth round in answer to a new question from the Rishis, his listeners, Sūta takes up again the subject of the Saptadvīpī geography but confining himself only to the northern half portion comprising Ramanaka Varsha (M. 113. 61-63), Hiraṇvatavarsha (v.l. Hiraṇyamaya Varsha) placed between the Śveta and Śṛīṅgavān mountains (M. 113. 64) and the Uttarakuru Varsha placed between the Śṛīṅgavān mountain and the ocean (M. 113. 69). In the description of the Uttarakuru the oft-repeated motif of an idyllic land with Kalpa-Vṛikshas is introduced (M. 113. 70-77). This conception of Uttarakuru occurs in the Mahābhārata, Vālmiki Ramāyaṇa, Jātaka literature as well as in other Purāṇas. The Uttarakuru land contains wish-fulfilling trees (Kalpa-Vṛiksha), which produce from their branches ornaments, clothes, foods, drinks and pairs of men and women (मिथुनानि प्रजायन्ते).

BHĀRATAVARSHA— Chapter 114 deals straightly with the description of Bhāratavarsha giving a list of its constituent Dvīpas, Mountains, rivers and Janapadas.

Etymology of Bhārata—It is said that the Bharata is the name of Manu who creates and sustains the people living here :—

भरणात् प्रजनाच्चैव मनुर्भरत उच्यते ।

निरुक्तवचनैश्चैव वर्षं तद् भारतं स्मृतम् ॥ (M. 114. 5-6).

This is a new definition of the name Bhārata which seems to have been devised in the Gupta period, superseding the older conception that the name Bhārata was given to the land after Bharata who was son of Rishabhadeva, who himself was the son of Nābhi. The Bhāgavata records the two traditions. The son of Svāyambhuva Manu was Priyavrata, his son was Nābhi, his son was Rishabha. He had 100 sons of whom Bharata was the eldest who received the throne of his father, and after whom the country received its name as Bhāratavarsha :

ऋषभाद् भरतो जज्ञे वीरःपुत्रशताग्रजः

सोऽभिषिच्यथ भरतं पुत्रं प्राब्राज्यमास्थितः

हिमाह्वं दक्षिणं वर्षं भरताय न्यवेदयत् ।

तस्मात्तद् भारतं वर्षं तस्य नाम्ना विदुर्बुधाः॥

(Vāyu, 33. 51-52 ; Mārkaṇḍeya, 53. 39-40).

प्रियव्रतो नाम सुतो मनोः स्वार्थभुवस्य यः ।

तस्याग्नीध्रस्ततो नाभि ऋषभस्तत्सुतः स्मृतः ।

अवतीर्णं सुतशतं तस्यासीद् ब्रह्मपारगम् ।

तेषां वै भरतो ज्येष्ठो नारायणपरायणः

विख्यातं वर्षमेतद् यन्नाम्ना भारतमुत्तमम् ॥ (Bhāgavata, 11.2. 15-17).

GLORIFICATION OF BHĀRATAVARSHA—The Purāṇas here give six verses only one of which is found in the Matsya (114. 6-7) and five others in Mārkaṇḍeya (57. 60-64) and at other places which is an unparalleled glorification of the land Bhārata-varsha. It was in the golden age of Indian History the foremost country in the world, and even the gods of heaven were desirous in their hearts to be born in Bhārata, because this land contained within it the seeds of all pious actions and their fruits (*Sarvabīja*) and the people in this country were entitled to Brahmatva,

Indratva and Devatva (Mārkaṇḍeya 57.60). The Śloka in the Matsya is as follows :

यतः स्वर्गश्च मोक्षश्च मध्यमश्चापि हि स्मृतः ।

न खल्वन्यत्र मर्त्यानां भूमौ कर्मविधिः स्मृतः ॥ (M. 114. 6-7).

This eulogy of Bhārata consisted of four ideas, 1. there is no country like Bhārata on earth ; 2. that Bhārata is even higher, superior to heaven, since the gods in heaven wish to take birth in Bhārata ; 3. that Bhārata is Karma-bhūmi, the land for performing action, and 4. that of all the fruits of human life, the seeds are in the soil of Bhārata.

That Bhārata is Karma-bhūmi and Svarga is Bhoga-bhūmi became a wide spread idea to which many great writers of the period make direct reference :—

पृथिव्यां भारतं वर्षं कर्मभूमिरुदाहृता ।

(Brahma Purāṇa, 27. 2).

देहं लब्ध्वा विवेकाढ्यं द्विजत्वं च विशेषतः ।

तत्रापि भारते वर्षे कर्मभूमौ सुदुर्लभम् ॥

(Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, 6. 4. 51).

न तत्रापि भारतं वर्षं कर्मक्षेत्रमुशन्ति ह ।

(Devī Bhāgavata, 8. 7. 34).

प्रयाति कर्मभूत्रां ह्यन् नान्यलोकेषु विद्यते ।

(Mārkaṇḍeya, 57. 62).

भारतं नाम यद्वर्षं दक्षिणेन मयोदितम् ।

तत् कर्मभूमिनन्यत्र संप्राप्तिः पुण्यपापयोः ।

एतत् प्रधानं विज्ञेयं यत्र सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥

(Mārkaṇḍeya 55, 21-22).

जाम्बवे भारतं वर्षं तीर्थं त्रैलोक्यविश्रुतम् ।

कर्मभूमिर्यतः पुत्र तस्मात् तीर्थं तदुच्यते ॥

(Brahma Purāṇa, 70. 21).

अग्निं संपूजितं यस्माद् भारतं बहु पुण्यदम् ।

कर्मभूमिरतो देवैर्वर्षं तस्मात्प्रकीर्तितम् ॥

(Brahma, 70. 24).

कर्मणस्तु प्रधानत्वमुवाच त्रिपुरान्तकः ।
सर्वकर्मैव नाकर्म प्राणी क्वाप्यत्र विद्यते ।
कर्मैव कारणं तस्मादन्यदुन्मत्तचेष्टितम् ॥

(Brahma, 143. 8-11).

कर्मभूमिमिमां प्राप्य पुनर्यान्ति सुरालयम् ।

(Āraṇyaka-parva, 181. 31).

तथा त्वमपि कर्मभूमौभूतेऽस्मिन् भारते वर्षे जन्मनि जन्मन्येवोत्पन्नानुरागः ।
(Bāṇa in Kādambarī, p. 319, P. L. Vaidya's edition).

तत्रापि भारतमेव वर्षं कर्मक्षेत्रम् अन्यान्यष्टवर्षाणि स्वर्गिणां पुण्यशेषोपभोगस्थानानि
भौमानि स्वर्गपदानि व्यपदिशन्ति । (Bhāgavata, 5. 17. 11).

NINE DIVISIONS OF BHĀRATA—Here the Purāṇas including the Matsya insert two verses which have no connection with the picture of the ancient geography but specifically represent the new India which had developed in the Kuṣhāṇa-Gupta period as a result of commercial intercourse with the islands across the seas :—

भारतस्य च वर्षस्य नव भेदान् निबोधत ।

इन्द्रद्वीपः कसेरुश्च ताम्रपर्णो गभस्तिमान्

नागद्वीपस्तथा सौम्यो गन्धर्वं स्त्वथ वारुणः ।

अयं तु नवमस्तेषां द्वीपः सागरसंबुतः ॥ (M 114.7-8-9)

The verses are repeated in the Mārkaṇḍeya which adds that the nine divisions are separated from each other by the sea and inaccessible by land (समुद्रान्तरिता ज्ञेयास्ते त्वगम्याः परस्परम्, Mār. 57.5). This is an obscure statement which requires to be explained. Rājaśekhara in his Kāvya-Mīmāṃsā comments on these verses and explains 'Ayaṁ Dvīpaḥ' as Kumāridvīpa (KM. Ch. 17).¹ It is therefore evident that the writer who originally composed these two verses was himself seated in Bhārata and then enumerating its nine divisions.

1. तत्रेदं भारतं वर्षमस्य च नव भेदाः । इन्द्रद्वीपः कसेरुमान् ताम्रपर्णो गभस्तिमान्, नागद्वीपः सौम्यो गन्धर्वो, वारुणः कुमारीद्वीपश्चायं नवमः ।

What happened was that, as a result of India's cultural expansion, the Indonesian islands and Ceylon were brought under the influence of Indian art, religion, literature, scripts, philosophy, cults, iconography, architecture etc. For all practical purposes it appeared that they were part of Bhārata. The geographical connotation of Bhārata was naturally extended in the minds of the people to include India proper and the eight other islands in her southern and eastern portions. Then a new name for the erstwhile Bhārata was required and that name was Kumārī Dvīpa. The Vamāna Purāṇa makes it definite that the name Kumārī Dvīpa began to be applied to what was known as Bhārata before :

इमे तवोक्ता विषयाः सुविस्तराद् द्वीपे कुमारे रजनीचरेश ।

एतेषु देशेषु च देशवर्मान् संकीर्त्यमानान् शृणु तत्त्वतो हि ॥

(Vāmana, 13. 59)

This phenomenon of the change in the name of the country as recorded by the Purāṇas was also accepted by the people, but since the old name and connotation of Bhārata was deeply rooted in their memory, it also continued side by side with the new name, and, as was natural, both of them are preserved in the Saṅkalpa recited everyday, e.g.....हरि श्रो तत्सदिति श्रीमद् भगवतो महापुरुषस्य विष्णोराज्ञया प्रवर्तमानस्य श्रीब्रह्मणो ऽद्य द्वितीये प्रहर्षे श्री श्वेतवाराहकल्पे वैवस्वतमन्वन्तरे अष्टाविंशतितमे कलियुगे प्रथमचरणे जम्बूद्वीपे (भरतखण्डे) भारते वर्षे कुमारिकाखण्डे आर्यवित्तैकदेशे.....

Here the older formula of Bharata-khaṇḍa in the Jambūdvīpa was retained along with the new formula of Kumārikā-khaṇḍa in the new Bhārataavarsha.

The identification of the eight other islands surrounded by the sea (समुद्रान्तरित) is as follows :—

Indradvīpa = Indradyumna, Andamans

Nāgadvīpa = Nicobar (नक्करं of Chola inscription)

Tāmrāparṇī = Ceylon

Varuṇadvīpa = Borneo

Kaserumān = Malayadvīpa

Two other names in this list are Gabhastimān and Saumya and the two important names of Java and Sumatra may perhaps be identified with them.

SHAPE AND SIZE OF THE COUNTRY —About the size it is said that this country extends from Kumārī (Cape Comorin) to the highest sources of the Gaṅgā in the Himālayas (आयतस्तु कुमारीतो गंगायाः प्रवहावधिः, M. 114.10). Its north-south length is stated to be 1000 Yojanas. The highest source of Gaṅgā in the Himālayas is found in its tributary, the Jāhnavī, which rises from the Zanskar mountain on the border of Tibet. The Kāvya-Mīmāṃsā describes the southernmost point as Kumārīpura and northernmost as Bindusara which was another name of Mānasasarovara. About the shape the Matsya says nothing excepting that on its two frontiers the Yavanas were settled towards the west and the Kirātas on the east. It is very nearly a correct statement of the political situation when the Bactrian Greeks were settled in the north-west of Afganistan, i.e. Bāhlika which used to be included amongst the Janapadas that formed part of Bhāratavarsha. The Mārkaṇḍeya is more specific about the shape of the country saying that its configuration was that of a bow in which the Himālaya was like the stretched string of the bow and the arrow that was placed on it indicated the peninsular area of the south (Mārka. 57. 59 हिमवान् उत्तरे अस्य काष्ठकस्य यथा गुणः).

SEVEN KULA-PARVATAS— A Kula-Parvata is that which forms an integral part of a single family unit of mountains covering the whole country. There were 7 of them, viz. Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimān, Rikshamān, Vindhya and Pāriyātra (M. 114. 17-18). These 7 ranges form a ring as it were round the frontiers and central tableland. In the east near Ganjam is the Mahendra mountain (still known as Mahendra Malai) which is the modern Eastern Ghats. It joins at its south end the hilly ranges of Tamil land, all of them bearing the common name Malaya as Nalla-Malai, Anna-Malai, Elā-Malai etc. The Sahya is the mountain range extending from north to south, namely the present Western Ghats, and the name Sahya still continues

throughout Mahārāshṭra and Konkṇa. Śuktimān appears to be the extension of Sahya towards the east which includes all the hilly area of Khandesa and Ajanta up to Golkunda plateau. The ancient name of Khandesa was Ṛishikā and river Ṛishikā is mentioned as rising from Śuktimān. The Ṛiksha mountain appears to be the long extension of hills joined at the northern end of Sahyādri and extending along the right bank of the Tāptī river which should be identified with the modern Satpura range upto Mahādeva hills. The Tāptī and the Wain Gaṅga rising from Ṛiksha lend support to this identification. On the other hand the river Brāhmaṇī and Vaitaraṇī are also said to rise from Ṛiksha which indicates that the hills of Chhota Nagpur upto Ranchi form part of the Ṛiksha range.

Vindhyāchala is the well-known mountain range which extends along the north of the Narmadā up to Amarakaṇṭaka on the one hand and up to Kaimur range in the Son valley upto the Mirzapur area. Its important rivers are named as Śoṇa, Narmadā, Mahānadī. Tamasā, Daśārṇā and many smaller rivers between the Sona and the Sindhu.

The inner mountains of Bhārata are thus included under these six names, only one of them remains, viz. Aravalli which should be identified with Pāriyātra (उत्तरो विन्ध्यात् पारियात्रः, Śakaṭayana Vyākaraṇa, 2. 2. 75, its illustration). The Pāriyātra was so named as once the land-route from Dvārāvātī going to Sauvīra or Sindh skirted the Aravalls (Pari + yātrā) on its south side before starting on its sector through the Rājputānā desert.

There were many other smaller hills also but their names are not given in the Matsya. The Mārkaṇḍeya however gives a good list of them (Mark. 57. 13-15).

RIVERS—The relative position of the seven *Kulā-parvatas* of Bhāratavarsha being thus indicated, the names of rivers rising from each one of these ranges become a clear statement as follows :

1. RIVERS FROM HIMĀLAYA—Gaṅgā, Sindhu, Sarasvatī, Śatadru Chandrabhāgā, Yamunā, Sarayū, Airāvātī (Rāvi)

Vitastā, Vipāśā (Viśālā in Matsya), Devikā (River Deeg in the Punjab, a tributary of the Rāvi rising in the Jasarota dist. in Jammu), *Kuhū (= Kubhā, Kabul river), Gomatī, Dhūtapāpā (uncertain), Bāhudā (probably Ramagañā), Dṛiśadvatī (in Kurukshetra Chitang), Kauśikī (Kosi in Bihar), Tṛitīyā (probably Karatoyā), Nischīrā (Nischalā in Matsya, Achiravatī, Rāvī), Gaṇḍakī, Ikshu (= Ikshumatī in Farrukhabad dist.), Lauhitya (= Brahmaputra).

2. RIVERS FROM PĀRIYĀTRA—Vedasmṛitī (uncertain), Vetravatī, Vārtraghnī (modern Vatarak, a tributary of the Sābar-matī), Sindhu (Kālī-Sindhu, a tributary of the Yamunā), Parṇāśā (Banas, a tributary of the Chambal), Narmadā (Nandanā in Vāyu, also Chandanā), Sadānīrā (Kāveri in Matsya, uncertain), Mahatī (Mahī in Matsya, a river falling in the Gulf of Cambay), Pārā (= Pārvatī, tributary of the Chambal), *Charmanvatī (Dhanavatī in Matsya), Vidiśā (Vidushā in Matsya, modern Bes meeting the Vestrauatī at Vidisā), Veṇumatī, Śiprā (on which Ujjayinī is situated, Avantī (a small river near Mahow flowing into the Chambal), Kuntī (also called Aśvanadī, a tributary of the Chambal).

3. RIVERS FROM ṚIKSHAVĀN—Mandākinī, Daśārṇā (modern Dhasān), Chitrakūṭā (some river near Chitrakūṭa), Tamasā (Tons flowing into the Gaṅgā), Pippalaśronī (modern Parasaronī, a tributary of the Yamunā running between the Kena and the Tons), Chitrotpalā (uncertain), Vimalā, Chañchalā, Bhūtavāhinī, Śuktimatī (modern Ken, a tributary of the Yamunā), Śunī, Lajjā, Mukuṭā, Hradikā.

4. RIVERS OF THE VINDHYA MOUNTAIN—Tāpī (modern Tapti), Payoshnī (uncertain), Nirvindhyā (Newuj, a tributary of the Chambal), Kshiprā, Nishadhavatī (Rishabhā in Matsya, may be a river flowing near Rishabhā-tīrtha in Śaktigarh State), Veṇṇā (Waingāṅgā, a tributary of the Godāvarī), Vaitaraṇī (a river of Orissa), Viśvamālā, Kumudvatī, Toyā (Karatoyā in Mārkaṇḍeya, Brāhmaṇī in Mahābhārata), Mahāgaūrī, Durgamā, Antaḥśīlā.

5. RIVERS OF SAHYĀDRI— Godāvarī, Bhīmarathī (Bhīmā, a tributary of the Kṛishṇā), Kṛishṇaveṇī (Krishna + and its tributary Veṇā), Vañjulā (modern Mañjirā, a tributary of the Godāvarī), Tuṅgabhadrā (a tributary of the Kṛishṇā), Suprayogā, Bāhya-Kāverī.

6. RIVERS OF THE MALĀYA MOUNTAIN— Kṛitamālā (modern Vaigai, also named Vegavatī), Tāmraparṇī, Pushpajā, Utpalāvatī.

7. RIVERS OF MAHENDRA— Trisāmā (Vibhāgā in Matsya), Rishikulyā (still known by its ancient name), Ikshulā, Mūlī, Tridivā, Lāṅgulinī (modern Lāṅgulīyā, running near Śrī-Kākulam, Tāmraparṇī in Matsya is a misreading), Vamśadharā (still known by its old name running past Kaliṅgapattana).

The list of rivers in the Bhīshma-parva is longer but not organised according to their sources.

JANAPADAS

The list of the Janapadas has been drawn into seven parts on the basis of seven divisions of the country as follows :

I. JANAPADAS OF MADHYADEŚA— Kuru, Pāñchāla, Sālva (= Alvar-Bikaner), Jāṅgala (= Kuru-Jāṅgala), Śurasena (Mathurā), Bhadrakāra (a branch of the Sālvās in south Punjab on the border of Rājasthān, modern town of Bhadra), Bodha (Bāhya in Matsya), Paṭachchara (modern Pataudi), Matsya (Bharatpur-Jaipur), Kirāta (people settled along the foot-hills of the Himālayas), Kulya (may be a reading for Kuluna or Kullu), Kunti (Kontwar in Gwalior), Kāśī, Kosala, Āvanta (a misreading for Ārbuda), Bhūliṅga (a member of the Sālva tribe).

II. JANAPADAS OF UDĪCHYA OR NORTH-WEST—Bāhlīka (Balkh), Vāṭadhāna (Bhātanera), Ābhīra, Kālatoyaka (uncertain, may be the region of the Sulaiman mountain famous for Trika-kudāñjana), Aparānta, Śūdra (a neighbouring tribe of the Ābhīras between north Sindh and western Rājasthan), Pahlava, Charma-khaṇḍika, Gāndhāra, Yavana, Sindhu (Sindh-Sāgara, Doab), Sauvīra (northern Sind), Madraka (Sialkot), Śatadruja (people of the Sutlaj Valley, Rampur-Bushhar), Kuṇinda (Kulinda

in Matsya, Upper Jumna), Pārada (same as Pardene), Hārahūṇaka (supported by Kūrma, Hāramūrtika, same as Hārahuraka mentioned by Kauṭilya, Central Afghanistan, the country of the Hārahūraka black grapes), Ramaṭha (Ghazni), Kaṇṭakāra (uncertain), Kaikeya (Shahpur-Jhelam), Daśamānaka, (v.l. Daśanāmaka in Matsya, same as the Daśamaṇḍala of Roha in Afghanistan), Kamboja (Pamir region, head-waters of the Oxus), Darada (Gilgit in Kashmir), Barbara (probably Barbaricum near the mouth of the Indus), Aṅgalaukika, Chīna-Maru (these appear to be the people of Chinese Turkistan mentioned in the Matsya as the country through which the Oxus flows), Tushāra (the country of the Yuehchis between Bactria and Oxus), Kshatrayaḥ (probably the same as Xathrii, modern Khattris), Bharadvāja (people of Kumaon area), Prasthala (Patiala), Dāseraka, Lampāka (Laghman in Afghanistan), Avagāṇa (Talagāna in Matsya, Afghanistan), Chūlika (same as Śūlika or Su-le in Central Asia, modern Kashgar), Jāguḍa (south Afghanistan near Ghazni), Auraśa (people of Ursā or Hazara), Tomara (often mentioned, but uncertain), Haṁsamārga (Hunza in north Kashmir), Kashmira, Kulūta (Kullu), Āhuka or Huhuka (Kabul Valley), Ūrṇa (Ūrna-sar in Swat), Dārva (Doggar, Jammu).

This is a long list of Udīchya Janapadas including several sub-lists juxtaposed at one place. It is necessary to edit this portion of the Bhuvanakośa critically from as many good manuscripts as available. [Attention may be drawn to papers of Dr. D. C. Sirkar (Text of the Puranic List of the Peoples, *IHQ* Vol. XXI, 1945, PP. 297-314), and of Lewis, *Purāṇa*, Vol. IV, PP. 112-145; 245-276; and my comments, *Purāṇa* Vol. V, PP. 160-181].

III. JANAPADAS OR THE PRĀCHYA REGION OF EAST INDIA— Aṅga (Champā-Bhāgalpur), Vaṅga (east Bengal), Madaguraka (Mungher), Antargiri (= Mahā-Himavanta, Great Central Himālaya; see my above paper pp. 175-176), Bahirgiri (= Chulla-Himavanta, Lesser Himālaya including Nainital, Simla, Mussourie peaks from 6000 to 10,000 ft.), Suhmottara (south-west Bengal called Tāmra-liptaka), Pravijaya (uncertain), Malada,

(people of Malda), Vāṅgeya, Prāgjyotiṣa, Puṇḍra (north Bengal known as Puṇḍra-Vardhana Bhukti in Gupta period), Videha (Mithilā, north of the Gaṅgā), Tāmra-liptaka, (region round the sea-port of Tāmralipti), Magadha (Gaya dist., south of Gaṅgā).

IV. JANAPADAS OF DAKSHINĀPATHA— Pāṇḍya, Kerala, (the names have already occurred amongst the descendants of Turvasu, M. 48. 5; also people of the sea-coast near Quilon which is called Kūlam), Setuka (= Setubandha-Rāmeśvara), Mūshika (Sūtika in Matsya, people of Mūsi river near Hyderabad), Kupatha (others read Kumāra, people of Cape Camorin), Vanavāsaka (same as Banavasi in north Kanara district), Navarāshṭra (= Mahārāshṭra), Māhishaka (ancient Mahisa country in Mysore), Kaliṅga, Kāvera (people on the Kāverī, misreading Karūsha), Aisika (doubtful), Āṭavya (people of Vindhya forest), Śabara (people settled in the region of Śabarī river), Pulinda (people of the Vindhya forest in the region of Vetravatī), Vidarbha (Berar), Gaṇḍaka, Mūlaka (Ahmadnagar), Āsmaka (Paithan on the Godavari), Bhogavardhana, Ṛishika (Khandesa), Kuntala (north Kanara), Āndhra, Udbhida, Nalakālīka.

V. PEOPLE OF APARĀNTA OR KOṆKAṆA— Śūrapāraka (modern Sopara near Bombay), Kolavana (probably Kolābā), Durga, Kālīkoṭa (or Kālīkaṭa) Kuliya, Sirāla (= Murala, people along the Muralā river), Nāsikya (people round Nāsika), Uttara-Nārmada, Bhṛigukaksha, Māheya, Sārasvata, Kachchhīya Surāshṭra, Ānarta, Ārbuda.

VI. JANAPADAS OF VINDHYA PRISHṬHA— Mālava, Karūsha (Baghelkhand) Mekala (Amarakantaka), Utkala, Auḍra, Daśārṇa (Dhasan), Kishkindhā (it is different from Kishkindhā in south India), Tosala (Sisupalgarh in Orissa), Kosala (Dakṣiṇa Kosala, Raipur-Bilaspur), Tripura (Tripuri near Jabalpur), Vaidīśa (Bhelsa), Naisadha (Naravargarh), Tuṇḍikera (Śaundīkera in Matsya), Vitihotra, Anūpa (Onkara-Māndhātā along the Narmada), Tumbavana (Tumain Tumburu in Matsya).

VIII. JANAPADAS OF THE MOUNTAINOUS REGION (PARVATĀŚRAYĪ)— It should be noted that in ancient Indian geography there were two regions, named Parvata, (i) Kuṇlu-Kangra

or Trīgarta and (ii) Central Afganistan. Here both have been mixed up. Nirāhara (Nagarahāra, Jalalabad), Hamsamārga (Hunza), Kupatha, Apatha, Kutha-Prāvaraṇa, Ūrṇa, Dārva, Huhuka (Kubhā river), Trīgarta (Kullu-Kangra), Maṇḍala (v. I. Mālava).

A condensed list of the above names includes the following :

Kuru-Pāñchāla in Madhyadeśa; Kāmarūpa, Puṇḍra, Kaliṅga in Pūrvadeśa, people of the south in general, Saurāshṭra, Śudrābhīra and Aparānta; Arbuda, Meru and Mālava in Pāriyātra and Vindhya region, and Sauvīra, Saindhava, Hūṇa, Sālva, Śākala, Madra, Ambashṭha and Pārasika in the Udīchya region. But this list fails to account for a large number of Janapadas' name, which were known even to Pāṇini and therefore cannot be admitted as the original text.

In the remaining verses of Chapter 114 (58-86) which surely is a loose appendage to the above compact account of Bhāratavarsha, we find a reverting to the Saptadvīpī Bhūgola describing the various trees in Jambu-Dvīpa, Ilāvṛita-varsha, Kim-purusha-varsha and Harivarsha. It is a useless mythical account.

PURŪRAVAS—Chaps. 115-120, an abrupt interlude which has no connection with Bhuvanakośa proper, give a story of the past birth of Purūravas. He was the king of Madra country (M. 115.7). He possessed everything except physical beauty. Desirous of obtaining a beautiful form, he decided to perform *Tapas* and went in the Himalayas to a holy spot in his own kingdom where the river Airāvati (modern Rāvi) had its source. The place must have been a beauty spot in those days as the Valley of the Upper Ravi in Kangra is even today. A very ornate description of the mountainous scenery is given in Chapters 116-117, followed by a list of about 150 names of trees for timber, fruits and flowers which must have been taken from a conventional Varṇaka description. Such an account of a forest was admitted to contain a list not only of trees but also of wild animals (M. 118. 55-59) and birds (M. 118. 48-54).

The king reached the hermitage of Sage Atri in that secluded part of the mountain. He saw there a temple construct-

ed with semi-precious stones and having various constituent parts as *Setu*, *Sopāna*, *Āmala-sāraka*, *Mahā-stam'ha*, *Vedikā*, *Gavāksha-jālu*. In the temple was installed an image of Vishṇu reclining on Serpent Śesha (भोगिभोगावलीसुप्तः). One of his legs was folded at the knee-joint and the foot was placed on the body of the Serpent. The foot of the second leg was placed in the lap of Lakshmī. Of the four arms one (front left hand, flexed at the elbow) was used for resting his head (देवशीर्षधर) ; the wrist of the front right hand was placed on the flexed knee ; the left back arm was placed on the coils of the serpent, and the fourth hand was held near the nose with some flowers. Lakshmī was shampooing one of his feet. It is a vivid picture of Śeshaśāyī Vishṇu depicted on the outer wall of the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh which seems to have been executed in accordance with the canons of the Bhāgavata School (M. 119. 28-35). The king offered worship to Devadeva Vishṇu by reciting one thousand names which is a reference to the Vishṇu-Sahasranāma stotra (M. 119.39).

This realistic description is based on the penetration of the Pāñcha-Rātra Bhāgavata religion in this remote and secluded part of the Himālayas, viz. the Kullu-Kangra region which received waves of cultural influence during the Gupta period, as is also shown by the discovery of several bronze and ivory images of Gupta art in this area.

ROYAL PASTIME— Chap. 120 is a conventional description of royal pastime, pleasures and enjoyments. It consists of five parts.

- i. *Pushpochchaya*, (gathering of flowers), called Udyāna-krīḍā ;
- ii. *Udaka-krīḍā*, Water sports ;
- iii. *Lutāgriha-maṇḍana*, beautifying the body with flowers and ornaments.
- iv. *Āpāna goshṭhī*, Drinking ;
- v. *Gīta-Nṛitya*, Dance and music.

It is a comprehensive description giving a list of several motifs under each, which are not only described in literature



Vishnu Sleeping on the Cosmic Serpent [शेषशायी विष्णु]
From Daśavatāra Temple, Deogarh, c. 5th cent. A.D.

elsewhere but also depicted in many reliefs in Kushāṇa and Gupta art on the railing pillars at Mathura and elsewhere; e.g. the motif of ringing water from the hair after bath (केशनिस्तोयकारिणी M. 120.20). This description also acquaints us with the *Bhavanodyāna* (Royal Palace Garden) containing the *Kṛīḍā-parvata* or *Dāru-parvata* near the lotus-pond (Pushkariṇī) which was meant for the Salila-kṛīḍā and the Latāgriha or Mādhavī-maṇḍapa by the side of the lotus-pond for cosmetics and beautifying the body. In the light of this description we may understand better what Bāna-Bhaṭṭa has written about the *Dāru-parvataka*, *Latāgriha*, *Pushkariṇī* and *Himagriha* in the *Kādambarī*.

The king seeing the celestial Apsarās and Gandharvas enjoying in this manner himself sat down to perform *Tapas* by living on water for one month in Phālguna—

तोयाशनस्तत्र उवास मासं यावत् सितान्तो नृप फाल्गुनस्य, (M. 120. 41)
God Viṣṇu appeared before him and granted his wish for beauty and health. It can be easily seen that the name of Purūravas is only a thin veneer for giving a description of some actual king of Madradeśa or Punjab whose story had gone round.

DESCRIPTION OF KAILĀSA & SEVEN RIVERS—Chap. 121 reverts to the theme of Chaturdvīpī and Saptadvīpī descriptions jumbled into one. The old conception of Meru as the centre of the earth is transferred to Kailāsa which is said to be the centre of the Himalāya region. It may have been the work of Śaiva-Māheśvara teachers, but it is valuable for retaining some of the old geographical terms. Kailāsa is taken to be the abode of Kubera with his Yakshas and Apsaras with the capital city of Alakā near Kailāsa. It is this account followed by Kālidāsa in the *Meghadūta* who places not only Alakā but also Mandākinī in the region of Kailāsa as done here. River Mandākinī is said to flow from a lake formed by the cool waters at the foot of the Kailāsa mountains. The Nandana grove is also said to be along the Mandākinī (M. 121. 5).

A description of Kailāsa is then conceived along its four cardinal points and the four intermediate points but some are

actually left out in the description. In the north-east direction of Kailāsa are Saungandhika and Chandraprabha mountains, a lake named Achchhoda from which flows the Achchhodikā river; and the grove Chaitraratha. It is the abode of Maṇibhadra Yaksha.

The eastern direction is left out.

In the south-east of Kailāsa is the mountain named Sarvaushadhi, and then Lohita; near it is the Lohita lake from which rises the Lauhitya river. Viśoka is the name of the grove which is the abode of Yaksha king Maṇidhara.

The south side is left out.

In the south-west of Kailāsa is Kakudmān mountain with its peak Trikakakud which is the source of the Sālva called *Traikakuda añjana*. There is also the second mountain known as Vaidyuta. Its lake is Mānasa from which flows the Sarayū river. Its grove is Vaibhrāja where lives the Rākshasa Brahmadhātā, son of Praheti and attendant of Kubera. This Trikakud mountain was known in the Atharva Veda and also in Pāṇini and has been identified with modern Sulaiman mountain in Baluchistan where a black collyrium for eyes is still obtained and is famous in Punjab and Sind. The Sarayū river in this area seems to be the same as Harayū of the Avesta (modern Hari Rud), near Herat in western Afghanistan.

In the western direction of Kailāsa is the mountain Aruṇa and another known as Durga-Śaila, a name which occurs in the geography of Śākadvīpa in the west. There is the Śailoda lake from which flows the Sailodakā river which fortunately is here identified with Chakshusī river, i. e. the Oxus falling into the western sea which can only be the sea of Aral

तस्मात्प्रभवते पुण्या नदी शैलोदका शुभा ।

सा चक्षुसी तयोर्मध्ये प्रविष्टा पश्चिमोदधिम् ॥

(M. 121. 23).

i. e. the Śailodakā or the Oxus flows in between the two mountain ranges of Aruṇa and Durga-Śaila and joins the western sea.

The north-west direction of Kailāsa is omitted and the thread is connected with the northern direction.

To the north of Kailāsa is the mountain Hiranyaśṛṅga, at its foot is the lake Bindusara where king Bhagīratha performed his penances for the descent of Gaṅgā on earth.

SEVEN STREAMS OF THE GAṄGĀ

The above description of Kailāsa is garbled selecting some mythical names and tagging them on to real geographical names. To this description is appended a very majestic and realistic account of the 7 great rivers of the historical geography of Asia which served as navigable trade-routes during the Kushāṇa-Gupta epoch and about which factual descriptions were available for caravan merchants making use of those routes. This is a very valuable adjunct which has little to do with the account of Kailāsa or with the geography of the Saptadvīpas. The Purāṇa writer is conscious of the following facts :—

1. The seven rivers belong to the Haimavata Varsha which was the same as the Great Himālaya mountain with the vast continents on its four sides and which practically coincided with Jambū-dvīpa (सप्त चैताः प्लावयन्ति वर्षं तु हिमसाह्वयम्, M. 121.42). Three of them, viz. Sītā, Chakshu (Oxus) and Sindhu (Indus) flow through many Janapadas and join the western sea (*Pratichyagāh*, M. 121.40).

The other set of three, Nalinī, Hrādinī and Pāvanī flow towards the east and join the eastern ocean (प्राच्यगाः, M. 121.39).

The seventh named Bhāgīrathī or Gaṅgā proper flows towards the south and joins the southern sea (प्रविष्टा दक्षिणोदधिम्, M. 121.41).

They are said to have their sources at a central place named Bindusara; each one of them is truly a Gaṅgā, i. e. a river of the same magnitude as the Gaṅgā that was known nearer home (ततो विसर्जयामास सप्त स्रोतांसि गंगया).*

* The Vāyū Purāṇa gives a very intelligent theory about the circulation of the atmospheric waters in the form of an Ambara Nadi (Vāyū 42.15, Nadi Akāśagāminī, 42.3). The atmospheric waters in the sky are known

The implication is that the waters of such mighty rivers were released by the power of *Tapas* and although king Bhagīratha performed his austerity for Gaṅgā that was in Bhārata-varsha, it was believed that the other six streams flowing east and west were also the result of the concentrated merit of the penances of a Chakravartī king of Bhāratavarsha. It was in keeping with ideal glory of Bhārata that was ringing in their ears in that age :

नहि भारतसमं वर्षं पृथिव्यामस्ति भो द्विजाः ।

The fact was that all the Janapadas and countries of which a detailed list is given from Chinese Turkestan and Gandhāra up to the Andaman Islands were connected with Bhāratavarsha as the hub of a wheel is connected through its spokes to the periphery.

The description of the 7 great rivers is based on the Janapadas and names of countries through which they flow. This account is found both in Matsya (M. 121. 42) and Vāyu (47. 37-51).

1. Sītā— The Matsya does not mention the name of the river and the text also is corrupt (referring to the river falling in the south sea, Dakshipodadhi !) ; but the Vāyu gives the name as Sītā falling into the western sea after crossing the great desert known as Sindhu-Maru. It is said that it flows mostly through the Mlechchha countries including, Chīnas, Barbaras, Yavanas

as Soma which form a mighty river in the 7th region of stratosphere (सप्तमेनानिलपथा, 42.3). Having touched innumerable stars in her field she is agitated by wind and Sun and flowing in innumerable channels makes a round of mount Meru and descends on its four sides :

वायुना प्रेर्यमाणा च अनेकाभोगगामिनी
परिवर्तत्यहरहो यथा सूर्यस्तथैव सा ॥
वेगेन कुर्वन्ती मेरुं सा प्रयाता प्रदक्षिणम्
विभिद्यमाना सलिलैस्तैजसेनानिलेन च ।
मेरोरुत्तरकूटेषु पतिताऽथ चतुर्द्वारिपि ॥

It is that great river which floods the channels in the four continents of Bhadrāśva, Bhārata, Ketumāla and Uttara Kuru and the great river systems of Sītā, Chakshu and Alakanandā etc. all described as Gaṅgā.

and the Rushāṇas. It is difficult to identify the exact location of these names but it seems to be making out a list from the names of historical peoples as they were current at the time when these lists were compiled. It is tempting to identify Rushāṇa with the Russian Steppes. This Sītā should be different from the river of that name flowing eastward which is identified with the Yarakand river. It seems that it was the Syr-Daria flowing westward from the Thien Shan (= Devakūṭa) mountain and meeting the sea of Aral.

2. CHAKSHU— Both Matsya and Vāyu agree in stating that it was a great river which flowed through Chīna-Maru (Chinese Turkestan), Śūlika (Shule or Kashgar) Tushāra, Barbara, Pārada and Śaka countries. The Chakshu also named Vakshu, Ikshu, Svarakshu, Vaṅkshu, was one of the greatest rivers of antiquity which served as the main line of communication between China on the east and Iran and Russia on the west, and it was in Bāhlika on the south of the Oxus that the Uttarāpatha route from the great capitals in north India was picked up. It was the meeting place of all the great routes of Central Asia including Sīberia, Chīna, India, Iran and Classical West.

3. SINDHU—The Indus also was a mighty river which was the hub of numerous trade-routes in the north-west of India, Gāndhāra, Baluchistan and Sind. The ancient Dvārāvati-Kamboja route was in the main leading along the banks of the Indus. The extensive area covered by the Sindhu is shown by the names of the countries watered by it, e. g. Darad (Gilgit, north Kashmir), Jāguḍa (south Afghanistan), Gāndhāra (divided by the Indus into two portions, namely Pūrva-Gāndhāra with capital at Takshśilā and Aparā-Gāndhāra with capital at Pushkalāvati (modern Charsadda on the confluence of the Swat and Kabul), Auraśa (Hazara), Kuhū (Kubhā, Kabul river), Śiva-Paura (the Pore tribe along the Indus), Vasāti (Vadāti in Vāyu is a wrong reading; identified with Sibi region in Baluchistan), Saindhava (Sindhu-Sāgar Doab) Indra-Maru (same as *Indra-vaktra* of the Mahābhārata, the dry area of Makran desert in Baluchistan which in distinction to

the irrigated portion of the Indus Delta called *Sindhu Vaktra* or *Nadī-mukha* was known as *Indra-vaktra*.

A few names like Śuna-mukha and Ūrdhva-Marū (Urda-Marū in Matsya) are doubtful (cf. Urdī, Auṣṭāyāni for Urda-marū).

4. GAṄGĀ—It flows through the well-known Janapadas of Kuru, Pāñchāla, Matsya, Kāśī, Aṅga, Magadha, Vaṅga, Brahmoṭṭara and Tāmraliptaka. These are mentioned as Ārya Janapadas.

5. HRĀDINĪ—Some great river of East India or Asia which now cannot be properly identified. It may have been the great Brahmaputra flowing through the country of Kirātas.

6. NALINĪ—It seems to be the river Irāvādī of Burma which meets the ocean near Indradvīpa or the Andaman Island (इन्द्रदीपसमीपे तु प्रविष्टा लवणोदधिरम्, M. 121. 57).

PĀVANĪ—It may have been the great Mekong river, (=मा गंगा) but the identification is not certain.

We again have a patch of Saptadvīpī geography mentioning the names of some rivers and lakes. It is stated that in the other 8 (sic!) Varshas there is no rainfall but only underground water rising to the surface and flowing in channels (एषु देवो न वर्षति, उद्भिदान्युदकान्यत्र प्रवहन्ति सरिद्धराः, M. 121. 71-72).

ŚĀKADVĪPA (M. 122)—It is most important to remember that in the revised conception of the Saptadvīpī geography the central one was believed to be Jambū-dvīpa with 7 Varshas and 7 Varsha-Parvatas within its sphere. But Jambū-dvīpa itself was surrounded by 7 other concentric *Dvīpas* each separated by a *Samudra*. They are as follows in Vāyu and other Pūrāṇas (cf. Mārkaṇḍeya, 54.6).

1. Jambū-dvīpa (encircled by Kshāra Samudrā or Lavaṇodadhi).
2. Plaksha (Gomedaka) dvīpa (encircled by Ikshurasa Samudra).
3. Śālmali-dvīpa (encircled by Surā Samudra).
4. Kuśa-dvīpa (encircled by Ghṛita Samudra).*

5. Krauñcha-dvīpa (encircled by Dadhi Samudra).
6. Śākadvīpa (encircled by Kshīra Samudra).
7. Pushkara-dvīpa (encircled by Svādu-Jala Samudra).

In Matsya the order is जम्बू द्वीप, शाक द्वीप, कुश द्वीप, क्रौञ्च द्वीप, शाल्मल द्वीप, गोमेद द्वीप, पुष्कर द्वीप. For each one of these is given a list of 7 mountains and 7 rivers. We are not now in a position to identify the names in the case of other Dvīpas, but it appears that the description of Śāka-dvīpa although transferred to a new context was based on a factual account of its mountains and rivers. The 7 mountains of Śākadvīpa are Meru (also called Udaya), Jaladhāra (also called Chandra), Durga-Śaila (also called Nārada), Śyāma (also called Dundubhi), Astagiri (also called Somaka), Āmbikeya (also called Sumanas), Vibhrāja (also called Keśava ; but Ramya and Keśarī in Vāyu).

A noteworthy fact mentioned is that the 7 mountains, 7 Janapadas and 7 rivers each have a pair of names (*Dvināmāni*, *Dvināmavati*). The reason for this is not quite clear, but it may be that one set of names was given by the Sanskrit geographers and the other was a translation of names from the Scythian Language. The problem is obscure and needs to be investigated on the basis of the historical geography of the homeland of the Śakas stretching from the Pamirs to the Caspian Sea.

7. VARSHAS— 1. Udayavarsha of Udaya mountain ; 2. Sukumāra Varsha, also named Śaiśira, of Jaladhāra mountain ; 3. Kaumāra (also Sukhodaya) of the Durga-Śaila or Nārada mountain ; 4. Mañichaka, also called Ānandaka, of the Śyāma mountain ; 5. Kusumotkara, also Asita, of the Somaka mountain ; 6. Maināka, also Kshemaka, of the Āmbikeya mountain ; 7. Vibhrāja, also called Dhruva, of the Vibhrāja mountain.

7. RIVERS OF ŚĀKADVĪPA— 1. Sukumārī (also Munī-taptā) ; 2. Kumārī (also Tapas-siddhā) ; 3. Nandā (also Pāvanī) ; 4. Śivikā (also Dvididhā) ; 5. Ikshu (also Kuhū) ; 6. Veṇukā (also Amṛitā) ; 7. Sukṛitā (also Gabhastī).

IDENTIFICATION— This geography of Śākadvīpa partly agrees with what Herodotus has written about the home-land of the Śakas. As Sri Nando Lal Dey has pointed out the following names are similar :—

Skt. name—Śāka-dvīpa	Greek name—Scythia
Kumuda	Komedai (a mountain district called <i>Komedorum Montis</i>).
Sukumāra	Komaroī
Jaladhāra	Salateroī
Ikshu	Oxus
Syāma-Giri	Mustagh, which means the 'Black Mountain' and is identical with Mount Syāmaka of the Avesta).
Sitā	Syr-Daria
Mṛiga	Margiana (present Merv)
Maśaka	Massagetai

Thus this geographical information seems to be based on fact. The description of the Śākadvīpa in the Bhishma-parva and the reference to the relative positions of the Śakas (Scythians) and the Ṛishikas (Yuehchis) in Central Asia is even more specific and both writers were drawing upon a common source. On similar lines the descriptions of the remaining Dvīpas are given with details of mountains, rivers and Janapadas (Chaps. 122-123, each Dvīpa encircled by a Samudra :—

एवं द्वीपाः समुद्रेस्तु सप्त सप्तभिरावृताः ।

द्वीपस्यान्तरो यस्तु समुद्रस्तत् समस्तु वै ॥

(M. 123. 27):

The finale to Chap. 123 is a mythical description of the seven sheaths of the cosmic egg (सप्तावरण ब्रह्माण्ड), comprising *Mahat tattva* and *Ahaṅkāra* (called *Aviśeṣha*) and the five gross material elements (called *Viśeṣha*). All this is the manifestation of *Pradhāna* or *Prakṛti* (M. 123. 53-56).

JYOTISHA-CHAKRA

Chaps. 124-128 deal with the size of the earth, planets and other stars, movements of Sun, Moon and other planets and the relative positions of the 27 constellations in the heavens. It is a subject based on old astronomical ideas as developed at the time of the compilation of the Purāṇa.

SUSHĀ— In Chap. 124. 22, 27, 28, 29, is a reference to Sushā (सुषा), capital of Varuṇa in the western direction, and it seems to be the same as Susa of the ancient Achemenian empire in Iran.

STELLAR SYSTEM A CHAKRA— The whole system of stars, planets and constellations is conceived of as a *Chakra* rotating like the Potter's Wheel (*Kulāla Chakra*, M. 124. 68; चक्रं तु भ्रमते पुनः). This was also known as *Sinśumāra-Chakra* (M. 125.5). The vast space is an ocean in which the stars are arranged like the body of a dinosaur or giant alligator. The imagery of the wheel implies a fixed centre which is *Dhruva* (मेढीभूतो ध्रुवो दिवि, M. 125. 5) to which the whole system of moving stars is secured by certain pulls, spoken of as winds (*Vāta*) in physical form but actually invisible forces exercised by *Dhruva* or the Centre on the peripheral stars :

सैष भ्रमन् भ्रामयते चन्द्रादित्यौ ग्रहैः सह ।

भ्रमन्तमनुसर्पन्ति नक्षत्राणि च चक्रवत् ॥

ध्रुवस्य मनसा यो वै भ्रमते ज्योतिषाङ्गणः ।

वातानीकमयैर्बन्धैर्ध्रुवे बद्धः प्रसर्पति ॥ (M. 125. 6-7)

Although the whole system of heavenly movement is visible to our eyes (प्रत्यक्षमपि दृश्यं), it is something which is mysterious (मनसा) and the power that makes it move is elusive (भूतसंमोहनं...तत्संमोहयति वै प्रजाः, M. 125. 4). *Dhruva* is only relatively fixed, but factually itself moves in the heavens (सैष भ्रमन् भ्रामयते).

SEVEN DIVISIONS OF THE STRATOSPHERE— The formation of the clouds like *Pushkarāvartakā* and *Pundra* in the sky also is described and their relative heights are mentioned with

reference to the seven divisions of the stratosphere known as *Āvaha*, *Pravaha*, *Vivaha*, *Udvaha*, *Saṁvaha*, *Parivaha*, *Parāvaha* :

सूर्य एव तु वृष्टीनां स्रष्टा समुपदिश्यते ।

वर्षं धर्मं हिमं रात्रिं सन्ध्ये चैव दिनं तथा ॥ (M.125. 27-28 also 163.32)

Sūrya is the cause of rain, heat, cold, night and day.

SŪRYA-RATHA— The great Solar system of which Sūrya is the central control is conceived of as a chariot which moves up to 180 degrees both north and south of the equator (अशीतिमंडलशतं काष्ठयोरुभयोश्चरन्, M. 125.57). There are two conceptions of the Sun's chariot both of them being Vedic, the one based on the visible form of the *Saṁvatsara* representing the Sun, and the other on the invisible forces or tensions which cause movement that is in the chariot. For example, the solar car has one wheel (*eka-chakra*) which is the *Saṁvatsara*, five spokes (*pañchāra*), three naves (*tri-nābhi*, namely the triple nature of the power of the Sun, M. 125.37), bounded by one felly (*eka-nemi*), the Eight Vasus being symbolised as the eight-fold wheel of Solar car (*aṣṭa-chakra*). Again three spokes (*tryara*), five spokes (*pañchāra*), six spokes (*ṣaḍāra*), twelve spokes (*dvādaśāra*) are met with in the Vedas. The 7 horses of the solar car are the seven metres, viz. Gāyatrī, Ushṇik, Anuṣṭup, Brihatī, Paṅkti, Trisṭup and Jagatī which form one rhythmic octave in the rays of the Sun and make for its movement (सप्तारध्वपारङ्गदांसि वहन्ते वायुरंहसा). Vāyu here, as also in describing the attraction of Dhruva or the stellar systems (वातानीकमयैर्वन्धैः, M. 125.7), is the symbol of *Rajas* or movement which alone is responsible for all activities in the universe. It is the great principle of *Prāṇa* which is the source of cyclic motion expressed as contraction and expansion.

THE INDIAN VIBGYOR— The other conception of the Sun's car is based on Yajurveda 15.15-19, describing the rotation of Agni in the four directions and above. The Purāṇas elaborated it as a sublime idea in which God Sūrya is said to move through the six seasons or 12 months with seven-fold forces or powers symbolised as *Dēva*, *Rishi*, *Gandharva*, *Apsaras*, *Surpa*, *Grāmanā*

and *Rākshasa*. This Heptad, looking so mythical, symbolises the octave of the Sun based on the mutual differences of the rays. The differing wave-lengths is a modern conception, but the ancients had discovered that there are seven colours in each ray of the sun, and this is due to different tensions or forces which we may speak of as the seven *archetypal* distinctions, since the one becomes seven for the sake of manifestation. The first three types are *Deva*, *Rishi* and *Gandharva* and they are representatives of light and immortality or what in modern science is known as the actinic portion of the spectra. The last three, viz. *Sarpa*, *Grāmanī* and *Rākshasa* signify heat or death equal to the thermal field of the spectra. The *Apsaras* stand in between the two. In simple words this octave of the seven forces may be called the ancient VIBGYOR. In Indian terminology actinic or light rays are symbols of *Rasa* and thermal or heat rays of *Bala*. The *Rishis*, *Devas*, *Gandharvas* represent *Rasa*, *Brahma*, *Amṛita*, and light. *Grāmanīs*, *Sarpas* and *Rākshasas* stand for, Heat, *Bala*, *Kshatra*, force or death. Light and Heat are twin forms of one *Tejas*, the first identified as *Sūrya* or Day and the latter as *Agni* or Night, and the two are inter-dependent :

प्राकाशयञ्च तथोष्णञ्च सौर्याग्नेये तु तेजसी ।

परस्परानुप्रवेशादाप्यायेते दिवानिशम् ॥ (M. 128.12)

This conception of *Sūrya* may be tabulated as follows :—

TWELVE HEPTADS OF THE SOLAR CAR

[सूर्यरथस्य द्वादश सप्तकाः]

मास नाम देवताः ऋषयः सर्पाः गन्धर्वाः अप्सरसः ग्रामण्यः यातुधानाः

चैत्रः घाता पुलस्त्यः वासुकिः तुम्बुरुः क्रतुस्थला रथकृत् हेतिः
(=रथगृहस)

वैशाखः अर्यमा पुलहः सङ्कीर्णः नारदः पुञ्जिक- रथौजाः प्रहेतिः
स्थला

ज्येष्ठः मित्र अत्रिः तक्षकः हाहूः मेनका रथन्तर पौरुषेय
(=रथस्वन)

आषाढः वरुणः वसिष्ठः रम्भकः हूहः सहजम्या रथकृत् वधः
 (=रथेचित्र)
 श्रावणः इन्द्रः अङ्गिराः एलापत्रः विश्वावसुः प्रम्लोचा प्रातः हेतिः
 (=प्रम्लो- (=असमरथ)
 चन्ती)
 भाद्रपदः विवस्वान् भृगुः शंखपालः सुषेनः निम्लोच- रथः (= व्याघ्रः
 न्ती(=अनु- रथप्रोत)
 म्लोचन्ती)
 आश्विनः पर्जन्यः भरद्वाजः ऐरावतः चित्रसेनः विश्वाची सेनजित् चारः
 (=विश्वाची)
 कार्तिकः पूषा गौतमः धनञ्जयः सुरचिः धृताची सुषेनः वातः
 मार्गशीर्षः अंशः कश्यपः महापत्यः चित्रसेनः पूर्वचित्ति त्वष्टा विद्युत्
 (= ताक्ष्यं)
 पौषः भगः क्रतुः कर्कोटकः पुण्यिः उर्वशी अरिष्टनेमिः सूर्यः
 माघः त्वष्टा जमदग्निः कम्बलः धृतराष्ट्रः तिलोत्तमा ऋतजित् ब्रह्मोपेतः
 फाल्गुनः विष्णुः विश्वामित्रः अश्वतरः सूर्यवर्चाः रम्भा सत्यजित् यज्ञोपेतः

Note—Vedic variant names are shown in brackets.

It is clearly recognised that the 12 Heptads are the governing forces during the 12 months of the Solar year and it is the power or heat of these 12 which respectively is transformed as the heat of the Sun :—

स्थानाभिमानिनो ह्येते गणा द्वादश सप्तकाः ।
 सूर्यमापादयन्त्येते तेजसा तेज उत्तमम् ॥

(M. 126. 25).

There would be no existence of the Sun or movement in its rays if the above seven-fold tensions were not there :—

एतेषामेव देवानां यथावीर्यं यथातपः ।
 यथायोगं यथाधर्मं यथातत्त्वं यथाबलम् ।
 तथा तपत्यसौ सूर्यस्तेषामिद्वस्तु तेजसा ॥

(M. 125. 28-29).

MEANING OF THE SEVEN ATTENDANTS— The power of *Vāk* is conferred by the Rishis and *Vāk* here represents the rhythm of the seven meters in the Sun. The Gandharvas and the

Apsaras represent dance and music, i. e. the cosmic movement of Sūrya (गन्धर्वाप्सरसरश्चैव गीतनृत्यैरुपासते, M. 125. 26). In the R̥gveda Sūrya as Indra is said to be the Great Dancer (*Nritu*, RV. VIII. 24. 12). Sūrya is the same as *Natarāja Śiva*, performing the cosmic *Tāṇḍava*. The *Grāmanīs* symbolise the doctrine of *Trayi-vidyā* as R̥ik, Yajuh and Sāma or similar other triads (विद्याग्रामणिनः) The Yakshas or Rakshas represent the controlling power (अभीषु-संग्रह) of Sūrya, for he is Yama who holds all creatures in terror. The Sarpas are the symbols of *Sarpaṇa* or movement (सर्पाः सर्पन्ति, M. 125. 27). The Bālahilya R̥ishis who push with the Sun from morn till night-fall symbolise the power of rotation which moves the solar chariot (बालखिल्यानयन्त्यस्तं परिवार्योदयाद्विम्) They are 60,000 in number, where 60 symbolises the pairs of days and nights in each month and 1000 stands for the infinite transcendent source of that power, (M. 126. 28). These seven attendants of the Sun (*Sānujāḥ*) move with him, live with him, toil with him and utter cries of acclamation for him (*Ulūlavah*).

During the fourteen Manvantaras or cosmic durations of time all beings depend for their life on Sūrya who sustains them by the power of his rays creating heat, light cold and rain by which all food and plants are produced for sustaining creatures:—

वृष्ट्याभिवृष्टाभिरर्थौषधीभिर्मर्त्या अथान्नेन क्षुधं जयन्ति ।

अन्नेन जीवन्त्यनिशं मनुष्याः सूर्यः श्रितं तद्धि विभर्ति गोभिः ॥

(M. 126. 37-38).

The movement of Chandra and other planets is also symbolised as their respective chariots (Chaps. 126 and 127).

SŪRYA AND AGNI—Chap. 128 again refers to the principle of Agni causing the movements of Sun, Moon, planets and stars. When the Night of Dissolution came to an end and the Self-Existent Creator wished to create, he himself appeared as a small fire-fly in that primeval darkness :—

स्वयम्भुर्भगवास्तत्र लोकतत्त्वार्थसाधकः ।

खद्योतहृषी . विचरन्नाविर्भवं ह्यचिन्तयत् ॥

ज्ञात्वामि कल्पकालाद्वावपः पृथ्वीं च संस्थितः । (M. 128. 4-5)

The Creator saw the principle of Fire permeating the ocean and he collected it at one spot for the sake of light. That Spark became three-fold, viz. *Pāvaka* on earth, *Suchi* in heaven and *Vaidyuta Agni* in *antariksha* (called अविध्न and also जाठर). The first is produced by the churning sticks (काष्ठेध्नस्तु निर्मथ्यः). Fire consists of rays of light and heat :—

प्राकाश्यं च तथोष्णं च सौर्याग्नेये तु तेजसी ।

परस्परानुप्रवेशादाप्याद्येते दिवानिशम् ॥ (M. 128. 12).

Fire on earth is the symbol of heat and fire in heaven of light and both are inter-dependent.

SŪRYA-NĀḌIS—The fire in the Sun drinks the watery contents from all sources through a thousand *Nāḍis* or rays (नाडीनां सहस्रेण, रश्मि-सहस्रेण). All rays are present together, but their functional division is also given, viz. four hundred of them function for creating rain (वृष्टि-सर्जनाः), three hundred for heat (धर्म-सर्जनाः) and three hundred for cold (हिमसर्जनाः, M. 128. 20-23). These rays are distributed over the seasons which bring about the changes of cold, heat and rain.

THE INSCRUTABLE UNIVERSE—Sūrya has its own *Maṇḍala* or system (सौरं सूर्योऽविशत्स्थानं, M. 128.41) and similarly each planet or star has its respective *Deva-grīha* in which its influence reigns supreme. The Solar system and those of the innumerable stars were established by the Creator in the beginning and this material manifestation (विश्वरूपं प्रधानस्य) is beyond computation and the eye of flesh cannot fully scan it.¹

No one can hope to calculate or determine the circumference (*Parināha*) of the boundless space which is circular (*Vrittākāra*).

सर्वतः तेजविस्तीर्णो वृत्ताकार इवोच्यते ।

¹ लोकसंव्यवहारार्थमीश्वरेण विनिर्मितः ।

कल्पादौ बुद्धिपूर्वन्तु स्थापितोऽसौ स्वयम्भुवा ॥

इत्येव सन्निवेशो वै सर्वस्य ज्योतिरात्मकः ।

वैश्वरूप्यं प्रधानस्य परिणाहोऽस्य यः स्मृतः ।

तेषां शक्यं न संख्यातुं याथातथ्येन केनचित् ।

गतागतं मनुष्येण ज्योतिषां मां सचक्षुषा ॥ (M. 128. 81-83)

The constellations and stars, galaxies and nebulae constitute an Eternal Pillar, *Axis Manu* (*Tārāmayu Stambhu*, M. 127.25) which cannot be dislodged and which does not set or rise but sheds its light for ever :—

एष तारामयः स्तम्भो नास्तमेति न बोदयम् ।

नक्षत्रचन्द्रसूर्याश्च ग्रहास्तारागणैः सह ॥ (M. 127. 25)

THE LEGEND OF TRIPURA [त्रिपुराख्यान]

MEANING OF TRIPURA IN VEDIC LITERATURE—Chaps. 129-140 give an ornate account of the great legend of Tripurāsura (*Tripurāḥhyānu*). The whole conception of the Three Cities (*Tripura*) built by Maya was rooted in Vedic symbolism. It is stated there that *Dyuloka* corresponds to the city of gold (*Hiranyamayī-purī*), the Antariksha to that of silver (*Rajatamayī-purī*) and *Prithivī* to that of copper (*Āyasmayī-purī*) :—

देवाश्च वा असुराश्च उभये प्राजापत्याः पस्पधरे ।

ततोऽसुरा एषु लोकेषु पुरश्चक्रिरे अयस्मयीमेवारिमन् लोके रजतमयीमन्तरिक्षे हरिणीं दिवि
(ŚB. 3. 4. 4. 3.)

The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa refers to the Three Needles of copper, silver and gold for the three Lokas respectively (TB. 3. 9. 6. 5),

The basic idea is that of a *Pura* or finitised space in which the transcendent Being enters and become truly *Purusha*

पुरि शेते पुरिशयः, तं पुरिशयं सन्तं पुरुष इत्याचक्षते.

The whole cosmos is the *Pura* of the Transcendent Being known as *Nārāyaṇa Purusha*. Each individual body also is a *Pura* for the Life-principle or *Prāṇa* that becomes manifest in it :—

प्राण एष स पुरि शेते तं पुरि शेते इति पुरिशयं

सन्तं प्राणं पुरुष इत्याचक्षते

(GB. 1. 1. 39))

Each individual centre of organic life is the composite form of Three Cities which are emboxed within each other in a subtle manner ; the co-existence of the three as an integrated system is the basis of Life. It is said in the Śatapatha that the three *Lokas* coming together make up a City in which *Vāyu* as breath has entered and therefore *Vāyu* is this *Purusha* (ŚB. 13. 6. 2. 1).

³SAHASRAŚĪRSHĀ PURUṢHA—This triune principle of creation is symbolised as *Tripura*. In the Ṛigveda we read of the cosmic *Puruṣa* as having a thousand heads, a thousand eyes and a thousand feet. There the word 'Thousand' stands for the infinite and the three limbs, viz. heads, eyes and feet correspond to the three Lokas, viz. *Dyauh* *Antariksha* and *Prithivī*. The transcendent *Puruṣa* with his three-fold nature becomes manifest on the plane of matter in three forms, viz. *Manas*, *Prāṇa*, *Vāk*, i. e. Mind, Life and Matter. This symbolism is basic to Vedic cosmogonical formulation. The Puranic story of *Tripura* is an elaboration of the same idea.

PURĀṆIC STORY— In the Puranic setting three Asuras are introduced, *Maya* *Vidyumālī* and *Tāraka*. They perform penances and obtain a boon from *Brahmā* to build a castle in which they would find an immortal abode, excepting for God *Śiva* piercing it with a single shaft. The boon was granted and three castles were built, the one of copper on earth placed under *Tārakāsura*, the second of silver in the sky under *Vidyumālī* and the third of gold under *Maya* himself. This was the full contingent of *Tripura* or Three Cities.

CITY ARCHITECTURE— Chap. 130 gives an elaborate description of palace architecture comprising *Prākāra* (rampart), *Gopura* (city-gate), *Atīlaka-dvāra* (towers of the city-gate), *Rājāmārga* (king's highway), *Rathyopathyāḥ* (streets and lanes), *Trika* (meeting place of three roads), *Chatvara* (four cross-roads), *Antahpura* (Royal palace) *Rudrāyatana* (Temple in the royal palace), *Avaṭa* (wells), *Taḍāga* (ponds), *Vāpī* (stepped wells), *Sarāṁsi* (lotus ponds), *Ārāma* (gardens), *Udyāna* (palace garden called *Bhavanodyāna*), *Sabhā* (Assembly-Hall, in the second court of the palace also called *Āsthāna-Maṇḍapa*, M. 130. 2-5). This is entitled as *Pura-Kalpa* (पुर-कल्प), i.e. the city architecture, according to which cities and palaces were built. It is further stated that the *Tripura* city was full with hundreds of palaces (*Prāsāda*), *Kūtāgāra* (individual houses with high peaked roofs), *Udyāna*, *Vāpī*, *Kūpa*, *Sapadma-saras* (ponds with lotuses), *Aśoka*.

vana, *Chitraśālā* (picture-galleries built on the roof of the palaces), *Chatuṣśāla* (quadrangle with rooms on all sides). The palaces were of seven, eight or ten storeys (सप्तदश भौमानि) furnished with banner, garlands, rows of ringing bells, perfumes, flowers, full-vases (*Sampūrṇa-Kalāśa*) and with pearl-pendants hanging from ceilings (मुक्ताकलपैलम्बद्विः, M. 130. 20). Entrenched in their Tripura city the Asuras who were formerly inclined towards virtue took to evil ways and spread a reign of terror in the three worlds. The Gods supplicated for help to Brahmā, who advised them to go to Śiva as he alone was competent to pierce the city of Tripura with a single arrow. Brahmā accompanied by the Devas himself went to Śiva and praised him with a *Namaḥ Stotra* (Chap. 132). Such नमः स्तोत्र of varying lengths and forms, all inspired by the Vedic Śatarudrīya (Yaj. 16) are often met with in the Purāṇas, a splendid example being found in the Matsya itself in Ch. 47. 28-68 (cf. also Droṇa-parva, 57. 49-58 and 173. 20-98, the latter being a *Chaturvidha Stotra* of 79 verses, viz. *Namaḥ-stotra*, 20-39, *Divyakarma-varṇana*, 40-74, *Bahudhā-rūpa-varṇana*, 75-77, and *Nāma-nirvachana*, 78-98). God Mahādeva became pleased and assured the Devas of help but on the condition that they would prepare for him a Divine Car which should become instrumental in the victory of the gods (*Aupayika Ratha*, M. 133. 15).

COSMIC CHARIOT—Then follows a description of the Cosmic Car which all the heavenly and earthly powers combined to make for Rudra :—

Ratha (Chariot) = The Earth

Kūbaraka (the two peaked portions) = Two attendant Gaṇas of Śiva

Adhishṭhāṇa seat = Top of the Meru Mountain

Aksha (axle) = Mandara mountain

Two wheels of Gold & Silver = Sun & Moon

Ratha-nemī (two circumferences of wheel) *Kṛishṇa Paksha* and *Śukla paksha*

Paksha yantra (fastening strings of the two sides) and

Yantras (several fastening strings) = Nāgas & the Planets

Varāṭha (wooden ledge) = Sky

Venu (the various poles) = all the principal rivers like Gaṅgā, Sindhu, Sarasvatī

Triveni (the triangular front portion)

Yuga (Yoke) = Kṛitayuga

Suvarṇa Kuṇḍala (rings of gold fitted in the yoke) = *Chaturhotra* and *Chaturvarṇa* (four priests and four *Varṇas*)

Four horses = four Vedas

Bāla-bandhana (hair thongs) = Four Nāgas

The various parts of this World Chariot (*Loka-ratha*) include all the powers of time and space. *Saṁvatsara* itself was made the bow and the shooting arrows were the smaller units of time. It is the same as Bhagavān Rudra (धनुः संवत्सरोऽभवत्, कालो हि भगवान् रुद्रस्तं च संवत्सरं विदुः M. 133. 38-39). Goddess Umā is the string of the bow, same as *Kāla-rātri* (उमा कालरात्रिर्घनुषो ज्याभवत्, M. 133.39).

The arrow with which God Śaṅkara set fire to the *Tripura* city was formed by the powers of the three Gods Sūrya, Chandra and Agni (विष्णुसोमाग्नि त्रिदैवतमय इषु, M. 133.40). When this car was fitted, the Gods announced it to Śiva who was much pleased and mounted it for victory against Tripura.

An account of the battle is given in a florid style (Chap. 135). It is said that God Śiva is *Kāla* himself. *Kāla* in his terrific aspect holds every one in his power and none can transgress the ordinances of *Kāla* (M. 136. 5-6). It is repeatedly emphasised that the Divine Car of Śiva is comprised of the three worlds (रथं त्रैलोक्यरूपिणम्, M. 36.57). All the Gods and Lokapālas, Gaṇas and other powers joined in the fight against Tripura. A number of other motifs are introduced in the description, e. g. Chap. 139 which in the true Sanskrit style of the Gupta age refers to the dalliances of the Asura women in the palaces of Tripura. A description of *Kaumudī* festival is incorporated (M. 139.45, the chapter being named *Tripura-Kaumudī*).

The shaft of Śiva consisted of the three Devas (*Tridaivata-mayam*, M. 140.45). Ultimately the Tripura castles were Fire-baptised by the arrow of Śiva. This episode is given the title of *Rudra-vijaya* (M. 140.85).

ŚRĀDDHA

Chapter 141 takes up again the question of Śrāddha which was earlier disposed of under the title *Srāddha-Kalpa* in six chapters (15-21). It is asked how Purūravas who belonged to the Lunar dynasty had performed the Śrāddha to the manes. The grand ancestor of the line of Purūravas was Chandra and he is the chief objective of propitiation by means of Śrāddha.

Thus here a new exposition of Śrāddha in terms of the principle of the Moon or Soma and all that is associated with it is attempted, e. g. the principle of *Ritu* is said to be caused by the variations of Agni, and *Ritu* constitutes the *Samvatsara* :—

ऋतुरग्निः स्मृतो विप्रैर्ऋतुं संवत्सरं विदुः ।

जज्ञिरे ऋतवस्तस्माद् ऋतुभ्यो ह्यर्तवाभवन् ॥

(M. 141. 13).

The question may be asked as to what is *Ritu* and how are *Pitris* connected with it. The answer is that the whole creation is thought of as based on two principles, viz. *Agni* and *Soma*. Everything in the beginning is *Soma* unless it is transformed into *Agni*, e. g. the heat from the Sun which is distributed in space without becoming effective at a centre is *Ritāgni*, but when it is concentrated at one point it becomes *Agni* proper. *Soma* and *Agni* are like the two sides of the same medal.

ṚITUS AS PĪTRIS— Each *Ritu* is made up of *Rita*. *Agni* and *Soma* were considered to be the symbols of the Devas and the *Pitris* respectively. The principle of *Ritu* or the Life-sap that is produced in each season and that creates the body or the corpus in the plants, animals and men appertains to the *Pitris*. Thus the one-half of creation, viz. the dark-half of the month, the winter semester (*Dakṣiṇāyana*), *Amāvāsyā* or the dark night of the half-month—all these are exemplars of the *Pitriyāna* or

Pitris or what may be called the *Ritus* (पितरोऽर्त्तवोऽर्धमासा विज्ञेया ऋतु-सूनुवः, M. 141. 14). The moon in its monthly course emits Soma or immortality that nourishes the plants which produce food that in turn creates the corpus of life. In this way the *Pitris* are propitiated by the principle of Soma who is *Pitrimān* or the arch-ancestor for creating the body. With *Sūrya* alone as pure light there can be no physical creation unless the principle of darkness which is the Moon and which reflects light co-exists. It is the latter which is invoked for the purpose of *Śrāddha*. It was realised that the body of the Moon is formed by the reflection or power of the Sun (एवं सा सूर्यवोर्धेण चन्द्रस्याप्यायिता तनुः, M. 141. 23).

There is a reference to the doctrine of a *Yuga* constituted by an aggregate of five years which with their presiding deities were named as follows :

1. *Samvatsara* —Agni
2. *Parivatsara* —Sūrya
3. *Idāvatsara* —Soma
4. *Anuvatsara* —Vāyu
5. *Vatsara*—Ruṁra (M. 141. 17-18 ; also Taititirīya Brāhmaṇa, 1.4.10.1).

This five-yearly cycle corresponds to the Vedic doctrine of *Pañcha-Devatāḥ* or five deities who have entered the Purusha. They are known as Brahmā, Indra, Viṣṇu, Agni and Soma (in the Brāhmaṇas) or as Agni, Vāyu and Āditya, together with Soma and Rudra (in the Purāṇas). Within this unified system of the five sheaths, five Prāṇas and five Bhūtas, the principle of Soma becomes operative to produce the immortal life-sap or *Amṛita* which sustains the *Pitris*. This was the substance with which king Purūravas worshipped his *Pitris* (M. 141. 18). The elaborate explanation of the Vedic doctrine of the *Ritus* as *Pitris* (*Rituvāḥ Pitarāḥ*, ŚB. 2. 4. 2. 24) is a peculiarity of this Purāṇa and shows much originality of thinking.

There is also a detailed explanation of the four Nights named *Anumati*, *Rākā*, *Kuhū* and *Sinīvālī* (M. 141: 49-50). The

latter two are considered to be auspicious days for the performance of *Śrāddha* (M. 141. 39-40). *Rākā* is that *Pūrṇimā* on which the full Moon is seen complete with its 16 *kalās*; but if it is less by one *kalā* the *tithi* is *Anumati*. Similarly whenever on the *Amāvāsyā* day it is complete darkness the *tithi* is called *Kuhū*, but if one digit of the Moon is visible the *tithi* is named *Sinīvālī*, which is extremely auspicious for the *Pitris*.

There are seven ways by which a person can discharge his debt to the *Pitris*, viz. *Brahmacharya*, *Tapas*, *Yajña*, *Prajā*, *Śrāddha*, *Vidyā* and *Annadāna* (M. 141. 62). Those who live a life devoted to these ideals propitiate both the Gods and the Manes (M. 141. 63).

MANVANTARA

WHEEL OF TIME—Chaps. 142-145 deal with the time durations becoming manifest as *Manvantara*, *Yuga*, *Saṁvatsara* and other relatively bigger and smaller units in the rotating wheel variously named as *Kāla-chakra*, *Jyotish-chakra*, *Sīsumāra-chakra*, *Saṁsāra-chakra*, *Bhava-chakra*, *Brahmāṇḍa-chakra* etc. The Vastness of the time phenomenon is a repeated theme in the *Purāṇas*. It was a Vedic idea elaborated by the *Ahorātra* School of thinkers. Amongst the ten doctrines enumerated in the *Nāsadiya Sūkta* of the *Rigveda* one is *Ahorātra-vāda* referring to the basic duality of Day and Night or Light and Darkness. These are opposed to each other but are so mixed up that in each moment of time both the elements of light and darkness coexist. Each moment is expanded into an *Ahorātra* based on diurnal rotation; *Ahorātra* is expanded into a month based on the same principle of rotation of the bright-half and dark-half portions called *Darśa* and *Paurṇamāsa*, the month is expanded into a *Saṁvatsara* or Year; and the same is becoming visible to human experience as *Yuga* or *Kalpa*; and the four *Yugas* are expanding into *Manvantaras*, one thousand of which represent the Day of the Creator and another thousand as his Night. This is all a matter of arithmetical computation reduced to the limits of accurate expression. According to the Indian astronomical calculations 1,96,08,53,064 human years.

have elapsed since the beginning of creation, and these may be said to be the age of the Solar system or roughly of the Earth. In terms of modern Science it is something like 2000 million years.

पुराणकारमतेन समयस्वरूपम्

[मनुष्यमान]

१५ निमेष	=	१ काष्ठा
३० काष्ठा	=	१ कला
३० कला	=	१ मुहूर्त
३० मुहूर्त	=	१ दिन-रात (दिवस)
१५ दिन-रात	=	१ पक्ष
२ पक्ष	=	१ महिना
६ महिने	=	१ दक्षिणायन
६ „	=	१ उत्तरायण
२ अयन	=	१ वर्ष
१ दक्षिणायन	=	१ दिव्य रात
१ उत्तरायण	=	१ दिव्य दिन
३० वर्ष	=	१ दिव्य मास
३६० „	=	१ „ वर्ष
३०३० „	=	१ सप्तर्षि वर्ष
६०६० „	=	१ ध्रुव वर्ष
६६००० „	=	१ दिव्य वर्ष सहस्र
१७,२८,००० „	=	१ सत्ययुग (कृतयुग)
१२,६६,००० „	=	१ त्रेता युग
८,६४,००० „	=	१ द्वापर युग
४,३२,००० „	=	१ कलियुग
४३,२०००० „	=	१ चतुर्युगी
३०,६७,२०,००० „	=	१ मन्वन्तर (= ७१ चतुर्युगी)
४,२६,४०,८०,००० „	=	१४ „
२,५६,२०,००० „	=	मन्वन्तर संख्यांश
१,६६,०८,५३,०६४ „	=	सृष्टि भुक्तकाल (सं २०१६ तक)
२,३५,६१,४६,६३६ „	=	सृष्टि भोग्यकाल (सं० २०२० से)
४,३२,००,००,००० „	=	१ ब्राह्मदिन सहस्र चतुर्युगी
४,३२,००,००,००० „	=	१ ब्राह्मरात्रि

WHAT IS MANVANTARA— The word *Manvantara* literally means the period of a *Manu*. It denotes a particular time duration as shown in the table. But more important is the principle of Manu that presides over his time period as its supreme controller or king. Manu is therefore conceived of as a *Prajāpati* or king who is the grand ancestor of the Solar dynasty and the son of *Sūrya*. The basic idea is that in each period of creation there is a unified power or energy which lasts from beginning to end and which although undifferentiated in the source is lending a unit of its rays to each individual creature including human beings. It is essential that there should be a controller at the centre of the cosmos, otherwise there would be no regulation or divine order and all phenomena would disrupt and disintegrate.

WHO IS MANU— But who is this Manu? According to the Indian metaphysicians who cogitated on this problem Manu is the principle of Mind. But it is not the material mind of which we have some knowledge. It is the very principle of divine Consciousness (*Chetanā*), or *Chit-śakti*, or *Chit-tattva* which is Brahman himself. The cosmos is the visible manifestation (*Mūrti-rūpa*) of Brahman manifesting as *Brahmā*. Therefore this controlling *Prajāpati* Manu at the centre of each creation is typical of Brahman. We may designate Manu as the Archetypal Principle (*Prathamacheḥhad*, प्रथमच्छब्द). He was the great *Prajāpati* who existed in the beginning. All creation is his *Prajā* or creatures. There is a definitive link between *Prajāpati* and *Prajā*. The nature of each individual is derived from its source in Manu. It is therefore said that all individuals are *Mānavas*, or descendants of Manu :—

मनवो नाम कूटस्थास्तेषामुक्ता समष्टयः ।
नित्यसिद्धा हि भूत्यंशास्ते प्रोक्ता भगवन्मया ॥
मनवोऽवतरन्त्यत्र ते सुदर्शनचोदिताः ।
नियतेर्मनवोऽप्यत्र काले ह्यवतरन्ति ते ॥

(अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहिता ६।३८, ३९, ४१, ४०)

MANU AS SŪRYA— The Vedic Ṛishis carried this thought a step further and identified Manu with Sūrya, and both Manu and Sūrya with the individual ego or *Aham* (अहं मनुस्मवं सूर्यं, RV. IV. 26.1) :—‘I was born as Manu, I was Sūrya, I was the wise sage Kakshīyān. I was Kutsa and I once became Kavi Uśanas. I formerly was Indra who bestowed a hundred forts on Divodāsa, son of Atithigva. I am the sharp diving Eagle (श्येनः आशुपत्वा) and I with my wheel-less car became Suparṇa who conferred the primeval *Havis* on Manu. I am the bird who brings the *Amśu Soma* from heaven and it is I who has distributed that Soma into a thousand portions (RV. IV. 26, 1-7).

This sublime hymn identifies the principle of ego or individual consciousness expressed as *Aham* with all the past and future types of cosmic powers. It is based on the identity of *Aham* with *Manu*, i. e. of the *Vaiśvānara* Fire in the individual with Sūrya in heaven. Sūrya is not the material orb of fire or energy but its visible form of the exceedingly vast thermal reservoir (अभीष्ट तपस्) is but a symbol of the transcendent light or *Jyotiḥ* known as Brahman (ब्रह्म सूर्यसमं ज्योतिः, Yaju. 23. 48). Manu is said to be the son of Sūrya and Manu is therefore Sūrya himself (*Ātmā vai jāyate putrah*). Sūrya is the symbol of *Prāṇa* or life which is deriving from its source in Brahman. Therefore the ancient philosophers defined Manu as follows :—

एतमेके वदन्त्यग्निं मनुमन्ये प्रजापतिम् ।

इन्द्रमेके परे प्राणमपरे ब्रह्मशाश्वतम् ॥

(Manusmṛiti, 12. 123)

‘Some speak of Him as Agni, others as Manu Prajāpati, some as Indra, others as *Prāṇa*, still others as Eternal Brahman.’ Whether Manu existed in the beginning or in the middle is not a problem of chronology; from the Vedic point of view it is a valid statement to explain the true nature of Manu as the Mind in matter and the Supra-mind beyond it.

NUMBER OF MANUS— There are 30 Manus in the cosmic scheme of the Creator, 14 for the day, 14 for the night, and 1 each for the two twilight (*Sandhyā-kāla*). Amongst the 14

Manus for the day also there is a division, viz. 7 in the forenoon and 7 in the afternoon; and similarly 7 before midnight and 7 after midnight. This is, in accordance with law, a rotation as seen in the ascent (*Ūdgrābha*) and descent (*Nigrābha*) of the revolving wheel of time. It is all a relative idea where the two principles are not only juxtaposed but intermingled at every point. They are verily the divine principles of Mitra and Varuṇa symbolising Light and Darkness respectively. It is this basal dichotomy whose divine seed fecundates the universal womb of the Divine Woman called Urvaśī, Daughter of the Ocean or lady of the Flood. We have already explained how the 7 Manus of the forenoon represent the principle of *Ātapa* or life and how the second set stands for the principle or Darkness of *Chhāyā*. Of the 7 Manus in the Second set the first is called *Sāvarṇi*, and several others are named similarly, implying that they represent the principle of *Savarṇā* or *Chhāyā*.

AHORĀTRA UNIT OF PROCESSING—It should also be remembered that although the acons of time on a cosmic scale are vast and immeasurable, yet the whole cosmic process is epitomized in each moment of time, or in each *Ahorātra* period of 24 hours. Thus each *Ahorātra* also consists of 30 *Muhūrtas* and each *Muhūrta* is a picture of one Manvantara period. The truth is that each individual is being processed by all the chemico-physical, vital and psychical law that are in the universe. By his rushing through life in the varying units of time whether as *Nimesha*, *Kāshīhā*, *Kalā*, *Muhūrta*, *Ahorātra*, *Māsa*, *Saṁvatsara*, *Yūga*, etc. (M. 142. 4-7), man is undergoing the subtle and mysterious perfection that is in the womb of the Cosmos and Time, picturesquely called the *Amṛita Pūrṇa-Kumbha*, the immortal Full Vase containing the Life-sap (*Prāṇa*). Everywhere there is a shower of this Life-principle sustaining plants, animals, and men, and in each breath this immortal stream is gushing and renovating Life. To belong to the race of Manu is not an ordinary thing; it is a rare privilege and a divine phenomenon ordained by Mother and by kind Father who wishes well for all (स आशिषा द्रविणमिच्छमानः, RV. X. 81. 1).

FOURFOLD YUGAS— A normal man living for a hundred years completes 36,000 *Ahorātra* units, each one of them being like the sacred session of a *Yajña*. The theory of the four Yugas, *Kṛita*, *Tṛetā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali* is fully enūnciated in chap. 142. It is not so much a statement of temporal conditions as typical of the four categories of moral and spritual orders representing the four-fold scheme of creation. Either we conceive of it in terms of the four *Varṇas*, or four Yugas, or four Vedas, it holds good on all levels where four-faced *Brahmā* or four-footed *Brabman* (*Chatushpāda Brahman*) has made himself manifest in creation. It is the basic *Svastika* of life that exists in vast periods of time and in each individual centre. The four-fold scheme exists for ever. Like Light and Darkness, *Dharma* and *Adharma* also roll on together, the one increasing or decreasing at the cost of the other (यदा धर्मस्य ह्रसते शाखाधर्मस्य वर्धते, M. 142.58).

MORAL IDEAL— A list of idealised moral virtues for producing superior types of men in society is given (परंपरागतं धर्मं स्मार्तं त्वाचारलक्षणम्, M. 142.40), e. g. *Satya*, *Brahmacharya*, *Sruta*, *Tapas*, *Dharma*, *Kriyā*, *Yajña*, *Āyus*, *Rūpa*, *Bala*, *Medhā*, *Ārogya*, *Dāna*, etc.

CHAKRAVARTĪ IDEAL— This sublime moral conception of Manu leads the Purāṇa writer to think of a *Chakravartī* sovereign whose birth creates an age and who represents *Dharma* in visible form. The tradition of the *Chakravartī* king had come down from immemorial ages and the Buddhist literature, as in *Mandhātā-Avadāna* and *Sudāsasana sutta*, give a detailed account of ideal *Chakravartin* whose *Chakra* or *Dharma* is the rolling force for the good of the world. Similarly the *Mahābhārata* gives a list of the 16 great *Chakravartī* kings as *Soḍasha-Rājīya* in Droṇa and Śanti-parvas and also in the *Bhīshma parva*, *Bhārata-Praśasti*, and so also a good list is found in the *Maitrāyanī Upanishad*. It is stated that the *Chakravartī* sovereign is a representative of *Vishṇu*. He has within him a spritual spark of *Mahā-Puruṣa* *Nārāyaṇa*; in all the *Manvantaras* of the past and future there shall be such *Chakravartī* sovereigns :—

विष्णोरंशेन जायन्ते पृथिव्यां चक्रवर्तिनः ।

मन्वन्तरेषु सर्वेषु ह्यतीतानागतेषु वै ॥

• भूतभव्यानि यानोह वतमानानि यानि च ।

त्रेतायुगानि, तेष्वत्र जायन्ते चक्रवर्तिनः ॥ (M. 142. 64-65)

There are four attainments which flow to a *Chakravartī* ruler, viz. *Dharma*, *Bala*, *Sukha* and *Dhana*, i. e. moral order, power, happiness and wealth. They are the same as *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Yāsa* (M. 142.66). Those men who transgress the moral order (*Dānava-Mānava*) are chastised by the *Chakravartins* who are possessed of sovereignty (*Aśvarya*, M. 142.68-69).

Following the theory of *Mahā-Purusha Lakṣaṇa*, the physical signs of *Chakravartī* rulers are also hinted at (M. 142. 71-72.)

NEW AHIMSA THEORY OF YAJÑA— Chap. 143 takes up the important question of *Yajña* and *himsā* or animal sacrifice which was *Adharma* (नायं धर्मो ह्यधर्मोऽयं न हि सा धर्म उच्यते M. 143. 13). This was a burning question for the *Bhāgavatas* and in the new context of the Sanskrit age. They could not countenance animal sacrifices. They had once for all accepted the principle of *Ahimsā* as the basis of life. The subject is broached as a discourse between the *Ṛishis* who stood for *Ahimsā* and between King *Vasu Uparichara* who gave a verdict that the ancient doctrine of *Paśu-himsā* as well as the new theory of *Yajña-bija* or offering oblations with plants and herbs were both valid (M. 143. 20-21).

The *Ṛishis* did not like this dictum (तस्मान्न हि सा यज्ञश्च प्रशंसन्ति महर्षयः, M. 143. 30), and *Vasu* also whose car once glided in the air (*Uparichara*) went down and became earthly (*Rasātalachara*, M. 143. 25). This topic occurs in the *Mahābhārata* and other *Purāṇas* also and represents the final view of the *Bhāgavata* teachers who once for all took leave of *Yajña-himsā* and gave the fullest support to the new slogan of *Ahimsā paramo dharmah*, oft repeated in this context. The *Dravyātmaika Yajña* was substituted for *Himsātmaika*, and emphasis was laid not so much on *Yajña* as

on the moral bases of life consisting of *Adroha*, *Alobha*, *Dāna*, *Bhūta-dayā*, *Śama*, *Brahmacharya*, *Tapas*, *Śauca*, *Anukrośa*, *Kṣamā* and *Dhṛiti*, which are termed as the root of *Sanātana Dharma* (सनातनस्य धर्मस्य मूलम्, M. 148. 32). In the end emphasis is laid on *Tapas* even in preference to *Yajña*, was the preaching of the Buddhists (143. 40-41).

DVĀPARA & KALI— Chap. 144 gives an account of *Dvāpara* and *Kali* both characterised by proportionate decrease in *Dharma* and increase of *Adharma*. A list is given of the new branches of knowledge which were offered as alternatives to the traditional Śāstras, e. g. *Āyurveda*, *Jyotish*, *Vedāṅgas*, *Arthaśāstra*, *Hetuśāstra*, *Kalpa-sūtra*, *Bhāshya*, *Smṛiti-śāstra* and so many different *Prasthānas* (= *Āgamas*). The new treatises cannot be approved because of *Matibhedu*, differences of opinions amongst individual writers (M. 144. 21, 22-23, उत्पत्स्यन्ति शास्त्राणां द्वापरे परिपन्थिनः). We have already pointed out the rise of many new branches of learning both amongst the followers of Vedic tradition and also amongst the Schools of the Buddhist and Jain thinkers who were carrying on frequent controversies and disputations.

In the latter part of Chap. 144 there is a description of *Kali-dharmas* which became a common motif in the *Purāṇas* and other texts and continue even in medieval Indian poetry, as in the *Rāma-Charita-Mānasa* of *Tulasīdāsa*. There is a reference to the heterodox schools (पाषण्डानां प्रवृत्तयः); three of them specially, e. g. Buddhists (काषायिनः), Jains (निष्कच्छाः, v. 1. निग्रन्थाः), and *Kāpālika Śaivas*.

REFERENCE TO CHANDRAGUPTA VIKRAMĀDITYA AS KING PRAMATI— A reference is made to king *Pramati* who was the son of *Chandramas* and who organised an extensive military campaign for the re-establishment of *Dharma*. He conquered the kings of the north (*Udichya*), east (*Prāchya*), west (*Pratichya*), of the *Vindhya* region (*Vindhya-prishṭha*), of *Konkana* (*Aparāntaka*), of the mountainous region (*Parvatīya*), of *Madhya-deśa* and the south (*Dākṣiṇātya*). These were the seven divisions of India which the sovereign king *Pramati* brought under his control. His sphere of



Chakra-Purusha Vishnu & Chandragupta Vikramāditya
Chakra-Vikrama Coin; c. 400 A. D.
[चक्रपुरुष भगवान् विष्णु एवं सम्राट् चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य]



Portrait of Chandragupta Vikramāditya (380-412 A. D.)
Described as Pramati in the Matsya Purāṇa (144. 51-64)

conquest (*Chakra*) included the kings of Dravids, Simhals, Gāndhāra, Pārada, Pahlava, Yavana, Śaka, Tushāra, Bārbara, Darad, Khaśa, Lampāka, Śveta-Halika (probably White Hepthalites ; M. 144. 55-58). It is said that he was the incarnation of Vishṇu (पूर्वजन्मनि विष्णुश्च) and that he was a god amongst men (*Nṛideva*, M. 144. 59). It appears that this is a reference to the achievement of Chandragupta well known in history for the consolidation of the empire through conquest. (*Dharaṇī-bandha*) The description agrees with Chandragupta for several reasons :

1. His personal name was *Deva* which compares with the epithet *Nṛideva* used here (M. 144.59). Compare also 'Devarāja iti Priyanāma' Sanchi Stone Inscription ; Prabhāvatigupta calls herself the daughter of Devagupta.

2. His reigning period is mentioned as 32 years (द्वात्रिंशेभ्युदिते वर्षे) which was exactly that of Chandragupta Vikramāditya (380-412). The first inscription of his reign comes from Mathurā dated in Gupta Era 61 = A. D. 380 (Ep. Indica XXI) and the first year (*prathamē varshē*) of the Emperor. The last inscription of his reign is the Sanchi Stone Inscription dated in the Gupta Era 93 = A. D. 412, and issued by Āmrakārdeva, a Minister of Chandragupta II. Thus the extent of his reign as 32 years agrees in the Purāṇa and inscriptions.

3. It is stated that he was engaged in his military conquest for 20 years (प्रक्रान्तो विंशतिः समाः). Historians also hold that the military operations of Chandragupta had ended by 400 A. D.

4. He was an incarnation of Vishṇu which points to his being a *Purama-Bhāgavata*, as shown by his coins and inscriptions.

• 5. He had carried out a gigantic programme of conquest including specially the kings of the north-west as Gāndhāra, Pārada, Pahlava, Yavana, Śaka, etc. This is a reference to the conquest of Chandragupta up to Bāhlīka as stated in the Mehrauli Pillar inscription, and upto river Vaṅkshu or the Oxus as described by Kālidāsa for Raghu.

6. He was a king who set in motion the idea of *Chakra* (*Pravṛtta-chakraḥ*, M. 144.58), i.e. the political *Chakra* on the one hand and Viṣṇu's *Chakra-Purusha* on the other as shown by the *Chakra-Vikrama* coin of Chandragupta Vikramāditya.

7. He is specially mentioned as the exterminator of Śūdra kings (*Sūdrāṇām antukṛit*) which seems to be a reference to the uprooting of the Śakas of Western India.

8. It is also stated that his vast army strong in cavalry (ससाधना) achieved its successful purpose in the country between Gaṅgā and Yamunā which is a reference to Madhya-deśa as the home-land of the Gupta Empire (गंगा यमुनयोर्मध्ये सिद्धि प्राप्ता ससाधना, M. 144.63).

9. He was the son of Chandramas (सुतः स वै चन्द्रमसः). We know from history that *Chandramā*, was the name of endearment for Samudragupta (R.^oK. Mookerji, the Gupta Empire, p. 17, चन्द्रप्रकाशो युवा).

10. He was of the Chandra Gotra (गोत्रेण वै चन्द्रमसः), a reference to the family of Chandragupta I by which each king was a 'Gupta' as in Guptāikavīraḥ Guptavaṁśajah.

11. In this significant inset of fourteen ślokas, a powerful and historically true description of the achievements of Chandragupta Vikramāditya is given in the ringing tones of the Mehrauli inscription style. It is stated that for full 30 years the king was marching in all directions of the earth with his four-fold army and was himself carrying arms (अस्त्रकर्मा). There is also a veiled reference which calls for attention. It is said that hundreds and thousands of Brāhmaṇas took up arms and joined his army :—

प्रगृहीतायुधैर्विप्रै शतशोऽथ सहस्रशः । स तदा वै परिवृतः ॥ (M.144.53).

This appears to be a reference to the *Lichchhavi* contingent in Gupta army which appears to have begun being recruited from the time of Samudragupta himself and which formed its *Maula* contingent. The Lichchhavis were known as *Sarmaka-Varmaka*, or what may be called *Kṣhatra-Brāhmaṇas*, whose descendants even now follow the profession of Kṣhatṛiyas but

for all practical purposes adopt the social code of the Trikarmā Brāhmaṇas and are known as *Bhūmihāra* (जत्थरिया, जेत्थरिया) Brāhmaṇas.

SISHTĀ DHARMA— Chapter 145 is like a stock-taking of superior human material (*Sishta* and *Sādhu* and *Santa* M. 145. 20) then existing in society. It does so as follows :—

1. By defining *Dharma* as based on *Kriyā* or positive action and endeavour put forth in life (धर्मो धर्मगतिः प्रोक्तः शब्दो ह्येव क्रियात्मकः, M. 145. 25).

2. This *Dharma* is constituted of *Śishtāchāra*, i.e. a moral and social code based on the *Śrutis* as propounded by the *Smritis* (M. 145. 31-33). This was the same as the *Varṇāśramāchāra*, followed by all ranks of people in society. The ideal types were Brahmachārī, Gṛihastha, Vānaprastha (Vaikhāṇasa), and Yati. All these four are considered worthy of being included in the definition of *Sādhu* :—

दिव्यानां साधनात्साधु ब्रह्मचारी गुरोर्हितः ।

कारणात् साधनाच्चैव गृहस्थः साधु दृश्यते ॥

तपसश्चतथारण्ये साधु वैखानसः स्मृतैः ।

यतमानो यतिः साधु स्मृतो योगस्य साधनात् ॥ (M. 145. 23-24)

EIGHT FOLD SISHTĀCHĀRA— A full list of *Śishtāchāra* (*Charitra-Śishtāchāra*, M. 145.38) which was applicable to all as the general law of life is also given including such virtues as, 1. *Satya*, 2. *Tapas* (including *Brahmacharya*, Mauna Nirāchāra), 3. *Yajña* (*Dravya-havis*), 4. *Dayā*, 5. *Kṣhamā* (same as *Titikṣhā*) 6. *Alobha* (परस्वानामनादानम्) 7. *Śama*, 8. *Dama* (= *Indriya-nigraha*, M. 145 42-49). This is called the eight-fold *Charitra*¹ and is clearly the Bhāgavata counterpart of the *Aṣṭāṅgika Mārga* of the Buddhists.

DEFINITION OF DHARMA— 4. A new definition of *Dharma* was thus finally evolved, viz. that is *Dharma* which is promulgated by the Vedas and by the *Smritis*, that which is followed by the *Varṇas* and *Āśramas*, and that which is evolved

1. दानं सत्यम् तपोऽलोभो विद्येज्या पूजनं दमः ।

अष्टौ तानि चरित्राणि शिष्टाचारस्य लक्षणम् ॥ (M. 145-34)

as the moral and social code of the cultured, learned and eminent leaders (*Sisṭāchāra pravṛiddha*). The Seven Primeval Sages (सप्तर्षि) and their descendants are the Śisṭās following *Dharma*. That *Dharma* is approved by the *Sādhus* who have been defined above (M. 145. 52).

In this context the Purāṇa writer thinks of the great traditionalists, the Ṛishis who were responsible for the creation of the sublime literature which was the source of *Dharma*. He names five classes of Ṛishis (पञ्चधा आर्षके स्मृतम्, M. 145. 65 ; ऋषि जातिस्तु पञ्चधा, M. 145. 89) as follows :

FIVE CLASSES OF ṚISHIS

According to Vedic conception there are five categories of Ātman as the five evolving modalities of the one transcendent reality. Those five are named in the Matsya Purāṇa as follows :—

1. अव्यक्तात्मा
2. महान् आत्मा (बुद्धि, एवं महत्)
3. अहंकारात्मा (मनस्, विज्ञान अथवा प्रज्ञानात्मा)
4. प्राणात्मा (इन्द्रियात्मा)
5. भूतात्मा (= पृथिव्यादि पंचभूत अथवा स्थूल भौतिक शरीर)

Each one of these is preceded by its higher or superior principle called *Parama*, so that higher than Bhūtātāmā is Indriyātāmā or Prāṇātāmā. Higher than Prāṇātāmā is Prajñānātāmā (same as *Vijñānātāmā*). *Prajñānātāmā* is Mahānātāmā (= बुद्धि or महत्) and higher than Avyaktātāmā is Supreme Purusha as stated in the Kathopanishad (3.6.10-11) and Gītā (3.42).

इन्द्रियाणि पराण्याहुरिन्द्रियेभ्यः परं मनः ।

मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिर्यो बुद्धेः परतस्तु सः ॥

महता परमव्यक्तं अव्यक्तात् पुरुषः परः ।

पुरुषात् हि नहि परं किञ्चित् सा काष्ठा सा परागतिः ॥

These five correspond to the five *puras* or *Pindas* named as 1. स्वयंभू 2. परमेष्ठी 3. सूर्य 4. चन्द्र, 5. पृथ्वी. Corresponding to these five, the Ṛishi principle which was called *asat* and was

undifferentiated in the beginning became differentiated into five categories for the sake of manifestation. The subject has been treated in a fuller manner in the Matsya and the five classes of the Rishis are named as follows :—

1	2	3	4
Name of Rishi	Other Names	Name of Ātmā	Name of Pancha- pura or loka
1. परमर्षि	स्वयं उद्भूत, एकर्षि	अव्यक्तात्मा महान् आत्मा	स्वयंभू
2. महर्षयः	ईश्वरः, शेषेश्वरः, ब्रह्मणः, १० मानसपुत्राः	महात्मा = विज्ञान बुद्धि	परमेष्ठि
3. ऋषयः	१०	अहंकारात्मा = प्रज्ञान, मनस्	सूर्य
4. ऋषीक, ऋषीकाः	सप्तर्षयः, or ऋषिकाः गर्भोत्पन्नाः	इन्द्रियात्मा = प्रणात्मा	चन्द्र
5. ऋषि पुत्राः	देहात्मा, भूतकृतः = मन्त्रकृतः, श्रुतर्षकः	भूतात्मा, = शरीर	पृथिवी

(Their number is 92 as given in the Matsya)

The whole idea was that the creation exists at two levels i. e., *asat* and *sat*. Both of them bear the name of the Rishi. That which is *asat* existed as *Paramurshi* on the single undifferentiated Principle or *Prāṇa* (प्राणावाक् ऋषयः असत्, शतपथ० ६।१।१). The Brāhmaṇa writers explain the etymology of the Primal single Rishi (also called एकर्षि) as derived from the root *Rish* to go (यद् अर्ष्यं तस्माद् ऋषयः, शतपथ० ६।१।१). The Matsya Purāṇa adopts this *in toto* ;—

ऋषिर्हि सा गतौ धातुर्विद्या सत्यं तपः श्रुतम् । एष संनिचयो यस्माद् ब्रह्मणस्तु
तस्तृषिः ॥ निवृत्त समकालात् च बुद्ध्याव्यक्त ऋषिस्त्वयं । ऋषते परमं यस्मात् परमर्षि
ततः स्मृतः । गत्यर्थाद् ऋषतेर्धातोर्नाम निवृत्तिकारणं यस्माद् एष स्वयंभूतस्तस्मात्
च ऋषिता मता ।

Here निवृत्ति is the same as निरुक्ति or निर्वचन (etymology) which is derived from ऋष् to go.

From the single and undifferentiated परमर्षि or एकर्षि प्राण identified with ब्रह्मा or नारायण are created the ten Ṛishi Prāṇas known as ten mind-born sons of Brahmā and stationed in Mahat or Virāja, also known as the ten constituents of Virāja.

Their names are—१. भृगु, २. मरीचि, ३. अत्रि, ४. अङ्गिरस, ५. पुलस्त्य, ६. क्रतु, ७. मनु, ८. दक्ष, ९. वशिष्ठ, १०. पुलस्त्य. These have different temperaments and represent architypal moral traits or prāṇic tendencies. These are also named the ten Maharshis who have been discussed in chapter 3. In the third category are the twelve Ṛishi prāṇas said to be the sons of the ten mind-born sons of Brahmā who are simply named Ṛishayah. They are of two kinds, namely, mānasa and aurasa or Śārīra which evolve the Bhūtas. These twelve are named as काव्य, बृहस्पति, कश्यप, च्यवन, उत्थय, वामदेव, अगस्त्य, कौशिक, कर्दम, बालखिल्य, विश्ववस. The number twelve seems to be an expansion of the original seven Ṛishis known as the Sapta Aṅgiras, Sapta Viprāṇ, the number twelve being arrived at several Ṛishis from the same ancestor. For example काव्य and च्यवन belong to the same family of भृगु, गौतम, उत्थय and वामदेव to one family.

The fourth class was that of the Ṛishikās who are said to be born from the womb (गर्भोत्पन्न). They are also said to be twelve in number. In the fifth stage are the actual Ṛishis on the human plane who were descendants of the seven ancestral Ṛishis and were 92 in number, being the seers of Vedic mantras and therefore known as मन्त्रकृतः and Śrutarshis.

The list of the 92 Ṛishis who were the authors of the mantras (मन्त्रकृतः) of the RV. is given with a full enumeration of the names under each family; e. g. 19 under Bhr̥gu, 33 under Aṅgirasas, 6 under Kaśyapas, 6 under Atri, 7 under Vasiśtha, 13 under Viśvāmītra (कौशिक), 3 under Agastya, 2 under Kshatriya seers and 3 under the Vaiśya group as shown in the table below.

FIVE KINDS OF RISHIS

[पञ्चधा ऋषिजातिः]

I परमर्षिः [= एकर्षिः, स्वयम्भुः]

II दशमहर्षयः [ब्रह्मणः दश मानसाः पुत्राः]

१ भृगुः	६ क्रतुः
२ मरीचिः	७ मनुः
३ अत्रिः	८ दक्षः
४ अङ्गिराः	९ वसिष्ठः
५ पुलहः	१० पुलस्त्यः

III ऋषयः औरसाः

१ काव्यः	७ अगस्त्यः
२ बृहस्पतिः	८ कौशिकः
३ कश्यपः	९ कर्दमः
४ च्यवनः	१० वाल्मीक्याः
५ उत्तथ्यः	११ विश्रवाः
६ वामदेव	१२ शक्तिवर्द्धनः

IV ऋषीकाः

१ वत्सरः	८ सुचिन्तः
२ नग्नहूः	९ शावः
३ भरद्वाजः	१० सपराशरः
४ दीर्घतमा	११ शृङ्गी
५ बृहदक्षः	१२ शंखपात्
६ शरद्वत्	१३ वैश्रवण
७ वाजिश्रवा	

V ऋषिपुत्राः

१—भृगवः

१—भृगु, २—काश्यप, ३—प्राचेता, ४—दधीच, ५—आत्मवान्, ६—ऊर्व, ७—जमदग्नि, ८—वेद, ९—सारस्वत, १०—आष्टिषेण, ११—च्यवन, १२—पीतहव्य, १३—वेधस, १४—वैश्य, १५—पृथु, १६—दिवोदास, १७—ब्रह्मवान्, १८—गृत्स, १९—शौनक ।

२—आङ्गिरसाः

१—अङ्गिरा, २—त्रित, ३—भरद्वाज, ४—लक्ष्मण, ५—कृतवाच, ६—गर्ग, ७—स्मृति, ८—संकृति, ९—गुरुवीत, १०—मान्धाता, ११—अम्बरोष, १२—युवनाश्व, १३—पुरुकुत्स, १४—स्वश्रव, १५—सदस्यवान्, १६—अजमोढ, १७—

१७—स्वहार्यं, १८—उत्कल, १९—कवि, २०—पृषदध्व, २१—विरूप,
२२—काव्य, २३—मुद्गल, २४—उतथ्य, २५—शरद्वान्, २६—वाजिश्रवा,
२७—अपस्यौष, २८—सुचित्ति, २९—वामदेव, ३०—ऋषिज, ३१—वृहच्छुल्क,
३२—दीर्घतमा, ३३—कक्षीवान् ।

३—काश्यपाः

१—कश्यप, २—सहवत्सार, ३—नैघ्रुव, ४—नित्य, ५—असित, ६—देवल ।

४—अत्रयः

१—अत्रि, २—अर्द्धस्वन्, ३—शावास्य, ४—गविष्ठर, ५—कर्णक,
६—पूर्वातिथि ।

५—वासिष्ठाः

१—वसिष्ठ, २—शक्ति, ३—पराशर, ४—इन्द्रप्रतिम, ५—भरद्वसु, ६—मित्रावरुण,
७—कुण्डिन ।

६—कौशिकाः

१—विश्वामित्र, २—गाधेय, ३—देवरात्, ४—बल, ५—मधुच्छन्द, ६—अघमर्षण,
७—लोहित, ८—भुतकील, ९—अम्बुधि, १०—देवश्रवा, ११—धनञ्जय,
१२—शिशिर, १३—शालङ्कायन ।

७—अगस्त्यः

१—अगस्त्य, २—दृढद्युम्न, ३—इन्द्रबाहु ।

८—क्षत्रियाः

१—मनुर्वैवस्वत २—पुष्टरवा ।

९—वैश्याः

१—भलन्दक, २—वासाव, ३—सङ्कील ।

कुल योग—१—भृगवः—१९

२—आङ्गिरसाः—३३

३—काश्यपाः—६

४—अत्रयः—६

५—वासिष्ठाः—७

६—कौशिकाः—१३

७—अगस्त्यः—३

८—क्षत्रियः—२

९—वैश्यः—३

योग = ९२.



Kārttikeya holding Śakti, c. 2nd Cent. A. D.

शक्तिधर स्वामी कार्तिकेय

Inscribed Sculpture, Mathura, Museum

THE STORY OF TĀRAKĀSURA

[तारकाख्यान M. 146-160]

Chap. 146-160 describe in great detail the story of the rise of Tārakāsura, the birth of Kumāra and his slaying the Asura. The story is related first synthetically in seven ślokas (*Saṅkṣhepa*) and then analytically (*Vistareṇa*) in 1569 ślokas. The title *Kumāra-Sambhava* appears in the colophon of chapters 154-158. The worship of Svāmī Kārtikeya as Kumāra began in the Kushāṇa period as shown by the images found in Mathura art. It was at first a *Bāla-grāha* or gnome of a disease affecting children, but gradually its importance began to grow superseding every other minor deity, and finally Skanda being elevated to the status of a national God. The whole Saga of the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī was brought into the picture of the birth of Skanda. The perfection of the legend with its beginning and denouement is best seen in the *Kumāra-Sambhava* of Kālidāsa, a sublime piece of poetry, than which a better *Kāvya* of æsthetic inspiration has seldom been conceived. The story of *Kumāra-Sambhava* as told by Kālidāsa seems to have been subsequent to the longer and tangled version of the Purāṇa.

THE SHORTER VERSION— Vajrāṅga was a Daitya whose son was Tāraka. He turned out the Devas from their abode. They went to Brahmā who assured them and said, "Give up your fear. The son of Śiva born from the Daughter of the Mountain Himālaya will smite the demon" (M. 146. 5-7). Then after the lapse of some time Śiva became infatuated with the beauty of Pārvatī and he allowed his semen to fall in the mouth of Agni, who became the second mother in the birth of Kumāra. The semen in the mouth of Agni propitiated the Devas but they could not digest it and so ripped open their bellies and fell in the river Gaṅgā, and then in a grove of the *Sura* weeds. From there he was born as Guha, appearing resplendent like Sūrya. When the Boy was only seven days old he killed the Asura Tāraka.

In this summary all the principal motifs of the story are present and it appears that the subsequent elaboration on an

epic's scale in more than 1500 verses was the work of some other Purāṇic poet, that floated into the body of the present text. There is a strong *Phala-śruti* at the end of this *Kāvya* which is styled as *Skanda-charita* (M.160.32).

LONGER VERSION— Chap. 146 being the story that Daksha was the mind-born son of Brahmā, whose 60 daughters became the mothers of creation. From Diti were born the Daityas who were killed by Viṣṇu and Indra. Diti became sad and she asked of her husband a boon for the birth of another powerful son and the boon being granted she conceived. But finding a lapse in her routine, Indra entered her womb and divided the foetus into seven by seven (7×7) parts with his thunder-bolt. Indra gave to them a place amongst the Gods in the form of the seven Marut hosts.

Then mother Diti again interceded with her husband for a son who should be able to kill Indra. This time the birth of a son tole named Vajrāṅga was promised to her. After long penances she bore a son and this powerful hero at the command of his mother bound Indra and him to Diti as a tiger deals with a deer. Brahmā appeared on the spot and at his request Indra was set free, but the lotus-born God created a female named Varāṅgī and gave her to Vajrāṅga. Both performed austere penances and after two rounds obtained a boon from Brahmā that a son named Tāraka would be born to them (M. 147).

Tāraka conceived a plan to overcome the Devas and he decided to enhance his strength with *Tapas*. He entered a cave of the Pāriyātra mountain and began a course of severe penances which began to consume all creation. Brahmā was pleased and Tāraka asked of him a boon not to be killed by any creature or any weapon. Brahmā said no creature can become immortal (न युज्यन्ते विना मृत्युं देहिनो दैत्यसत्तम, M. 148. 22). After reflecting, the Asura said, "Let me then be killed by a boy of 7 days". To this Brahmā agreed.

• Tāraka, began to grow in strength and organised his army for defeating Indra. • Having learnt of the Asura's preparations

Indra consulted Brihaspati who in preference to other approaches advised the use of force. Indra accepted the advice and all the great leaders amongst gods like Yama, Agni, Vāyu, Varuṇa, Kubera and others became ready.

Here a list of the banners of the different deities is given, e. g. Varuṇa had a *Hansa* bird with design produced by pearls, Kubera a tree made of rubies, Yama a wolf made of wood and iron, Aśvina a Full Vase inset with jewels, Indra an elephant decorated with costly gems (M. 148. 93-98).

Chap. 150 describes with all the power of classical Sanskrit style the battle between the armies of the Devas and the Asuras. In the first round Kālanemi was killed. This made the Dānavas furious and they entered again the battle but lost. Another general named Grasana was killed at the hands of Viṣṇu (Chap. 151.). In the third round Maṁśha was defeated but not killed, and then Śumbha and Jambha hurled their blows against Garuḍa and Viṣṇu which made both of them reel and withdraw from the fray (Chap. 152).

Thus discomfited Indra hurried to Viṣṇu, but the latter said that Tāraka was really difficult to conquer except by a Boy of 7 days, and in the meanwhile Indra himself should effect the death of Jambha for which he was competent (M. 153. 13). Indra gathered to his help the Eleven Rudras, named Kapāli, Piṅgala, Bhīma, Virūpāksha, Vilohita, Ajeśa, Sāsana, Śāstā, Śambhū & Dhruva (M. 153. 18-19). Gajāsura gave an encounter to the Rudras. After several fluctuating courses the battle took a turn in favour of the Devas and Indra killed Jambhāsura with his *Brahmāstra*. This made Tārakasura himself take charge of the field, and the army of the Devas was broken by his crushing blows and the 8 Lokapālas including Indra and Viṣṇu were bound in his noose as the deer in that of a hunter. He sat on his chariot and came back to his city (Chap. 153)-

Chap. 154 opens with a magnanimous touch in the heart of Tāraka, for when the Devas were presented before him bound hand and foot, he ordered that they should be set free and allowed to roam in the three worlds which was his kingdom.

यथेष्टं स्वीयतामेभिरिदं मे भुवनत्रयम् ।
केवलं पाशबन्धेन विमुक्तैरविलम्बितम् ॥

Being dejected the Gods approached Brahmā for a way out. A sublime *stotra* is given here in the text (Verses 7-15). A literary motif describing the conditions of the Devas in their extreme discomfiture is also given (M. 154. 18-26) which corresponds to that by Kālidāsa (Kumārasambhava 2. 19-27) although the ideas are different. Another 9 verses as a *stotra* to Brahmā again recited by the Devas is of superb poetic quality. Brahmā told the Devas that Tārakāsura could not be killed by them, but he has chosen his death from a boy of 7 days who will be born as the son of Lord Śiva. At present Śiva is without a wife; the daughter of Himālaya will wed him and from their union will be born a son like Fire from the two churning sticks. I have also thought of a way for its fulfilment.'

After a few days Brahmā thought of the goddess of Night (Nisādevī). From here the story takes a new turn. Brahmā said to her, "Listen, O Goddess, the business. Tāraka, the Asura, cannot be conquered by the Devas. For his death Śiva will beget a son who will slay the demon. Satī, daughter of Daksha, was Śiva's wife in a previous birth. She will be born in the house of Himālaya. Śiva is performing *Tapas* and she will also do the same. Then from their union will be born a son who will gain victory over Tāraka. From her very birth Pārvati will entertain an intense desire for Śiva. They will be united but there will occur some unpleasantness between the two (स्वल्पो वाक्लहो भवेत्). You also have to render some little help in creating this *Vighna*. Śiva will become frozen towards her and she in anger will go to perform *Tapas*. Thereafter as a result of her penances Śiva will beget on her a son who will kill the Asuras. You should also help in this and give a share of your beauty to Umā (रूपांशेन तु संयुक्ता त्वमुमायां भविष्यसि). You will then be known as Ekānamśā' (M. 154.75). Brhamā then made an eloquent prayer to goddess Night as Onkura-faced Gāyatrī, *Akrānti*, *Bhūmi*, *Sainvi*, *Kshānti*, *Dayā*, *Niti*, *ihā*, *Mukti*, *Gati*, *Kirti*, *Mūrti*, *Ruti*, *Prūti*, *Sānti*, *Bhrānti*, *Lilā*, *Sam'hūti*, *Sthiti*,

Kālaratri (इत्यनेकविधैर्देवि रूपैर्लोके त्वमचिता M. 154. 76-83), This string of epithets is very similar to that in the Devī-Māhātmya in the *Namas-tasyai stotra*. Ekānamśā appears to be the same as Goddess Sinīvālī of the Vedas and her presence was considered essential for motherhood (cf. गर्भं धेहि सिनीवालि, RV. X. 184.2). She was the ancient goddess of fertility and childbirth and now rechristened as Ekānamśā. Pārvatī is the mother who nurtures in her womb the foetus of the future Babe called Kumāra, but the foetus will not be complete without one portion of Sinīvālī or the Moon Goddess. Kumāra is the son of Agni who stands to be united with a streak of the Moon. Kumāra stands for the principle of light and Ekānamśā of that of Darkness. She gives a streak of her to Pārvatī for completing her form. Thus the union of Ekānamśā and Pārvatī or the two powers of Soma and Agni is indispensable for the birth of Kumāra or the son of Agni.

The Goddess of Night went to the lying-in chamber of Menā and tinged the foetus with her dark shade. Then Menā gave birth to Pārvatī (ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते सुभगे देव्यसूयत गुहारणिम्, M. 154.93).

Indra then thought of Nārada and requested him to bring about the union of Śiva and Pārvatī. Nārada accepted and went to the house of Himālaya. There he was greeted by Himavān and Menā and Pārvatī bowed to his feet. The parents enquired about the girl's future husband. Nārada revealed that there was no husband born for her and that the girl being deprived of all good signs, would hold in her hands a beggar's bowl and always be roaming about (M. 154.145). This grim prospect for their daughter made the parents unhappy. Nārada tried to assuage them by explaining the metaphysical meaning of his words which pleased Himālaya. Nārada then reported to Indra what he had done and advised him to send the God of Love to bring about the union of Śiva with Pārvatī. Kāma went to the spot where Śiva was sitting in *Samādhi*. He shot his arrow but God Śiva meditated that he had eliminated from within him the subjective element of Kāma and so the disturbance was coming from an outer source. He opened his third eye and reduced

Kāma to ashes. Then Rati, wife of Kāma, propitiated Śiva, who said that Kāma would be revived but remain without a body (*Anaṅga*). Pārvatī hearing of the fate of Kāma became disappointed in the love of Śiva and decided to undergo *Tapas*. The *Saptarshis* came to dissuade her from her resolution but finding her firm they retired saying, "Thy wish will soon be fulfilled" (M. 154. 376). The Munis then went to Śiva and extolled him by reminding of Tāraka's evil ways. Śiva said that he had heard of the Daughter of the Mountain whose marriage proposal was being talked :—

जाने लोकविधानस्य कन्या सत्कार्यमुत्तमम् ।

जाता प्रालेयशैलस्य संकेतकनिरूपणा ॥

(M. 154. 406)

Here *San̐ketuka* is a technical term meaning marriage. Taking leave of Śiva the Munis went to Himālaya and asked from him the hand of Pārvatī for marriage with Śiva. Then they went with him to Pārvatī performing *tapas* and informed her of what had happened. Pārvatī came back with her father to her house and there marriage arrangements were made. A detailed description of Śiva's *prasādhana* is given (M. 154. 428-448). The Devas assembled the items of decoration (दिव्य मंडन संभार) on the Gandha-Mādana mountain. Chāmūṇḍā gave him a *Kapāla-mālā*, Indra the elephant-skin, Vāyu adorned his bull, Sūrya, Chandra and Agni became the lights in his three eyes :—

वितेनुर्नयनान्तस्थाः शम्भोः सूर्यानिलेन्दवः ।

स्वां द्युतिं लोकनाथस्य जगतः कर्मसाक्षिणः ॥

(M. 154. 441).

Kubera gave him a necklace of *Mahā-ratnas*, Varuṇa a garland of unfading flowers (स्यास्तु-प्रसून वेष्टिता) and the Seven Oceans became a mirror for him and the God was pleased to have a vision of his form in the waters of the ocean :—

सप्त वारिवयस्तस्थुः कर्तुं दर्पणविभ्रमम् ।

ततो विलोकितात्मानं महाम्बुधिजलोदरे ॥

(M. 154. 447).

We cannot help thinking that this is a contemporary reference to the great ocean serving as a mirror for the spreading of the Indian civilization. God Śiva here stands for the Great Deity worshipped in India and it is clearly stated that the ocean turned its watery surface into a paved floor for the march of Śiva's marriage party :—

महार्णवाः कुर्वन्त शिलोपमं पयः सुरद्विषां गमनमहाति कर्दमम् ।

(M. 154-455).

The word *Araṇi* signified 'mother' and was of special usage in the Sanskrit language of the Gupta age and the same phrase has been repeatedly used in this Kāvya (*Guhāraṇi*, M. 154. 93 ; M. 154. 485 ; *Viśvāraṇi*, mother of the world).

After their marriage Śiva and Pārvatī enjoyed their love. One day Pārvatī out of the toilet-remnants of her body created a human form with an elephant's head who filled the earth with his huge body. Pārvatī called him her son and so did Gaṅgā which gave him the name Gāṅgeya. He became the elephant-headed god *Vināyaka*.

Here a pleasing inset in favour of tree-planting is given. Pārvatī planted an *Aśoka* sapling and the gods asked her as to the merit that would accrue from planting trees which should be loved as one's own son. To this Pārvatī replied, "A *Vāpī* is equal in fruit to 10 wells, a pond to 10 *Vāpīs*, a son to 10 ponds and a tree is equal in merit to 10 sons (M. 154. 512). Śiva planned for Pārvatī a palatial house which is described in the true Gupta style as furnished with *Gopura*, *Vedikā*, *Stambha*, *Kṛīḍāgriha*, pearl pendants (लम्बमौक्तिक दाम), walls of semiprecious stones, music-halls (*Saṅgīta-griha*), etc. (M. 154. 515-531).

GAṆAS OF ŚIVA— The subject of *Gaṇas* of Śiva is conveniently introduced. Śiva himself says that the *Gaṇas* moving playfully on these mountains are dear to him and represent his own form. An interesting list of the grotesque and dwarfish forms and of fabulous features with heads of birds and animals, some tall and others stunted, some lean and others corpulent, some wearing

silken clothes and others nude—these are the numerous manifestations of the *Gaṇas* of Śiva. The meaning is transparent. Each individual is nothing else but a *Gaṇa* of Śiva. The subject of *Gaṇas* became quite popular in the Gupta period. It was considered to be an auspicious motif and given a place to decorate the friezes of temples. A very large number of them have been found in the Śiva temple at Bhūmāra excavated by R. D. Banerji. They were depicted in playful poses and each *Gaṇa* is taken to be the prototype of a child of Śiva. They were known in the literature as *Māṇavakakrīḍita* (Avanti-Sundarī), *Kumāra-krīḍitaka* (Vasavadattā), *Sisūka* (Avanti-Sundarī), *Bālu-krīḍā* (Kāḍambārī). The Purāṇas also revert to the description of the *Gaṇas* again and again (Vishṇu-Dharma. 1. 69. 6. 8; Brahma Purāṇa 213. 95-99; Matsya 4. 52-53; 163. 1-4; 264. 3. 15; 32. 5-14, 3, 45. 1-4; Vāyu 101. 260-284; Harivaṃśa 2. 109. 63-8, 2. 124. 19-24, 2. 109. 63-84; 3. 32. 7-10; 3. 45. 1-4; Liṅga 1. 103. 13-34; Anuśāsana-parva 14. 140-165; Kishkindhākāṇḍa 4. 15-21, etc.). It was in fact an amplification of the original Vedic idea about *Rudra* being originally one and also with innumerable forms. The same is stated here—

कोटि संख्या ह्यसंख्याता नानाविख्यात पौरुषाः ।

जगदापूरितं सर्वमेभिर्ममैर्महावलैः ।

न द्वेषां ह्यनन्तत्वाद् गुणान् वक्तुं हि शक्यते ॥

(M. 154. 538-541).

Pārvatī observed those *Gaṇas* and also the chief of them called *Gaṇeśvara* and asked about him, Śiva introduced *Gaṇeśvara* or *Gaṇapati* as *Vīraka*, the Hero, who was dearest to him. Pārvatī wistfully said as to when she would have a son like him (ईदृशस्य सुतस्यास्ति ममोत्कण्ठा). To this Śiva replied that she could have *Vīraka* as her son and *Vīraka* would be satisfied to have her as mother :

एष एव सुतस्तेऽस्तु नयनान्द हेतुकः ।

त्वया मात्रा कृतार्थस्तु वीरकोऽपि सुमध्यमे ॥ (M. 154.547)

Upon this Pārvatī sent her companion Vijayā to call *Vīraka* to her presence. When he had come, Umā addressed him in

most endearing terms in a poetic passage of rare charm. The verses are not correctly printed in the Poona text but each line is comprised of 12 syllables containing four Ragarnas; the metre is Sragviṇī (रैश्वनुभिर्युता सन्निवर्णी सम्मता), Verses 554-575 are as a matter of fact 18½ Sragviṇī verses and the last two vv. 576-577 are in the *Bhujāṅga-prayāta* metre.¹ The text is the high water mark of Sanskrit lyrical poetry and it is worth while reproducing it here.

THE BLACK GODDESS—Śiva as Mahākāla addressed Pārvatī as *Kṛishnā* or *Kālī*, 'the Black Goddess' (M. 155.8). The reason for the Goddess being addressed as *Kālī* is given better in the *Devī-Māhātmya* (5.37-41). When Pārvatī came to take her bath in the Gaṅgā, a new Goddess born from the five sheaths of her body emanated from her and was called *Kauśikī*. Then Pārvatī herself turned black as *Kālī*.² The meaning is that two forms of the goddess are conceived, viz. her aspects as white and black. The white aspect is *Kauśikī* and the dark one as *Kālikā*. We are reminded here of the two forms of *Rajas*, viz. *Śukla* and *Kṛishṇa* in the *Rigveda*. (अहश्च शुक्लमहरजुनं च विवर्तते रजसी, RV. VI. 9. 1). Because of this opposite combination of the two aspects of the same Prāṇic energy, the Goddess is known *Chitrā*, or *Chitrinī* the Variegated Lady. She herself confesses that Śiva's addressing her as *Kṛishṇā* is both an insult and a compliment paid to her form :

कृष्णेत्युक्ता हरेणाहं निन्दिता चाप्यनिन्दिता ।

साहं तपः करिष्यामि येन गौरीत्वमाप्नुयाम् ॥ (M. 155.30).

The Goddess began to perform *tapas*, appointing Viraka to the duty of guarding the entrance of Śiva's hermitage so that no woman should enter. A graphic description of Pārvatī's *Tapas-chariṭā* is given including the motifs of *Pañchāgni-tāpana*, *Sthaṇḍila-śayana*, *Valkala-dhārana*, etc. In the meantime an Asura named Āḍi, son of Andhaka and brother of Baka came to the resi-

1. The text was studied from the metrical point of view by Pt. Thakur Pd. Dvivedi (*Purāṇa*, Vol. 1, pp. 77-79) where the *Matsya* text has been compared with that of *Padma* (*Śrīṣṭī-khaṇḍa*, chap. 40, verses 506-523).

dence of Śiva and saw Viraka at the door. Brahmā had granted a boon to Āḍi that 'his death would depend on his changing of form. In order to avoid Viraka, Āḍi assumed the form of a serpent and entered the abode of Śiva unnoticed by Gaṇeśa or Viraka. There he took the form of Umā; Śiva was deluded and embraced him as Pārvatī, but soon recognised that it was Āsurī. Māyā. Viraka did not know the truth and reported to Pārvatī the entry of a woman, but Pārvatī had already been informed by Vāyu and she in anger cursed Viraka or Gaṇeśa that he might have *Silā* or stone as his mother. This seems to be a symbolical reference to the Goddess *Dhishāṇā Pārvatēyī* whose nature is that of *Aśmā Soma* or *Aśmā-khaṇa Prāṇa*, i. e. the energy which remains unmodified in the centre like a *Vajra*. It is she who gives birth to Viraka. She then came back to her residence and Brahmā gave her a boon that she would become Golden in hue and obtain the love of Śiva in the form of *Ardha-nārīśvara*. Brahmā also added 'O Goddess of Night! you were *Ekānamśā*; now go to the Vindhya mountain and fulfil there the purpose of the gods. The lion will be your vehicle, *Pañchāla Yaksha* will be your attendant'. Thus addressed Kauśiki went to Vindhya-chala and Umā came to Śiva. This is an obvious reference to the motif in the *Devī-Māhātmya* about one of the forms of the goddess as *Vindhya-vāsini* who is here identified with Kauśikī.

When Umā came back in the form of Gaurī, she was halted by Viraka but soon they were reconciled and Śiva and Pārvatī entered upon marital joys. The seed of Śiva was first taken by Pārvatī and then ejected and received by the god of Fire through whom it entered the belly of all the gods, but it could not be digested and burst out to become a pool of fresh water. There the Six *Kṛittikā* Mothers drank it and offered it to Pārvatī who conceived but the Babe came out of her right side.

विपाठ्य देव्याश्च ततो दक्षिणा कुक्षिमुद्गतः (M. 158. 48.)

Indra's birth is also said to have been oblique from his mother's side and similarly that of *Buddha*. This corresponds to the oblique ray (तिरश्चीनो विततोरश्मिरेषाम्, RV. X.

129.5) of light or *Prāṇa*, which is without beginning and end and is like a transverse diving.

He was born as a boy having six heads (*Ṣhaḍānana*) and holding a *Sakti*. Since he was destined to kill *māra*, the evil *ku* Asuras, he became known as Kumāra. The six Kṛittikās had united in a single *Śākhā* and therefore he as their son was known by the two names of *Kārītṭkeya* and *Viśākha* :—

स्कन्दो विशाखः षड्वक्त्रः कार्तिकेयस्तु विश्रुतः (M. 159. 3)

Viśākha and *Kārītṭkeya* were joined together by Indra and on the day of *Shashṭhī* he was anointed as lord *Guha* by all the gods headed by *Brahmā*, Indra and *Vishṇu*. Indra offered to him his daughter named *Devasenā*, who became his wife ; *Tvasṭā* gave to him a toy as *Kukkuṭa* who could assume any form

ददौ क्रोडनकं त्वष्टा कुक्कुटं कामरूपिणम्

Thus equipped as the Commander of the Divine army he was praised by all the Gods by means of a *stotra*. Indra seeing that the time was ripe sent a message to *Tāraka* so that he should try his strength against *Skanda*. Then follows an account of the battle between *Guha Mahāsenā* and *Tārakāsura* in which the Asura was slain. This is stated in the colophon to be *Skanda-charita* or *Skanda-kathā* (M. 160. 30-32).

It is at once obvious that this version of the story of *Skanda* is in many ways different from that of *Kālidāsa's Kumāra-Sambhava*. The Purāṇic account seems to have been drawn to a great extent from folk-lore and mythology which is at places puerile. As at present found it is a jumbled version in which several strands have met and mingled. The full glory of *Skanda* does not come into relief in the Purāṇic version. The references to *Shashṭhī*, *Mahāsenā*, *Viśākha*, *Kumāra* and *Skanda* point to the version that is preserved in the *Āraṇyaka-parva* and in the *Kāśyapa Saṁhitā* of a six-headed goddess with four brothers named *Viśākha*, *Mahāsenā*, *Kumāra* and *Skanda*. As we have already stated, they are depicted together on a coin of *Huvishka*. Out of this incoherent material, *Kālidāsa* with the genius of a great poet, has created a matchless epic in the form of *Kumāra-Sambhava* in which the main theme of the Vedic and Purāṇic

Kumāra-vidyā has emerged in full lustre describing the birth of Skanda from the union of Śiva and Pārvatī, the Universal Parents. It is a grand conception which holds good not only on the *Adhidaivata* plane but offers a complete commentary on the Yoga doctrine of *Kuṇḍalinī* and the Six Chakras expressed in as clear and powerful terms as any symbolism can command. This will be evident from the following commentary on Skanda offered here.

MEANING OF KUMĀRA

(KUMĀRA—VIDYĀ)

The legend of *Kumāra* as amplified in the Purāṇas is purposive in order to explain the ancient *Kumāra-vidyā* or the metaphysical doctrine of *Agni* as the miraculous Babe (Chitra-Śiśu, RV.X. 1. 2.). This Babe is the same as *Kumāra Agni* which is but another name of *Rudra*, as often identified in the Brāhmaṇas (यो वै रुद्र स वै अग्निः, SB. 5. 2. 4. 13 ; एष रुद्रो यद् अग्निः, TB. 1. 1. 5. 8-8). The most mysterious power produced in matter is life or consciousness and that is called *Prāṇagni* or *Rudra* or *Madhya-Prāṇa* or *Indra*. From the point of view of Vedic symbolism they are of the same nature.

ASHTAMŪRTI RUDRA—*Rūdra* in Purāṇic terminology is called *Aṣṭamūrti*, i. e. he has eight forms. As Kālidāsa has enumerated them, they are as follows.—

1. Prithivī (सर्वबीज प्रकृतिः)
2. Jala (या सृष्टिः सत्पुत्राद्या)
3. Agni (वहति विधिहुतं या हविः)
4. Vāyu (यया प्राणिनः प्राणवन्तः)
5. Ākāśa (श्रुतिविषयगुणा या स्थिता व्याप्य विश्वम्)
6. Sūrya
7. Chandra } (ये द्वे कालं विधत्तः)
8. Manas (या च होत्री) same as Yajamāna, Dikshita
Brāhmaṇa (Abhijñāna Śākuntala. 1. 1.)

These eight forms of *Śiva* are material (*Prākṛita*) and are essential for the manifestation of life. They are the lower



Kārttikeya holding Spear and Cock From Mathura ; c. 3rd Cent. A.D.



Kārttikeya on Peacock, being annointed as the Leader
of Divine Army by Brahmā on right and Śiva on left
From Mathura ; c. 5th cent. A.D.

Prakṛiti (Aparā Prakṛiti) or also called *Kshara-Purusha* (क्षरः सर्वाणि भूतानि)

In Vedic terminology these were known as the *Aṣṭa Vasus*. It is explained that they are called *Vasus* because they make all creatures manifest in concrete form or as embodied ;—

एते हीदम् सर्वं वासयन्ते ते यदिदं सर्वं वासयन्ते तस्माद्वसवः (SB. 11. 6. 3. 6.). How many are the Vasus—कतमे वसव इति । अग्निश्च पृथिवी च वायुश्चान्तरिक्षं चादित्यश्च द्यौश्च चन्द्रमाश्च नक्षत्राणि चैते वसवः (SB. 11. 6. 3. 6.). Here *Prithivī*, *Agni*, *Vāyu*, and *Dyauh* (Ākāśa), *Sūrya* and *Chandra* are clearly named. But *Antariksha* and *Nakshatra* are obscure names which on the surface do not seem to tally with the list of Kālidāsa. As a matter of fact *Antariksha* stands for *Jala*, since the waters are stored up in the airy mid region (अन्तरिक्षम् वा अपाम् सवस्थम्, SB. 7. 5. 2. 57). Similarly *Nakshatra* is that which is not *Kshatra*, an etymology approved by Pāṇini (Aṣṭā 6. 3. 75), deriving the word not from the root *Naksha* but with the negative particle added before *Kshatra*. *Kshatra* is temporal power (*Regium*), the opposite of which is *Brahma* (*Sacerdotium*) referring to spiritual authority. Therefore *Nakshatranā* of the above list of the eight *Vasus* stands for the principle of *Brahma* or *Brāhmaṇa*, as is also clearly stated in another Vedic text :—

ब्राह्मणो वा अष्टाविंशो नक्षत्राणाम् (TB. 1. 5. 3. 4.)

Of the above eight forms of *Śiva* or the eight *Vasus*, there are three clear groups or categories representing three elements of manifestation. They are as follows :—

- I. Bhūta mātrā = *Prithivī*, *Jala*, *Teja*, *Vāyu*, *Ākāśa* or the five gross elements.
- II. Prāṇa mātrā = *Surya* and *Chandra*, symbolising *Prāṇāpāna* the hot and cold aspects of the single Vital Power.
- III. Prajñā mātrā = *Manas* or Mind, which is the *Yajamāna* of the bodily *Yajña* and

is also mentioned as Dikshita Brāhmaṇa in the Purāṇas :—

आत्मा तस्याष्टमी मूर्तिर्यजमानाह्वया गरा ;

दीक्षितं ब्राह्मणं प्रहुरात्मानञ्च मुनीश्वराः ।

(Liṅga, 2. 12. 43-44.)

These eight forms of Śiva bear also other names. In the Brāhmaṇas it is said that the central *Prāṇa* (*Madhya-Prāṇa*) came to reside within this body. He cried for food and therefore was called *Rudra* (यदरोदीत्तस्माद्रुद्रः, SB 6. 1. 3. 10). This *Madhya-Prāṇa* is symbolised as the Babe or *Kumāra* which is the same as the conscious life principle manifested in matter (अयं वाव शिशुर्योऽयं मध्यमः प्राणः, Bṛih. Up. 2. 2. 1). The meaning of crying or weeping should be clearly understood. It is the vedic principle of hunger (*Aśanāyā*) that is called *Rodana* (SB 6. 1. 3. 10). Agni as life within the body becomes afflicted with hunger or desire for food, i. e. Agni wants *Soma* and that is his crying or weeping. Seeing that the newly born Babe was crying, the Gods said, "Let us give food and pacify" (अन्नं अस्मै सम्भराम तेनैनं शमयामेति, ŚB. 9.1.1.2).

The Brāhmaṇa writer also propounds the theory of the eight names of Śiva as follows :—

तान्येतानि (Rudrah, Śivah, Paśupatih, Ugrah, Aśanih, Bhavah, Mahādevah, Isānah) अष्टावर्गिन रूपाणि कुमारो नवमः, ŚB. 6. 1. 3. 18. These eight names correspond to the *Aṣṭamūrtis* of Śiva, singly none of them is able to create life but when they unite then they incarnate as *Kumāra* which is said here to be the ninth creation of *Rudra*. The meaning is quite clear. It is that the lower *Prakṛiti* which is eight-fold and symbolised as the *Aṣṭamūrti* aspect of Śiva is inadequate for the manifestation of life but when consciousness or *Chetanā* or *Jīva* or the *Parā-Prakṛiti* enters the physical sheath of the body, then that is the birth of *Kumāra*. In the words of the Gītā, the eight elements of *Prakṛiti* are called *Aparā-Prakṛiti* and *Jīva* as *Parā* —

भूमिरापो अलौ वायुः खं मनो बुद्धिरेव च ।

अहंकार इतीयं मे भिन्ना प्रकृतिरष्टधा

जीवभूतां महाबाहो प्रकृतिं विद्धि मे पराम् (Gītā, 7.4-5).

Thus *Kumāra* is the principle of life, *Prāṇāgni*, as manifested in Matter. He is the son of *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* where *Śiva* is the principle of *Purusha* and *Pārvatī* that of *Prakṛiti* or Matter. In order that *Kumārāgni* which was invisible before may descend to the level of Matter and become manifest, it is essential that both *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* should be united and from their marital union a new force or power is produced, i.e., *Skanda* or *Kumāra* or the Miraculous Boy (अद्भुतस्याद्भुतं पुत्रम्, *Āraṇyaka Parva*, 213. 2). Agni as *Prāṇa* is the most mysterious principle of energy and truly called *Adbhuta* or *Chitra* in its manifest form also it remains *Adbhuta* and its mystery is unknown.

DOCTRINE OF ASHṬAMŪRTI— The doctrine of *Ashṭa-mūrti* was taken up by the Pāśupata Śaivas and much amplified as enunciated in the following śloka of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.¹ These may be tabulated as follows :

Name of Śiva	Elements	Pañchamukha
1. <i>Śarva</i>	— Prithivī	(= Sadyo-jāta)
2. <i>Bhava</i>	— Jala-mūrti	(= Vāmadeva)
3. <i>Rudra</i>	— Agni-mūrti	(= Aghora)
4. <i>Ugra</i>	— Vāyu-mūrti	(= Tatpurusha)

¹ प्रादुरासीदथाङ्केऽस्य कुमारो नीललोहितः ।
 रुरोद सुस्वरं सोऽथ द्रवंश्च द्विजसत्तम ॥
 किं रोदिषीति तं ब्रह्मा रुदन्तं प्रत्युवाच ह ।
 नाम देहीति तं सोऽथ प्रत्युवाच जगत्पतिम् ॥
 रुद्रस्त्वं देव ! नाम्नासि मा रोदीर्ष्यैर्मावह ।
 एवमुक्तस्ततः सोऽथ सप्तकृत्वो रुरोद ह ॥
 ततोऽन्यानि ददौ तस्मै सप्त नामानि वै प्रभुः ।
 स्थानानि चैषामष्टानां पत्नीः पुत्रांश्च वै द्विज ॥
 भवं सर्वं तथेशानं तथा पशुपतिं प्रभुः ।
 भीममुग्रं महादेवमुवाच स पितामहः ॥
 चक्रे नामान्यथैतानि स्थानान्येषाञ्चकार ह ।
 सूर्यो जलं मही वह्निर्व्याघुराकाशमेव च ।
 दीक्षितो ब्राह्मणः सोम इत्येतास्तनवः क्रमात् ॥

(मार्क० ५२-३-६)

5. *Bhīma* — Ākāśa-mūrti (= Isāna)
6. *Mahādeva* — Chandramūrti
7. *Isāna* — Sūrya-mūrti
8. *Paśupati* — Yajamāna-mūrti.

The first five are the gross elements of Matter, the next two represent the polarity of *Prāṇa* and *Apāna*, the heat and the cold principles, and the last one stands for the Mind or consciousness. According to the Upanishadic statement, manifested life in each organism comprises three categories :

एतन्मयो वाऽग्रयमात्मा वाङ्मयो मनोमयः प्राणमयः (ŚB. 14.4.3.10)

Here *Vāṇmaya* is the same as *Bhūtamaya*, for *Vāk* or *Śabda* is the attribute of *Ākāśa* which is the symbol for all the five elements. We may understand the above eight forms of *Siva* or eight *Vasus* as follows :

- (a) Matter or physical body—*Bhūta-mātrā* = *Prithivī*, *Jala*, *Tejas*, *Vāyu*, *Ākāśa* = Physical Man
- (b) Life—*Prāṇa mātrā* = *Prāṇa-Apāna* or *Sūrya-Chandra*, Vital Man
- (c) Mind—*Prajñā-mātrā* = *Manas*, also called by various names as *Hotrī*, *Yajamāna* or *Dikshita Brāhmaṇa*,

All bodies with organised life are constituted of the five elements of Matter ; they are energised by the dual vital force of *Prāṇa* and *Apāna* ; and all of them are illuminated by the principle of mind or consciousness, i.e. *Manas-tattva* or *Buddhi* or *Samjñā*, which is two-fold, viz. *Prajñān* or the lower mind and *Vijñāna* or the higher mind. These three factors coalesced into one like the three cities of *Trīpura* are pierced by a single shaft of *Rudra* which is life itself and is named as *Rudra* or his son *Kumāra*.

Kumāra-Vidyā in Yoga and Tantra—Besides the above enunciation of *Kumāra-vidyā* which was rooted in Vedic symbolism, the Purāṇas also take it further as inspired by the Yoga and Tantra doctrine. Their main interest is the interpretation of *Kumāra* within the body itself because it is the real physical,

vital and psychical substratum that is the body in which manifest life is functioning. In this approach we find several new symbolical statements like the six-faced god *Kārtikēya* (*Shuḍānana*) born of six mothers, *Shān-māturah*, son of Pārvatī, son of Fire, whose birth was in the grove of reeds (*Saravaṇa-bhava*) husband of *Devā-senā* with his ensign the Kukkuṭa or Mayūra, anointed by Brahmā and Śiva as the generalissimo of the divine army, wielder of *Sakti* with names like *Gula*, *Mahāscna*, *Vishākha*, *Vīraka*, and lastly the meaning of his victory over Tārakāsura. Each one of these symbols has a meaning and purpose in Purāṇic imagery as supplemented by the Yoga and Tantra Āgamas. For this purpose a minute study of the anatomical structure of the central nervous system that is of the higher brain (cerebrum), lower brain (cerebellum), of the magnum foramen or the opening through which the lower most extension of the nervous system enters the brain, spinal column (*Meru Parvata* or *Himālaya*) spinal cord (*Sushumnā*), central nervous energy (*Kūṇḍalinī*) the six plexus or nervous centres (*Shuḍḍhakra*) etc. was made and applied to *Yogic-Sādhana*. What actually was observed is the existence of the spinal column having 33 vertebrae (*Parvan*) which together make up the spinal column or *Meru-daṇḍa*. This is the *parvata* or mountain within the body and the power that is generated in the system is naturally given the name of *Parvaturāja-Putrī* or *Pārvatī*. This *Pārvatī* has two aspects, the first when it is lying dormant in the lowest *chakra* and is considered to be *Kumārī* (the maiden). She is awakened and thus entering the magnetic sphere of consciousness becomes eager to meet Śiva who is the centre of cosmic consciousness within the body located in the higher mind called the *Sahasradala-Kamala* or *Ājñā-chakra*. This union of *Pārvatī* and Śiva cannot take place so long as *Pārvatī* is soiled in Matter and she is proud of her physical charm. Physical beauty is merely the attraction of matter and rejected by Śiva; that is the idea behind *Kāma* or the God of Love being consumed to ashes by the third eye of Śiva which is the eye of wisdom or self-knowledge that is opened as the fruit of *Samādhi*. Śiva in *Samādhi* represents the principle of illumination that has con-

quered death and rises above the temptation of matter. What happens in *Yoga* is a progressive *Sādhana*, of the *Kundalinī* power, that is control over the energy of each *chakra* and thus rising higher scale she becomes the mistress of all the five *chakras* which control the five material elements of the earth, water, fire, air and sky. A *Yogī* who has ascended in his *Sādhana* beyond these five *chakras* rises above all temptation of matter. In simple words, the power of his mind becomes so organised and perfect that physical temptation of sense, pleasure do not at all disturb him. He becomes conscious of reality and the five senses fail to move him (cf. Kālidāsa, Raghu. 4. 7.). Rising above the sheaths of matter or the temptation of the senses or conquering the five *chakras* (Coccygeal, Sacral, Lumbar, Dorsal and Cervical region), the *Yogī* enters the sixth *Ājñā-chakra*, so called sub-conscious and unconscious because all forces are brought under the conscious control. This is the true meeting of *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* expressed as Marriage, for there is nothing higher and more mystical than the principle of marriage which brings about the most profound condition of the union of the two principles of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛiti* in the form of *Ardha-nārīśvara*.

SUBLIMATION OF MIND :— Tapas or the sublimation of lower nature as manifested through the body *Prāṇa* and *Manas* is the only way of attaining to the level of *Ājñā-chakra*. This is what *Pārvatī* does. Instead of *Rūpa* which belongs to the body or matter she ascends to the height of *Tapas* which belongs to the level of *Manas* or consciousness, as the poet puts it :—

तथा समक्षं दहता मनोभवं पिनाकिना भग्नमनोरथा सती ।

निनिन्द रूपं हृदयेन पार्वती प्रियेषु सौभाग्यफला हि चास्ता ॥

इयेष सा कर्तुमवन्ध्यरूपतां समाधिमास्थाय तपोभिरात्मनः ।

(Kumārasambhava, 5. 1-2.)

THE SIX CHAKRAS— The six *chakras* with their physico-chemical and psychical powers are the six mothers of *Kumāra*. The power which comes to the *Yogī* after his victory of the energy in the six *chakras* is a new incarnation known as *Kumāra*. It is the same bodily energy but in a new birth

destined to obtain with the help of the *Devas* victory over the Āsuric forces. He is therefore called the son of the six mothers. The asterism of *Kṛittikā* is made a convenient symbol of the six mothers because in the Pleides there are six stars. For the same reason the new god is called six-faced (*Ṣaḍānana*). His birth takes place in the long cavity (*Guhā*) of the spinal column, i.e. in the *Sushumnā* which is the spinal canal and therefore he is named *Gruha*.

The physical structure of the spinal column consists of 33 vertebrae making up the five *chakras* as explained above. Each vertebra is superimposed on the other forming one long reed which is known as the Golden Reed (*Hiranya-Vatasa*) or the garland of golden lotuses (*Pushkara-sraj*). The structure of each vertebra is such that in the centre there is a hole whereas on the two sides are two projections which also have a small perforation through which the right and left nervous cords pass. In the centre canal called *Sushumnā* there is filled the secretion called cerebro spinal fluid which saturates the central nervous system and also the brain and is filled not only in the spinal canal below but also in the four ventricles of the brain. It is the most refined and valuable secretion in the human-body and its physiological functions are also most subtle and mysterious. It is the *Soma* or the elixir of immortality which is also the *Retas* or the humidus radical of the whole organism. In *Yoga*, utmost emphasis is laid on the purification and conservation of the vital energy that is in the *Soma* or *Retas*. As a matter of fact this seed is not only the germ of physical and physiological functioning but also the highest mental functioning both of the lower and higher minds or of the conscious, subconscious and supraconscious minds. This is the real *Soma* which feeds the brain cells and the grey matter. It is said to be the heavenly stream of *Gangā* which flows through the three regions and makes a cross circulation. The spinal column is the *Prithivī-Loka*, the cerebrum is the *Dyuloka*, the intermediate region *Anatariksha* is the cerebellum or the lower brain which lies between the two and is a link for all the nervous intimations passing up and down. The spinal canal

enters the lower brain through an orifice which is called *Magnum Foramen* and may be identified as the *Krauñcha-Dvāra* or *Krauncha-Randhra* the curved hole which was conquered by *Kumāra*, whereby he was known as *Krauñcha-dārāṇa*. The spinal cord first rises above and then has to take a little twisted turn in order to enter the *magnum foramen* which is placed at the bottom of the bone in the head and this justifies the name *Krauñcha* (from *kruchi kautilye*).

THE THREE NĀDIS— The spinal cord which is the *Sushumnā* is given the name of *Agni*. The left cord which passes through the hole on the left side of the vertebrae is called *Iḍa* or *Gaṅgā*. The right cord passing through the right side projections of the vertebrae is known as *Piṅgalā* or *Yamunā*. In the central spinal canal or tube there is no nerve as such and this is called the hidden *Sarasvatī*. These three cords start from the lower most *Mūlādhāra Chakra* (*Yukta-Trivenī*) and having entered the brain they part company and spread in various directions (*Mukta-Trivenī*). There were all Yogic symbols to describe the physiological basis of the bodily energy. But their real meaning belongs to sphere of subtle *Prāṇic* and psychic *Sādhana*.

MEANING OF SKANDA— So far as the symbol of *Skanda* is concerned, he represents the integrated power of all the six *Chakras* or six *Kṛittikā* Mothers and therefore called *Kārtikeya*, each *Chakra* being a *Kṛittikā* mother. The word *Kṛittikā* also refers to the principle of *Kṛitti*, i. e. the skin or hide or the enveloping element of each *Chakra* which separates the one from the other. All the six mothers feed and suckle the Babe with the milk from their breasts. So the central nervous system or the spinal column is conceived as a single branch (*Śākhā*) but with six joints and therefore the power that is produced there is called *Viśākha* (M. 159-2-3). On the basis of the symbolism of the three *Nādis* as Moon, Sun and Fire, *Skanda* is described as the son of fire [(*Agni*) (cf. Kālidāsa अस्यादित्यं हुतवहमुखे संभूतं तद्धि तेजः, Meghadūta)], viz. *Sushumnā*. It is for this reason that *Agni* is brought into the picture as the mother of *Skanda*. The seed of

Śiva is first deposited in the womb of *Pārvatī* or *Kundalinī* power and then shared by *Agni* (*Sushumṇā*) and then by *Gangā* or the river of *Soma* which refers to the cerebro-spinal secretion of fluid in the spinal tube. The seed is finally deposited in the forest of reeds (*Saravaṇa*). The *Śara* or reed is the symbol of the principle of *Prāṇa* encased within the sheath of the body. It is like the *Ishikā* in the *Muñja* as described in the Upanishads. According to the Tantra *Ishika* is the same as immortality or as life (अमृतं वा इषीकाः, आयुर्व इषीकाः, TB. 3.8.4.3). In the Śatapatha each *Śara* is the symbol of a portion or unit brought into existence by the thunder-bolt of *Indra* (अथ इन्द्र यत्र वज्रं प्राहस्तच्छकलोऽशीर्यंत स पतित्वा शरोऽभवत्तस्माच्छरो नाम यदशीर्यंत, ŚB. 1.2.4.1). Each body is a *Śara* or a splinter from the great mass of Eternal life principle struck by the *Vajra* of *Indra*. In this physical sheath which itself is a forest of innumerable earthly and heavenly powers, a veritable *Saravaṇa*, is produced *Kumāra* or the miraculous Babe who represents the power of *Indra's Vajra* or *Śiva's trident* both of which become the *Sakti* in his hand which give him the epithet *Sakti-dhura*. In reality, *Kumāra* is the manifestation of *Śakti* or *Pārvatī* as quickened by *Śiva* or *Rudra*.

MEANING OF VĪRAKA— *Kumāra* is called *Viraka* in the legend as given here. He is the Hero anointed as the leader of the divine forces or husband of *Deva-senā*.

IDENTITY OF SKANDA AND GAṆEŚA—In the Purāṇic legend as given here *Viraka*, *Skanda* and *Gaṇeśa* are all identified. It is said that *Śiva's* host of *Gaṇas* were frolicking on the mountain and one of them who was of the most conspicuous form appeared as elephant-headed (*Gajānana* and *Vināyaka*). *Pārvatī* was charmed with him and wished to have a son like him. When *Śiva* said she might take him to be her son she agreed. *Vināyaka* was then called to *Parvatī's* presence who was addressed as *Viraka*. This is quite valid in the context of symbolism where one cannot insist upon factual happening. In the *Ardha-nārīśvara* form of *Rudra*, the two principles of *Agni* and *Soma* are mingled for the sake of creation. The principle of *Soma* incarnates in

the form of *Gaṇapati* who was the Vedic symbol of *Brahmanaspati*-*Soma* of the Universal ocean of *Rita*. It is the principle of *Ahaṅkāra* or *Manas*, i.e. symbolised as the elephant's head. But the universal must descend to the level of the individual and that is the centre of *Agni* in each organism. *Skanda* represents the manifest form of *Agni*. He is the incarnation of the *Agni* principle. In later mythology they are conceived of the quite distinct deities, but here both are created from the washings of the body of *Pārvatī* and they are identical. *Gaṇapati* is *Vīraka* and *Vīraka* is *Skanda*.

THE COCK:—*Trvashṭā*, who fashions different forms (*Rupāṇi pinshati*) gave to *Skanda* the gift of a Cock (*Kukkuṭa*) (ददौ क्रीडनकं त्वष्टा कुकुटं कामरूपिणम्, M. 159. 10). The *Kukkuṭa* is the symbol of differentiated *Vāk* or the vowel sounds in their short-long and prolated (ह्रस्वदीर्घं लुप्त) sounds. It is the symbol of *Vāk* or *Agni* and since *Skanda* is the son of *Agni*, his pet bird is the Cock. Every moment he is interesting himself with *Vāk* or *Subdu* which is the symbol of all the five elements.

In Kushāṇa art during the first 300 years of the Christian era (1st century-3rd century A.D.) and on the tribal coins of the Yaudheyas, Kārttikeya is depicted with a cock by his side. But later on from the 4th century A. D. *Kukkuṭa* was replaced by a peacock and Kārttikeya began to be described as *Mayūravāhana*, a name used in Amarakośha and Kālidāsa. (मयूरवृष्ठाश्रयिणा गुहेन) The association of *Mayūra* is absent in the Matsya version and therefore may be taken that the present form of the legend had been drawn up before the third century A. D. and therefore prior to the Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa. *Mayūra* or peacock presents an antidote to the serpents or poison of Āsuric energy over which *Skanda* triumphs.

MEANING OF TĀRAKA—*Tāraka* is said to be an Asura. Wherever there is the motif of *Śakti* or energy, we find the relative conception of a *Deva* and an *Asura*. *Tāraka* was the son of *Vajrāṅga*, viz. of the 'Thunderbolt Body' which has a

reference to the same symbolism as that of *Sara* or the reed fashioned by the *Vajra* of *Indra*. Body is the *Vajrāṅga* and *Tāraka*, his son, symbolises the principle of Mind. *Tāraka* literally means a star. In Vedic symbolism Moon is said to be produced from the mind of the Creator (चन्द्रमा मनसो जातः, RV. X. 90. 13). It is the same symbol translated as *Tāraka* which is both divine and Āsuric. The Āsuric form which remains in context with matter and is soiled by it ought to be sublimated. That is the purpose of *Sādhana* and that is the test of success of a Yogī. The victory of *Skanda* over *Tāraka* is a continuation of the *Daivāsura* motif through new symbols and in a new context of *Yoga* and *Tantra*. *Skanda* is said to be an eternal *Brahmachārin*, a *Kumāra*, and howsoever countless may be his incarnations in succeeding lives and generations, he still remains the *Kumāra* or the miraculous hero who is the same as *Agni* or *Rudra* in his transcendental aspect. *Rudra* is one (एको रुद्रः न द्वितीयाय तस्ये) but in manifestation as we see in the world round us he is becoming manifest as a hundred and thousand *Rudras* (असंख्याता सहस्राणि ये रुद्राऽपि भूम्याम्). It is the same with *Agni* who is both one and many (एकेवाग्निर्वहुधा समिद्धः, RV. VIII. 58 2).

NARASIMHA AND HIRANYAKAŚYAPA

Chaps. 161-163 relate the story of *Hiranyakaśyapa*, the primeval ancestor of *Daityas* (दैत्यानाम् आदिपुरुषः, M. 171. 2). He performed *tapas* and *Brahmā* granted him a boon, viz. immunity from death at the hands of *Devas* and *Manushyas* and *Rishis*, from any weapon from both moisture and dryness, and both Day and night. This filled the *Devas* with distresses and they approached *Brahmā* who assured them that after his merit would be killed by *Vishnu*. For a time *Hiranyakaśyapa* feeling arrogant of his power, became oppressive and then the gods approached *Vishnu* and prayed for help. *Vishnu* gave assurance of his succour. Then assuming a composite form as half-man and half-lion, he came to the Assembly Hall of *Hiranyakaśyapa*. An elaborate description conventionalised as a *Varnana* is given of the *Asura-Sabhā*.

‘LIST OF DIVYĀSTRAS :—Prahāda, the son of Hiranyakaśyapa, saw the strange form of *Nārāyaṇa* as *Narasimha* and began to praise him in a Stotra (M. 162. 4-13). On hearing the words of his son Prahāda, Hiranyakaśyapa reacted violently and commanded his Asura-hosts to deal with the strange lion that had come. He himself attacked with a number of weapons and missiles. A list of about 50 *Divya-Astras* is given, e. g. *Kāla-chakra*, *Vishṇu-chakra*, *Brahma-chakra*, *Raudra-Sūta*, *Brahma-Siras*, *Samāstra*, *Kampana*, *Śātana*, *Kālu-Mudgara*, *Samvartana*, *Mohana*, *Gandharva*, *Prasvāpana*, *Pramathanu*, *Pāśupata*, *Nārāyaṇāstra*, *Indrāstra*, etc (M. 162. 19-27). Many of these names are the same as in the list of 58 *Astrās* in the *Bālakāṇḍa* of *Vālmīki* (26. 4-19, Baroda edn.). Both seem to have drawn upon a common *Varnaka* source. It may be noted that these were *Divya* weapons backed by divine ordinances, of which a full list seems to have been compiled by the *Bhāgavata* and *Pāśupata* teachers. The weapons on the human plane were different as used by Asuras and named in this very description (M. 162. 31-32). Forty-six of these *Astras* are also mentioned in the *Harivaṃsa* (3. 44. 6-15). and some of them in the *Ahīrbudhnyā Samhitā* (23. 14-31). Two kinds of Thunderbolts, viz. dry and wet or hot and cold (*Sushkārdram chāśanidrayam*, M. 162. 20) are also mentioned in the *Bālakāṇḍa* of *Rāmāyaṇa* as given by Viśvāmītra to Rāma. In a short inset in the beginning of Chap. 163 a number of grotesque forms of the *Dānavas*—about 25—are given which may be useful for a comparative study of the grotesque element in the *Purāṇas* and in Indian Art as we have mentioned before.

Next follows a description of *Chakras* used by the demon Hiranyakaśyapa which filled all directions of space and entered the mouth of Man-Lion. This is a *Bhāgavata* touch in which royal power or all worldly forces were conceived as so many *Chakras*. These were being withdrawn into the body of *Nārāyaṇa-Purusha* himself. The idea was a feature of the *Bhāgavata* belief and elaborated in the *Ahīrbudhnyā-Samhitā*.

DESCRIPTION OF BATTLE :— An ornate description of

the fight between Hiranyakaśyapa and *Narasimha* is given. Seven *Muruts* are said to have been agitated, viz. *Āvaha*, *Pravaha*, *Vivaha*, *Udāvaha*, *Perāvaha*, *Samvaha* and *Parivaha* (M. 163. 32-33). What is important is a geographical touch describing 20 rivers and many Janapadas and mountains, e. g. :—

Rivers—Bhāgīrathī, Sarāyū, Kauśīkī, Jamunā, Kāverī, Krishṇaveṇā. Suveṇā, Godāvarī, Charnapvatī, Sindhu, Śoṇa (*Kamala-prabhava* correct reading *Mekala-prabhava*), Narmadā, Vetravatī, Gomatī, Pūrva-Sarasvatī, Mahī, Kāla-Mahī, Tamasā, Pushpa-vāhinī (= Pushpajā, river Pahuḡ) and Lauhitya. In śloka 66 the present reading is corrupt (पत्तनं कोशकरणं ऋषित्रीरजनाकरम्, M. 163. 66) which should be read 'Pattanam kośa-kārāṇām bhūmi-mēhu rajatākarām,' (Kishkindhā., 40. 23) a reference found in Sugrīva's geography of the Four Directions, where *Koshakāra-Pattana* refers to a sea-port for the commercial silken goods of Bengal and Assam and the land of silver mines of Burma. Some Janapada names also occur but in an unsystematic manner (M. 163. 66 67, 72-73). What is important is a list of about 25 names of mountains which await to be identified.

In the end the body of Hiranyakaśyapa was ripped open by the sharp claws of *Narasimha*. The Asura was killed and Nārāyaṇa returned to his abode on the northern shore of *Kshīroda-Samudra* mounting his eight-wheeled car (*Aṣṭa-chakra-Yāna*, (M. 163. 107). *Kshīroda* had become a common motif in the Purāṇas. Most probably it refers to the Caspian Sea which was known as *Shīrwāna* upto the time of Marco-Polo and often mentioned in relation to *Sveta-dvīpa*. The background of this motif becomes more clear in the description contained in the Nārāyaṇī Parva of the Śānti Parva which also describes the *Aṣṭa-chakra-yāna* of *Vishṇu*. It appears to us that some Sāsānian symbols and religious beliefs were in the background here, but we shall resist the temptation of going into details of the subject here.

MEANING OF NARASIMHA :—Generally in other Purāṇas the two topics of *Varāha* and *Narasimha* are given together. *Narasimha* is a type of *Purusha-Paśu* in which the lion

being an animal of the forest is the symbol of the unharnessed energy of the divine *Parameshīhī* who is described as the Forest (*Brahma-vana*). That power of the universal comes to the level of Matter and creates the Man-Lion form. It deals with Hiranyakaśyapa or region of *Prakṛiti*. Kaśyapa literally means a cushion or seat of gold or *Hiranya*. *Hiranya* is the principle of *Prāṇa* which descends to the level of Matter. *Hiranya* is *Purusha* and *Kaśipu* is *Prakṛiti*. Both of them combine in the Golden Egg in which *Prakṛiti* offers herself as a seat for the divine *Hiranyagarbha*. The idea of the legend is that Hiranyakaśyapa howsoever powerful in the three worlds succumbs to the might of *Narasimha*.

THE-LOTUS BORN CREATION

Chap. 164-178 is a jumbled account bearing the colophon *Padmodbhava* but mixed up with seven chapters (172-178) describing the Devāsura conflict and named in the colophon as *Tārakāmaya-Saṅgrāma*.

MEANING OF PUSHKARA— The Ancient doctrine of *Pushkara* which rose from the depth of the primeval waters and became the seat of Brahmā is here elaborated with all the force and richness of Purāṇic imagination. It is called *Padma-vidhi*, viz. the cosmos as a lotus born from the navel of Nārāyaṇa lying recumbent in the ocean :

कथं पादो महाकल्पे तव पद्ममयं जगत् ।

जलार्णवगतस्येह नाभौ जातं जनादनं ॥

प्रभावात्पद्मनाभस्य स्वपतः सागराम्भसि ।

पुष्करे च कथं भूता देवाः सर्षिगणाः पुरा ॥ (M. 164. 4-5)

This is a dialogue between *Manu* and *Matsya* and it appears that the subject of cosmogony is reintroduced in a very serious manner but taking into its orbit new motif elaborated specially in the Purāṇas by the Bhāgavata teachers worshipping *Śeṣhaśāyī-Nārāyaṇa*.

• GLORY OF NĀRĀYAṆA— In 10 verses there is one of the most powerful reiteration of the glory of *Nārāyaṇa* which had

been once explained in the Vedas and in the Ādi-Purāṇas. It is in the true Upanishadic style and inspired from position giving the different cosmic principles which are all identified with Nārāyaṇa. For example, the transcendent being has Nārāyaṇa himself. He is *Viśvayāna* (world-wagon) whom Brahmā does not comprehend. He is the active energy of all the *Devas*. He is the secret knowledge of *Maharshis*. He is the deity of all *Yajñas*. He is the quintessence of knowledge in all philosophies. He is the object of meditation of the *Adhyātma* thinkers. He is also the hell for sinners. Whatever is signified by *Adhi-Daira*, *Adhi Yajña* and *Adhi-Bhūta* is identical with Him. The Vedas declare Him to be Yajña. The seers speak of Him as *Tapas*. He is the same as *Buddhi* and *Munas*. He is both *Kartā* and *Kāraṇa* the doer and the cause of action. He is *Kṣhetrajña*, the knower of the body. He is *Kāla*, the principle of time which makes everything ripen. He is the principle of ripeness itself. He is the seer and principle of *Svādhyāya*. He is the Supreme *Deva*, spoken of in many ways (उच्यते विविधैर्देवः स एवायं न तत्परम्, M. 164.24); there is nothing higher than He. He is the *Bhagavān* who creates and destroys everything. It is He who makes all creatures engaged in action and it is He who transcends their becoming engrossed in *Karma*. We worship Him through our *Yajñas* and also seek Him through detachment. He is the speaker and the object of speech. Whatever is heard and is worthy of being heard, it is He. All the legends and the Vedas aim at His description. He is the cosmos and the lord of the cosmos. He is remembered as *Nārāyaṇa*. Whatever is *Satya*, *Rita*, *Akshara*, whatever was in the past and will be future, whatever moves or is stationary is the same as that Ancient Being (*Purāṇa-Purusha*)¹.

मत्स्य उवाच

यदि ज्ञातुं मया शक्यमृषिमात्रेण सत्तमाः । कः समुत्सहते ज्ञातुं परं नारायणात्मकम् ॥
 विश्वायनश्च यद्ब्रह्मा न वेदयति तत्त्वतः । तत्कर्म विश्ववेदानां तद्ब्रह्म महर्षिणाम् ॥
 तमीशं सर्वयज्ञानां तत्तत्त्वं सर्वदक्षिणाम् । तदध्यात्मविदां चिन्त्यं नरकं च विकर्मिणाम् ॥
 अधिदैवञ्च यदैवमधिपज्ञं सुसंज्ञितम् । तद्भूतमधिभूतञ्च तत्परं परमर्षिणाम् ॥

स यज्ञो वेदनिर्दिष्टस्तत्तपः कवयो विदुः । यः कर्ता कारको बुद्धिर्मानः क्षेत्रज्ञ एव च ॥
 प्रणवः पुरुषश्शास्ता एकश्चेति विभाव्यते । प्राणः पञ्चविधश्चैव ध्रुव अक्षर एव च ॥
 कालः पाकश्च पक्ता च द्रष्टा स्वाध्याय एव च । उच्यते विविधैर्देवैः स एवाऽयं न तत्परम् ॥
 स एव भगवान्सर्वं करोति विकरोति च । सोऽस्मान्कारयते सर्वान्सोऽयेति व्याकुलीकृतान् ॥
 यजामहे तमेवाद्यन्तमेवेच्छाम निर्वृताः । यो वृक्ता यच्च वक्तव्यं यच्चाहं तद्ब्रवीमि वः ॥
 श्रूयते यच्च वै श्राव्यं यच्चान्यत्परिजल्प्यते । याः कथाश्चैव वर्तन्ते श्रुतयो वाथ तत्परराः ॥
 विश्वं विश्वपतिर्यश्च स तु नारायणः स्मृतः ।

यत्सत्यं यदमृतमक्षरं परं यच्चद्भुतं परममिदञ्च यद्भविष्यत् ॥
 यत्किञ्चिच्चरमचरं यदस्ति चान्यनत्तत्सर्वं पुरुषवरः प्रभुः पुराणः ॥
 इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे नारायणयशःकीर्तनम् । (164. 18-28)

YUGA-DHARMA

Chap. 165 deals with the subject of *Yuga-Dharma* detailing the duration of the four *Yugas* in Divine years and also giving their characteristics from the point of view of *Dharma* and *Adharma*. 12000 Divine years make up a *Chaturyugi*.

PRATISARGA :—Chap. 166 draws picture of Dissolution or *Pratisarga* when the great fire of annihilation would consume all and *Nārāyaṇa* goes to sleep in the *Ekāṇṇava* Ocean having withdrawn everything in his own centre :—

दग्ध्वा संप्लाव्य च तथा स्वपित्येकः सनातनः ।

पौराणं रूपमास्थाय स्वपित्यमितविक्रमः ।

एकार्णवजलव्यापी योगी योगमुपाश्रितः ॥ (M. 166.19-20)

Fire and water which were regulated in the cosmic *Yajña* are both released in the elemental form and that brings about a state of dissolution (*Pralaya*).

CREATION AS YAJÑA :—Chapter 167 describes how *Nārāyaṇa* becomes conscious again to the process of creation by transforming Himself into *Yajña* (पुरुषो यज्ञं इतेत्यद्यत् परं परिकीर्तितम्). All the priests were created by *Brahmā* from his mouth and other limbs. A list of the 16 priests is given, who together make up the sixteen-fold (*Shoḍśī*) *Prajāpati* (M. 167.11). It is said that the doctrine of *Yajña* is explained in the Vedas, *Āranyakās* and the

Upanishads and the essence of all is that the Great Being or *Purusha* is the same as *Yajña*, and the Vedas as being the form of *Purusha* are *Yajñamaya* :—

तदेव वै वेदमयः पुरुषो यज्ञसंस्थितः

वेदाश्चैतन्मयाः सर्वे, सांगोपनिषदक्रियाः (M. 167. 12)

The Vedas, the Yajñas and Purusha refer to an identical principle which is becoming manifest as the cosmos.

VISION OF MĀRKANDEYA :—Here a short inset of Rishi Mārkaṇḍeya is introduced. At the time of *Pralaya* Mārkaṇḍeya was withdrawn into the womb of *Vishṇu* but he was emitted at the beginning of creation. Mārkaṇḍeya is the same as Time, *Kāla*, and the dynamic process by which creation takes place is brought to a stand-still in the body of the Creator when he goes to sleep or when dissolution takes place. The same power of *Kāla* is released when the cosmos runs again its renewed course. Mārkaṇḍeya coming out of the mouth of Vishṇu does not realise either his own power or that of *Nārāyaṇa* until he has a vision of the Eternal Brahman floating on the surface of waters in the form of a newly born Babe poised on a branch of the Banian tree (सुप्तं न्यग्रोवशाखायां बालमेकं निरक्षत, M. 167. 21). That *Nārāyaṇa-Purusha* himself who appeared as of mountain-height had become a small child and addressed Mārkaṇḍeya as follows :

“O dear child, who you are ? Be not afraid come and take refuge in me”. Mārkaṇḍeya became upset and said “Who is here addressing me as child, in disregard of my age of a thousand Divine years ?” To this *Nārāyaṇa* replied, “I am thy father, O child, thy progenitor and giver of life. Why do you not come unto me ? Even thy father Aṅgiras worshipped me. Who else excepting one who is of the nature of the gross elements of Matter would not wish to see me playing as a child in the *Ekārṇava*-Ocean” (M. 167. 45). Mārkaṇḍeya then became conscious of the presence of *Nārāyaṇa* in the form of a child (*Bālarūpa*) and prayed to him for revealing his true nature.

MĀRKAṆḌEYA AS TIME— Lord Viṣṇu then gives an exposition of his true nature identifying himself as *Kāla*, *Puruṣa*, *Agni*, *Varuṇa*, *Indra*, *Soma*, etc. and as the Great 'Sahasra-śirshā-Puruṣa' being everything of the past and the future. In the end there is reference to the principle of the rotation of time (*Kāla-paryāya*) to which school of philosophy this doctrine of *Ekāṇava* and of the appearance of Mārkaṇḍeya seems to have belonged.

MĀRKAṆḌEYA STORY REPEATED :— Two things have to be specially noted. Firstly the *Ekāṇava* doctrine had already been enunciated in a different form without the motif of Mārkaṇḍeya which seems to have had come down from the earlier Purāṇic tradition in accordance with the Vedic motif. The teachers of the Bhāgavata school revised it with Mārkaṇḍeya as the central figure who was a devotee of *Viṣṇu* and the first to have a vision of *Mahā-Nārāyaṇa* incarnating as a child on a leaf of the Cosmic-Tree floating on the surface of the Infinite Ocean. *Bālu-Nārāyaṇa* is the symbol of the life-principle (*Prāṇāgni*) and is the technique of mother nature by which life is perpetuated by recurrent cycles through eternity. Mārkaṇḍeya and Nārada were the two arch-symbols of primeval Ṛishis accepted as *Purama-Bhāgavata* devotees and they have been made the narrators of much of the new literature of the *Bhāgavata-Bhakti* School.

ṚISHI ĀPAVA OR VASISHTHA :— The other point is that Rishi *Apava* is brought into the picture as performing *Tapas*. *Āpava* was the name of *Vasishtha* and two things are said about him, firstly that he had concealed himself in the waters and secondly that he was born from the Jar (*Kumbha-Sambhava*) being the correct reading in *Harivaṁśa* 3. 11. 1, against *Kūla-Sambhavaḥ* and *Kuśa-Sambhava* of *Matsya*, both of which seem to be corrupt readings for an original *Kuṭa-Sambhavaḥ*). In the Brāhmaṇa literature *Vasishtha* is a synonym of *Prajāpati*, of *Agni* and of *Prāṇa* :—

प्रजापतिर्वै वसिष्ठः, *Kaushītakī* Br. 25. 2.

अग्निर्वै देवानां वसिष्ठः, *ŚB.* 14. 9. 2. 14.

प्राणो वै वसिष्ठ ऋषि, ŚB. 8. 1. 1, 6.

The *tapas* of Vasishṭha is equal to *tapas* of *Prajāpati* himself. From his abode in the Ocean, he slightly agitates the waters (ईषत् संक्षोभयामास) and this initial quivering gradually increase so that by its growing momentum it threw the whole Ocean into churning convulsions and dimensional waves from whose friction (*Saṅgharṣaṇodbhūtam*) the Great *Vaiśvānara-Fire* or Life-Principle was kindled. In the time duration of thousand *Chaturyugī* cycles the high-souled *Vasishṭha* or *Brahmā* himself assumed innumerable forms and the whole creation was the oblation (*Brahmaṇo-haviḥ*, M. 168. 11) which is the same as *Sarva-hut-Yajña* of *Nārāyaṇa-Puruṣa* (RV. X. 90. 8-9). Vasishṭha in the new Bhāgavata context is identified with *Hari* or *Vishṇu* who sports in the midst of the waters and who created the world-lotus from his navel that was a Golden flower of one thousand petals:—

पद्मं नाम्युद्भवं चैतत् समुत्पादितवांस्तदा ।

सहस्रपर्णं विरजं भास्कराभं हिरण्यम् ॥ (M. 168. 15).

Vishṇu is described as *Mahā-Yogī* who by the power of his *yoga* (*Yogēśvara*) creates the world. Creation was conceived of by the Bhāgavata teachers as the *Līlā* or *Krīḍā* of *Nārāyaṇa* which in the Vedas had been described as the *Māyā* or *Svadhā* (intrinsic power) of Indra.¹

¹ आपवः स विभुर्भूत्वा चारयामास वै तपः । च्छादयित्वात्मनो देहं यादसाङ्कुलसम्भवम् ॥ १ ॥
ततो महात्मातिबलो मतिं लोकस्य सर्जने । महतां पञ्चभूतानां विश्वो विश्वमचिन्तयत् ॥ २ ॥
तस्य चिन्तयमानस्य निवति संस्थितेऽर्णवे । निराकाशे तोयमये सूक्ष्मे जगति गह्वरे ॥ ३ ॥
ईषत्सङ्क्षोभयामास सोऽर्णवं सलिलाश्रयः । अनन्तरोमिभिः सूक्ष्ममथच्छिद्रमभूत्पुरा ॥ ४ ॥
शब्दं प्रति तदोद्भूतो मारुतश्छिद्रसम्भवः । स लब्ध्वान्तरमक्षोभ्यो व्यवर्धत समीरणः ॥ ५ ॥
विवर्द्धता बलवता वेगाद्विक्षोभितोऽर्णवः । तस्यार्णवस्य क्षुब्धस्य तस्मिन्नम्भसि मस्थिते ॥ ६ ॥
कृष्णवर्त्मा समभवत् प्रभुर्वैश्वानरो महान् । ततः स शोषयामास पावकः सलिलं बहु ॥ ७ ॥
क्षयाजलनिधेश्छिद्रमभवद्विस्तृतं नभः । आत्मतेजोद्भवाः पुण्या आपोऽमृतरसोपमाः ॥ ८ ॥
आकाशं च्छिद्रसम्भूतं वायुराकाशसम्भवः । आभ्यां सङ्घर्षणोद्भूतं पावकं वायुसम्भवम् ॥ ९ ॥
दृष्ट्वा प्रीतो महादेवो महाभूतविभावनः । दृष्ट्वा भूतानि भगवाँल्लोकसृष्ट्वर्थमुत्तमम् ॥ १० ॥
ब्रह्मणो जन्मसहितं बहुरूपो व्यचिन्तयत् । चतुर्युगाभिसंख्यात्वे सहस्रयुगपर्यये ॥ ११ ॥

In the agitated waters of the Ocean the fiery flames consuming the fluid created a vacuum called *Ākāśa* which became filled with *Vāyu* (आकाशं छिद्रसम्भूतं वायुरक्षासम्भवं). By the friction of *Vāyu* constrained within the limitations of *Ākāśa* Agni was produced.

Chaps. 164-171 known as *Pushkara-Parva*, *Padmodbhava* or *Padmavidhi* are repeated in *Harivaṁśa* (*Bhaviṣya Parva*, Chaps. 7-14).

Earth as the Golden Lotus—It is stated in clear terms that the Golden Lotus which became the seat of *Brahmā* and also his birth place, is the same as the Earth which *Nārāyaṇa* created from the depth of the Ocean :—

स्रष्टारं सर्वलोकानां ब्रह्माणं सर्वतोमुखम्
यस्मिन् हिरण्ये पद्मे बहुयोजनविस्तृते
तच्च पद्मं पुराणज्ञाः पृथिवीरूपमुत्तमम्
नारायणसमुद्भूतं प्रवदन्ति महर्षयः
या पद्मा स रसा देवी पृथिवी परिचक्षते
ये पद्मसारगुरवस्तान् दिव्यान् पर्वतान् विदुः

In the new setting of the World Lotus from the navel of *Nārāyaṇa* which was known as the *Paushkara Kalpa*, *Jambū-dvīpa* and the relative geography of the mountains etc. which had been earlier disposed of in a systematic manner as part of the *Bhuvanakośa*, is now repeated but in a very half-hearted way :—

एवं नारायणस्यार्थे मही पुष्करसम्भवा ।

प्रादुर्भावोऽप्ययं तस्मान्नाम्ना पुष्करसंज्ञितः ॥ (M. 169. 15)

MADHU-KAIṬABHA—From the *Tapas* of the creator in the *Ekārṇava* Ocean were born two *Asuras* named *Madhū* and

बहुजन्मा विश्वात्मा ब्रह्माणो हविरुच्यते । यत् पृथिव्यां द्विजेन्द्राणां तपसा भावितात्मनाम् ॥१२॥
ज्ञानं दृष्टुं विश्वार्थं योगिनां याति मुख्यताम् । तं योगवन्तं विज्ञाय सम्पूर्णैश्वर्यमुत्तमम् ॥१३॥
पदे ब्रह्माणि विश्वेशं न्ययोजयत योगवित् । ततस्तस्मिन् महातोये महीशो हरिरच्युतः ॥१४॥
स्वयं क्रीडंश्च विधिवन्मोदते सर्वलोककृत् । पद्मं नाम्युद्धवं चैकं समुत्पादितवांस्तदा ॥१५॥

(M. 168. 1-15 ; *Harivaṁśa*-3-11. 1-7)

Kaitabha who rushed against *Brahmā*. These two Asuras are identified as *Rajas* and *Tamas* :—

आवाभ्यां द्वायते विश्वं तमसा रजसाय वै
रजस्तमोमयावामृषीणामवलम्बितौ (M. 170. 14-15).

Brahmā appealed for help to *Vishṇu* who is the substratum of *Sattva* and who is the Creator of *Rajas* and *Tamas* :—

यः परो योगमतिमान् योगाख्यः सत्त्वमेव च ।

रजस्तमसश्चैव यः स्रष्टा विश्वसम्भवः ॥ (M. 170. 19).

Nārāyaṇa-Vishṇu extended his arm and seized both the Asuras and pounded them with his might (M. 170. 30).

REVISED ACCOUNT OF COSMOGONY—Chap. 171 is along account in which many motifs of cosmogony have been brought together to be adjusted in the revised version of creation. For example the motif of the two teachers of *Yoga* (*Yogāchārya*, probably *Hiraṇyagarōha*) and *Sāṃkhya* (*Sāṃkhyāchārya Kapila*) is introduced. They are the incarnations of *Vishṇu* and *Śiva* and approach *Brahmā*. On seeing them *Brahmā* created three sons which is a reference to the basic Triads* of 'Bhūr Bhuvah Svah', often mentioned as the three *Lokas* or corresponding to the three *Guṇas* of *Sāṃkhya*. The second motif is that of *Brahmā*'s creating a woman from the half portion of his own body :—

शरीरात्तां ततो भार्यां समुत्पादितवान् शुभाम् ।

सदृशीमात्मनो देवीं समर्थी लोकसर्जने ॥ (M. 171. 21-22)

This newly created energy of *Brahmā* was the goddess *Gāyatrī* who created the four *Vedas*. Then the motif of the 10 mind-born sons of *Brahmā* and of *Daksha* and his numerous daughters is described in a short form, followed by an enumeration of the 11 *Rudras* named *Nirriti*, *Śambhu*, *Aparājita*, *Mrigavyādhā*, *Kapardi*, *Dahana*, *Īśvara*, *Ahīrbudhnya*, *Kapālī*, *Piṅgala* and *Senānī* (M. 171. 38-40, this being the third list in the *Matsya*). The names of the *Sādhya-Devas* (M. 171. 43-45), of the *Viśve-Devas*, *Maruts*, 12 *Ādityas*, *Gandharvas*, *Suparṇas*, etc. are given and this entire creation is called *Paushkara-Srīṣṭi*. As a matter of fact these are typical of the various forms that

the single creative energy of Brahmā assumes in the world and since he was born from the lotus of *Nārāyaṇa* the whole creation of manifold powers is also designated as *Paushkara-Prādurbhāva* (M. 171. 64).

NEW GLORIFICATION OF VISHṆU— Chapter 172 is a new glorification of *Vishṇu* who bears many names as *Hari*, *Vaikunṭha*, *Krishṇa*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Brahma*, *Vāyu*, *Soma*, *Dharma*, *Indra*, *Bṛihaspati*, *Avyakta-Bhagavān*, *Vyakta Liṅga*, etc. This is in keeping with the Bhāgavata spirit of broadbasing the conception of *Vishṇu-Nārāyaṇa*, so as to include all divine manifestations both in the Vedic and Purāṇic tradition. The whole idea was conceived in a spirit of understanding and synthesis. The author amplifies the theme in the form of a description of *Vishṇu's* exploits or achievements entitled '*Vishṇoḥ-karmānukīrtanam*' (M. 172. 9).

TĀRAKĀMAYA BATTLE— The first subject to be taken up is the account of Tārakāmaya battle in which the gods being worsted by the Asuras approach *Vishṇu*. From this simple preamble the author who was certainly a brilliant genius conceives the glory of *Vishṇu* in this form :

1. As a Mountain (*Vishṇu-Śaila*, M. 172. 25),
2. The Cosmic Tree (*Sarva-loka mahā-druma*, M. 172. 26-30),
3. Ocean (*Nārāyaṇa-Mahārṇava*, M. 172. 30-37), and
4. The Cosmic Chariot (*Divyamaya-Loka-ratha*, M. 172. 38-41).

These are grand metaphorical descriptions of which the one relating to the conception of *Nārāyaṇa-Mahārṇava* is worthy of particular attention and specially the following passage :—

नारायण-महार्णवः

द्वादशार्कमहाद्वीपं रुद्रैकादशपत्तनम् ।

वस्वष्टुपर्वतोपेतं त्रैलोक्याम्भोमहोदधिम् ।

तन्तु योगमहापारं नारायणमहार्णवम् ॥

(M. 172. 33-34, 37).

This is also repeated in Chapter 248 (Ślokas 22b-26). It was possible only in the imagery of the Gupta period to conceive

of the ocean as the embodiment of *Nārāyaṇa* himself. The same idea is found in Kālidāsa :—

ॐ तं तामवस्थां प्रतिपद्यमानं स्थितं दश व्याप्य दिशो महिम्ना ।

विष्णोरिवास्यानवधारणीयमीदृक्तया रूपमित्तया वा ॥

(Raghu. 13. 5)

The following motifs as applicable to the Ocean are noteworthy :—

(1) *Dvādaśārka-maya-dvīpaḥ*—just as *Vishṇu* in his cosmic form includes the 12 *Ādityas*, similarly the Ocean has 12 *Dvīpas*. In Sanskrit literature we have references to *Chaturdvīpa*, *Saptadvīpa*, *Dvādaśadvīpa*, *Trayodaśadvīpa*, (*Ādi-parva*, 134. 19; *Āraṇyaka-parva* 70. 1-70) and *Aṣṭādaśadvīpa* (*Līṅga Purāṇa* 1. 20. 22; *Skanda, Brahma-Khaṇḍa*, *Setu Māhātmya* 36. 189; *Bṛihat-kathā-Śloka-Saṅgraha* of *Budha Svāmīn* 19. 180; *Harsha-Charita* 6. p. 179, 185, 203 and *Kādambarī*, P. L. Vaidya's Editon, p. 261).

The 12 *Ādityas* are compared to the twelve *Dvīpas* of the *Mahārṇava* or the Indian Ocean, as reckoned at the time when the passage was compiled. We have varied references in Sanskrit literature to *Chaturdvīpa*, *Saptadvīpa*, *Trayodaśadvīpa*¹ and *Aṣṭādaśadvīpa*², besides the present one to *Dvādaśadvīpa*. *Bāṇa* mentions

1. Cf. त्रयोदश समुद्रस्य द्वीपानश्नन् पुरुखाः ।

Ādi-parva, Poona edn., 134. 19; त्रयोदशद्वीपवती मही च (*Āraṇyaka-parva*, 70. 71); but the *Vāyu Purāṇa* reads अष्टादश समुद्रस्य द्वीपानश्नन् पुरुखाः (2. 15.)

2. cf. (a) इमानष्टादशद्वीपान् ससमुद्रान् सपर्वतान् ।

(*Līṅga*. 20. 22)

(b) महालयविधानेन कृतवीर्यसुतो बली ।

अष्टादशानां द्वीपानामधिपत्यमवाप्तवान् ॥

(*Skanda, Brahmakhaṇḍa*, *Setu-māhātmya*, 36. 189)

(c) ततो नलिनिकारूपमालिख्य फलके मया ।

मही साष्टादशद्वीपा परिक्रान्ता बरार्थिना ॥

(*Budhasvāmī's Bṛihat-kathāśloka Sangraha*, 19-180)

several times the Ashtādaśadvīpa conception of Bhāratavarsha¹, and two and a half centuries before him Kālidāsa had also referred to the king of Māhishmatī as—‘अष्टादशद्वीपनिखातयूपः’ (रघु० VI. 38). The number ‘eighteen’ seems to have included the following names as may be compiled from reference in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa and other Purāṇic and literary sources :

1. Kumāīdvīpa (which became the name of Bhāratavarsha in the Gupta period), 2. Indradvīpa (Andamans), 3. Kaśerumān, 4. Tāmraparṇī (Ceylon), 5. Gabhastimāna, 6. Nāgadvīpa (Nicobar), 7. Saumyakadvīpa, 8. Gandharvadvīpa (or Paṇyupāyana), 9. Vāruṇadvīpa (Borneo). (For these wellknown nine Dvīpas, see Matsya. 114. 7-9; Vāyu. 45. 78-80, and Mārkaṇḍeya. 57. 6-7).

The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa (Vol. II. p. 322) gives the following additional names :

Karmraṅgadvīpa, Nārikeladvīpa, Vārushakadvīpa, Nagnadvīpa, Balidvīpa, and Yavadvīpa. We also get the following names from other sources :

Malayadvīpa. Kaṭāhadvīpa (Kedah in North Malaya ; Jānakī-Haraṇa, 1, 17), Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra ; Kathāsarit-sāgara, 56, 62), Karpūradvīpa (Ibid., 56. 62).

The conception of the Dvādaśadvīpas seems to belong to a time earlier than Kālidāsa and may be put to about the third century A. D.

(2) Rudraikadaśa pattana—Just as the eleven *Rudras* are a manifestation of the single God *Rudra* who in terms of the

1. (a) भ्रूलतादिष्टाष्टादशद्वीपे दिलीपे ।

(Harsh-Charita, Nirṇaya Sāgar edn. 1925, VI, p. 179) .

(b) अष्टादशद्वीपाष्टमंगलकमालिनी मेदिनी ।

(Ibid., p. 185)

(c) अष्टादशद्वीपजेतव्याधिकारे ।

(Ibid., p. 203)

(d) अष्टादशद्वीपमालिनी मेदिनी ।

(Kādambari, P. L. Vaidya edn., p. 261)

Trideva conception of the Purāṇas is an aspect of the same reality as Nārāyaṇa, similarly the ocean has its amplified greatness in the form of Ekādaśapattanas or the eleven commercial sea-ports situated on its long coast-line. What these eleven sea-ports were is a question deserving some thought. The list seems to have comprised the following:—

1. Prabhāsa-Pattana, 2. Bhṛigukachchha-Pattana (the Sabhā-parva refers to it as a Pattana), 3. Śūrpāraka-Pattana 4. Murachī-Pattana (Kishkindhā, 82-93), 5. Nāga-Pattana, 6. Kāverī-Pattana, 7. Dramila-Pattana (most probably the same as *Kāverī Pattana* or Puhār elaborately described in the Tamil Classic Śilappādhikāram; Daṇḍin's *Avanti-Sundarī-Kathā* pp. 177); 8. Musalī-Pattana (near the mouth of the Krishṇā), 9. Viśākhā-Pattana, 10. Kaliṅga-pattana, 11. Tāmralipti-Pattana 12. Priyaṅgu-Pattana (Vasudeva-Hiṇḍī, Ātmānanda Jain Granthamālā edition, P. 145), Kośākāra-Pattana (Rāmāyaṇa, Kishkindhā, 44.23).

The number of *Pattanas* like that of the *Dvīpas* increased in later literature; e. g. there is a reference to a *Sārthavāha* (sea-marchant), whose fame had spread to the Eighteen *Dvīpas* and who had trade connections with nineteen *Pattanas* (अष्टादश द्वीप कीर्तिविख्यात एकोनविंशति पत्तननायक, सभाशृंगारवर्णक संग्रह, edited by Agar-chand Nahatā, p. 36).

(3) VASVASHṬĀCHALA-SAMYUKTAḤ— This refers to the eight mountains situated along the above mentioned extensive sea-coast. This list may have included the Somagīri near the confluence of the Indus with the sea (सिन्धुसागरयोश्चैव संगमे तत्र पर्वतः । महान् सोमगिरिर्नाम शतशृङ्गो महाद्रुमः ॥ Kishkindhā, 42.15), the *Raivataka* mountain in Saurāshṭra, the *Sahyādrī* along the Konkan Coast, the *Dardura* and *Malaya* mountains in Tamil land, and the *Mahendra* mountain in Kaliṅga (Raghu. VI. 54). This list may have included the other mountains along the sea-coast of greater India of which three important names are given in the Kishkindhā Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, viz. Śīśira Parvata beyond Java (यवद्वीपमातिक्रम्य शिशिरो नाम पर्वतः, 40.31), Rishabhā-Parvata (कि० ४०।४४) and Udaya-Parvata (कि० ४०।४४).

The constituent elements of this important reference to the Indian Ocean point to a period of brisk trans-naval commerce and colonising activities between the mainland of Bhāratavarsha and the Dvīpāntara iselands, a phenomenon of national history during the Śaka-Śātavāhana-Gupta epoch (cir. 1st Cent.—4th Cent. A.D.).

TĀRAKĀMAYA SAṅGRĀMA— The subject of the *Tārakā-maya* battle is given at length in Chaps. 173-178. The title *Tārakā-maya* has nothing to do with the battle of Tārakāsura, but it is another battle of the same magnitude between the demon *Maya* and his many associates on the one side and *Vishṇu* on the other.

The word *Tārakā-maya* refers to the whole stellar system of planets, constellations, galaxies etc., which in one word are the *Brahmāṇḍa-Chakra*, included within the circumscribing wheel of Time (*Kāla-chakra*). He is the same as Kālanemi and is of Āsuric nature until brought under the regulating force of Vishṇu. Not one or two but all the Asura hosts succumb to the conquering might of Vishṇu or the Divine Time. The Asuras belong to Parameshthī region or the Universal and their power can be made useful in individual manifestation only when they submit to Vishṇu, who is symbolised as Indra and Sūrya also. In Chap. 173 a description of a cosmic chariot of *Maya* is noteworthy (M. 173. 2-13) in which the word *Ilāmriga-gaṇākīrṇa* has been used with reference to the different kinds of fabulous animals as decorative motifs which had become popular from the Kushāṇa period. *Virochana*, *Hayagrīva*, *Khara*, *Viprachitti's* son etc. are the *Dānava* heroes sharing in this conflict:

Chap. 174 similarly describes the army of the gods and of *Vishṇu* (*Vaiṣṇava-Sainya*), in which many of the ancient Vedic motifs and the new Purāṇic motifs of the various deities are incorporated:—

विष्णोर्जिष्णोश्च भ्राजिष्णोस्तेजसा तमसाऽऽवृतम् ।

बलं बलवदुद्वृत्तं युद्धाय समवर्तत ॥

(M. 174. 51).

Chap. 175 describes the *Daivāsuram* battle. In this connection an account of Rishi *Ūrva* is given who was the proge-

nitor of the *Aurva* fire that resides in the Ocean in the form of *Baḍavāmukha*. Hiranyakaśyapa accepted Rishi *Aurva* as his *Guru* and the Rishi was pleased to bestow on him the power of the *Aurva* fire to serve him in his battles. This *Aurva* fire is the same as described earlier in the *Agni Varṇsa* under the name of *Saṁvartaka* or *Baḍavāmukha* which are of terrific nature and released for the destruction of the world.

Chap. 176 describes a number of *Māyā-yuddhas* on the two sides.

Chap. 177 gives an account of the battle by *Kālanemi* assisted by a number of Asura chiefs. The writer uses a powerful style and takes delight in giving a vivid description of the fierce battle raging from the earth to the skies:—

द्यावापृथिव्योः संयोगो यथा स्याद्युगपद्ये •

तद्युद्धमभवद्धोरं देवदानवसंकुलम् (M. 177. 21).

Kālanemi was desirous of attaining the station of *Vishṇu* (*Vaiṣṇava-pada*), but those who are intent on evil remain deprived of these five good things, viz., *Veda*, *Dharma*, *Kṣhamā*, *Satya*, and *Lakṣmī*. *Kālanemi* inflated with the realisation of his power went and challenged *Vishṇu* calling him the arch-enemy of the Asuras.

Chap. 178 gives a long list of the exploits of *Vishṇu* against the Asuras. After listening to the string of insulting epithets hurled by *Kālanemi*, *Vishṇu* calmly said that the Asura would soon meet his destruction, for no one transgressing the ordinances of *Prajāpati* could enjoy well-being (प्रजापतिकृतं सेतुं भित्त्वा कः स्वस्तिमान् भवेत्, M. 178. 26). *Vishṇu* ultimately with his *Chakra* made short work of the Asura. Thus ended the *Tārakamaya* battle. After the death of *Kālanemi* all the Devas waited upon *Vishṇu* and the normal divine dispensation was restored including the re-establishment of the *Varṇāśrama* order, *Yajñas*, *Vedas* and all that was considered to be equivalent of *Dharma* (M. 178. 65-78).

BATTLE BETWEEN ANDHAKĀSURA & ŚIVA :— *Andhaka* symbolises the principle of Darkness, the Blind-spot which must

be flooded with divine light in order to become effective and useful for life.

Chap. 179 takes up the account of the battle between *Andhakāśura* and *Siva* deliberately related to bring into relief the achievements of *Rudra* after those of *Nārāyaṇa*. *Andhaka* grew so arrogant as to think of abducting both *Siva* and *Pārvatī*. In the *Mahā-Kāla* forest of *Avanti* a fierce battle between *Andhaka* and *Siva* took place. *Siva* used his *Pāśupata* weapon against *Andhaka* by which the Asura was torn into innumerable pieces. *Siva* then created the Divine Mothers to deal with *Andhaka*. Here an important and interesting list of about 200 goddesses is given as below (M. 179. 10-32) :—

(१) माहेश्वरी	(२) ब्राह्मी	(३) कौमारी	(४) मालिनी
(५) सौपर्णी	(६) वार्धव्या	(७) शाक्ती	(८) नैर्ऋती
(९) सौरी	(१०) सौम्या	(११) शिवा	(१२) दूती
(१३) चामुण्डा	(१४) वारुणी	(१५) वाराही	(१६) नारसिंही
(१७) वैष्णवी	(१८) चलच्छिखा	(१९) शतानन्दा	(२०) भगानन्दा
(२१) पिच्छिला	(२२) भगमालिनी	(२३) वला	(२४) अतिवला
(२५) रक्ता	(२६) सुरभी	(२७) मुखमण्डिका	(२८) मातृनन्दा
(२९) सुनन्दा	(३०) बिडाली	(३१) शकुनी	(३२) रेवती
(३३) महारक्ता	(३४) पिलपिच्छिका	(३५) जया	(३६) विजया
(३७) जयन्ती	(३८) अपराजिता	(३९) काली	(४०) महाकाली
(४१) दूती	(४२) सुभगा	(४३) दुर्भगा	(४४) कराली
(४५) नन्दिनी	(४६) अदिति	(४७) दिति	(४८) मारी
(४९) मृत्यु	(५०) कर्णमोटी	(५१) ग्राम्या	(५२) उलूकी
(५३) घटोदरी	(५४) कपाली	(५५) वज्रहस्ता	(५६) पिशाची
(५७) राक्षसी	(५८) भृशुण्डी	(५९) शांकरी	(६०) चण्डा
(६१) लाङ्गली	(६२) कुटुम्भी	(६३) खेटा	(६४) सुलोचना
(६५) धूम्रा	(६६) एकवीरा	(६७) करालिनी	(६८) विशालदंष्ट्रिणी
(६९) श्यामा	(७०) त्रिजटी	(७१) कुक्कुटी	(७२) वैनायकी
(७३) वैताली	(७४) उन्मत्तोदुम्बरी	(७५) सिद्धि	(७६) लेलिहाना
(७७) केकरी	(७८) गर्दभी	(७९) भ्रुकुटी	(८०) बहुपुत्री
(८१) प्रेतयाना	(८२) विडम्बिनी	(८३) क्रौञ्चा	(८४) शैलमुखी
(८५) विनता	(८६) सुरसा	(८७) दनुः	(८८) उषा

(८६) रम्भा	(९०) मेनका	(९१) सलिला	(९२) चित्तरूपिणी
(९३) स्वाहा	(९४) स्वधा	(९५) वषट्कारा	(९३) धृति
(९७) कमदिनी	(९८) माया	(९९) विचित्ररूपा	(१००) कामरूपा
(१०१) संगमा	(१०२) मुखेविला	(१०३) मंगला	(१०४) महानांसा
(१०५) महामुखी	(१०६) कुमारी	(१०७) रोचना	(१०८) भीमा
(१०९) सदाहा	(११०) मदोद्धता	(१११) अलम्बाक्षी	(११२) कालकर्णी
(११३) कुम्भकर्णी	(११४) महामुरी	(११५) केशिनी	(११६) शङ्खिनी
(११७) लम्बा	(११८) पिङ्गला	(११९) लोहितामुखी	(१२०) घण्टारवा
(१२१) दंष्ट्राला	(१२२) रोचना	(१२३) काकजङ्घिका	(१२४) गोकर्णिका
(१२५) अजमुखिका	(१२६) महाग्रीवा	(१२७) महामुखी	(१२८) उल्कामुखी
(१२९) धूमशिखा	(१३०) कम्पिनी	(१३१) परिकम्पिनी	(१३२) मोहना
(१३३) कल्पना	(१३४) ध्वेला	(१३५) निर्मया	(१३६) बाहुशालिनी
(१३७) सर्पकर्णी	(१३८) एकाक्षी	(१३९) विशोका	(१४०) नन्दिनी
(१४१) ज्योत्सनामुखी	(१४२) रभसा	(१४३) निकुम्भा	(१४४) रक्तकल्पना
(१४५) अविकारा	(१४६) महाचित्ता	(१४७) चन्द्रसेना	(१४८) मनोरमा
(१४९) अदर्शना	(१५०) हर्त्वापा	(१५१) मातङ्गी	(१५२) लम्बमेखला
(१५३) अवाला	(१५४) वञ्चना	(१५५) काली	(१५६) प्रमोदा
(१५७) लाङ्गलावती	(१५८) चित्ता	(१५९) चित्तजला	(१६०) कोणा
(१६१) शान्तिका	(१६२) अधविनाशिनी	(१६३) लम्बस्तनी	(१६४) लम्बसटा
(१६५) विसटा	(१६६) वासचूर्णिनी	(१६७) सखजन्ती	(१६८) दीर्घकेशी
(१६९) सुचिरा	(१७०) सुन्दरी	(१७१) शुभा	(१७२) अयोमुखी
(१७३) कटुमुखी	(१७४) क्रोधिनी	(१७५) अशनी	(१७६) कुटुम्बिका
(१७७) भुक्तिका	(१७८) चन्द्रिका	(१७९) बालमोहिनी	(१८०) सामान्या
(१८१) हासिनी	(१८२) लम्बा	(१८३) कोविदारी	(१८४) सवासवी
(१८५) शङ्खकर्णी	(१८६) महानादा	(१८७) महादेवी	(१८८) महोदरी
(१८९) हंकारी	(१९०) रुद्रमुसटा	(१९१) रुद्रेशी	(१९२) भूतडामरी
(१९३) पिण्डजिह्वा	(१९४) चलज्वाला	(१९५) शिवा	(१९६) ज्वालामुखी
(१९७) ज्येष्ठा	(should be read after No. 96 धृति).		

MOTHER GODDESSES IN FOLK-CULT— This list appears as another version of the *Revatī-Kalpa* of Kaśyapa-Saṃhitā (pp. 67 and 153-167), which included a wide pantheon of the Mātṛikās in religion and folk-cult, both Vedic and Purāṇic and of local character. These goddesses attacked innumerable Andhakas, but the Asura proved to be beyond them. Then Śiva thought of Viṣṇu.

who appeared and created a new goddess named Śushka-Revatī (also mentioned in the Kāśyapa Samhitā p. 157, same as the goddess of all wasting diseases) who drank the blood of the *Andhakas* and reduced them to a mere skeleton. Then Śiva with his trident pierced the original *Andhaka*, and the Asura meeting his death at the hands of the God obtained his proximity (*Sāmāpya*) and become a *Gaṇa*. Then the Mothers were asked by Śiva to protect the creatures but they themselves became oppressive. Śiva then thought of the Man-Lion or *Vishṇu* as *Narasimha*, who appeared and was extolled by Śiva in a *Sahasra-Stotra* (M. 179. 53-59). Then Śiva complained that the numerous *Mātrikās* created by him for fighting against *Andhakāsura* had turned oppressive in disregard of his word and so *Vishṇu* should help in the matter. Thereupon *Vishṇu* created 32 other *Mātrikās* out of his own body of, whom the chief was Śushkarevatī (शुष्करेवती). These 32 *Mātrikās* are said to be the various forms of *Revatī* which indicates that the author was incorporating here the material from the *Revatī-Kalpa* as current in his time and of which we have a record in the Kāśyapa-Samhitā under the name of *Jāta-hārini* or *Revatī-Kalpa*. Although the list of *Mātrikās* may have been older but here they are placed in a new setting in which both *Siva* and *Vishṇu* become their mentors with the command that the *Mātrikās* should bring about the welfare of those who were virtuous and devoted to *Dharma*. They were specially to function as presiding deities of fertility, child-birth and child-welfare (M. 179. 83). The goddess named *Sushkarevatī* specially was to be propitiated by those desirous of a son. This *Sushkarevatī* appears to have been originally a cruel ogress similar to *Jarā* who used to devour young children and who was ultimately converted by *Krishṇa* in *Rājagriha* to play the new role of the protectress of children (cf. codversion of *Hārītī* by *Buddha*). A similar duty seems to have been devised for *Sushkarevatī* who appears to be but another same of *Chāmundā* with dry breasts and skeletal body.

A perusal of the above list together with a comparison of the material in the *Revatī-Kalpa* and *Āraṇyaka Parva* shows how

widely the Purāṇic writer cast his net for collecting* the material about ancient Goddesses.

In this context the seven Divine Mothers although included in the list are not given the same prominence as in the *Devī-Māhātmya*. However, in the closing verses there is a reference to the seven *Mātrikās* who along with *Ardhanārīśvara-Siva* were installed in that particular place :—

सप्त ता मातरो देव्यः सार्धनारीश्वरः शिवः
निवेश्य रौद्रं तत्स्थानं तत्रैवान्तरधीयत (M. 179. 89).

VĀRĀNASĪ-MĀHĀTMYA

YAKSHA CULT IN VĀRĀNASĪ :—Chaps. 180-185 entitled *Vārānasī-Māhātmya* are of the nature of *Sthala-Māhātmya* or local topographical description of Vārānasī which was the greatest holy centre of pilgrimage and learning, as also of commerce in north India. A detailed account of *Vārānasī tīrtha* is found in the Kāśī-Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa but the Matsya account also is quite informative and factual so far as local geography of the place is concerned. An original account is that of *Harikeśa Yaksha* of Vārānasī. There was a Yaksha king called *Pūrṇabhadra* whose son was *Harikeśa*. He became a great devotee of *Śiva*. *Pūrṇabhadra*, his father protested against the ways of the son, saying that homage to *Rudra* was against the tradition of Yaksha-worship :—

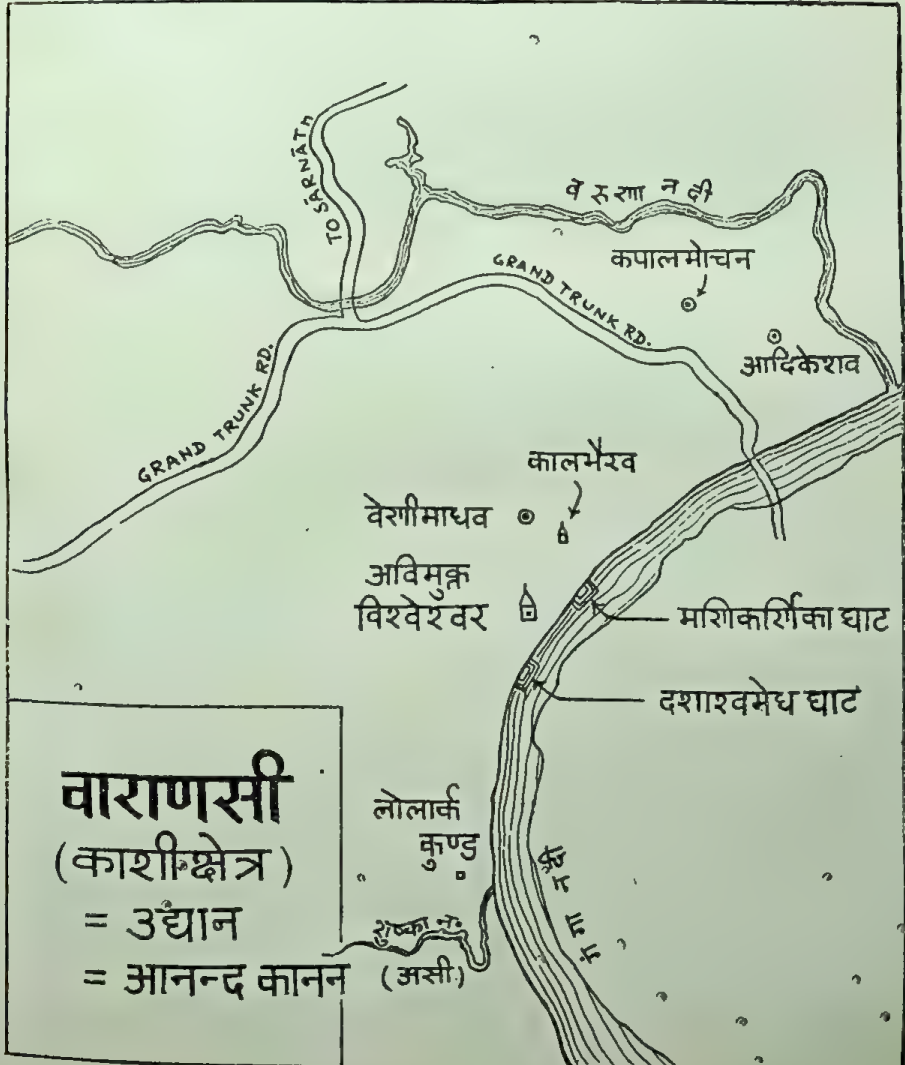
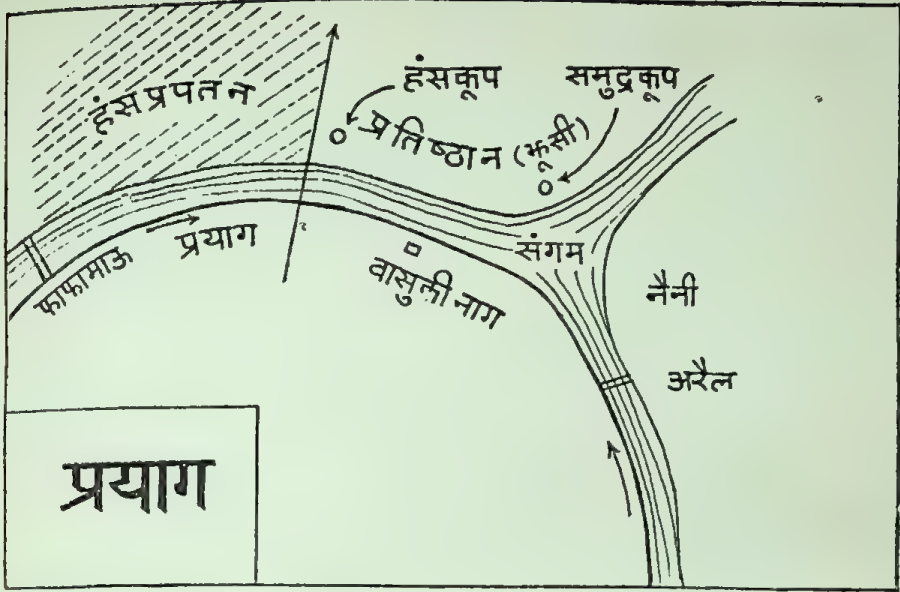
न हि यक्ष कुलीनानामेतमुद्धृतं भवत्युत ।
गुह्यका वत युयं वै स्वभावात्कूरचेतसः ॥
क्रव्यादाश्चैव किमक्षा हिंसाशीलाश्च पुत्रक
मैवं कार्ष्णिं ते वृत्तिरेवं दुष्टा महात्मना (M. 180. 9-10).

Here we have a surprisingly corrent mention of the ancient *Yaksha* cult which was based on offerings of flesh and blood and the *Yakshas* are also said to be cruel beings fond of eating flesh. His father could not change the mind of his son by mere remonstrance and so he turned him out of the house. *Harikeśa* came to Vārānasī and performed *tapas*. Pārvatī requested Śiva to show her the place called *Udyāna* in Vārānasī and Śiva accepted the

request. *Udyāna* seems to be the same as *Ānanda-kānana* a name of *Vārāṇasī*. An elaborate description of *Udyāna* of the *Paraṇaka* type is given, (M.180.24-44). In reply to *Pārvatī*'s query *Śiva* gave an account of *Udyāna* and of *Arīmukta*. This *kshetra* is stated to be named *Arīmukta* as *Śiva* never leaves it. *Vārāṇasī* is preferred even to *Gaṅgā-dvāra*, *Pushkara* and *Prayāga*. *Jaigīshavya*, the great *Sāṃkhya* philosopher is said to have obtained perfection (*Siddhi*) by performing *Yoga* at this place (M. 180.57). *Kubera* is also said to have taken his abode in *Vārāṇasī*. *Vedavyāsa* too is mentioned to have made *Vārāṇasī* his centre. King *Alarka* came and lived here.

Śiva then came to the spot where *Harikeśa* was performing *Tapas* and expressed his desire to grant him a boon. *Harikeśa* asked for *Śiva*'s *Bhukti* and to settle down permanently in *Vārāṇasī-kshetra* where he could see Lord *Śiva*. *Śiva* granted his request saying that the *Yakshas* would become the guardian deities (*kshetra-pāla*) of *Vārāṇasī*. Then *Harikeśa Yaksha* became the chief of all *Gaṇas* of *Vārāṇasī*.

This story of *Harikeśa Yaksha* points to two cultural stages: first was the prevalence of *Yaksha* worship as a widely spread folk-cult as represented in the story of *Pūrṇa-bhadra*; the second stage was that of *Śiva* worship which superseded the earlier *Yakshas* and this is indicated by the conversion of the son of *Pūrṇa-Bhadra* to the worship of *Śiva* and the latter himself making him the chief of all his *Gaṇas*. Even today there is a holy spot known as *Harsū Brahma* in Village Chainpur, 5 mile from *Bhabhuā* in Arrah district. There is a conical *Bīr* or *Yaksha* image worshipped on *Māgha-Śukla 9* in the year when a big fair is held. There are many other *Bīr* or *Yaksh* shrines with aniconic images placed on platforms and locally worshipped as *Bīr*. Four such shrines are in the Banaras Hindu University and in the city of *Vārāṇasī* *Lahurābīr* and *Bullābīr* (Skt. *Vipula*, Prakrit *Viula*, Apabhrasha *Vulla*, हिन्दी बुल्ला) represent what once were the *Chulla-Yaksha* and the *Mahā-Yaksha* like *Chullakokā* and *Mahakokā* at *Bharhut*. It is an authentic record of great value



which seems to belong to the first century A. D. when Yaksha worship was gradually being replaced by Śiva worship. This phenomenon has been found at other ancient sites also, for example, Mathurā where ancient *Yaksha* worship gave place to the new cult of Śiva. At Rājaghāt, the ancient site of Vārāṇasī, a big *Yaksha* image carved on three sides of a prism-like stone block (same as *Trimukha Yaksha*) and also the bust of a *Yakshī* figure have been found (both now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan).

AVIMUKTA-MĀHĀTMYA—Chap. 181 relates the *Māhātmya* of *Avimukta kshetra*. It is said to be the best of 68 *Tīrthas* of which it seems that a standard list had been compiled in the early Gupta period (M. 181, 16). The names of 20 great centres of Śiva worship are given, e. g. *Vaṣṭrāpada* (= Vastrapatha), *Rudrakotī*, *Siddheśvara-Mahālaya*, *Gokarna*, *Rudrakarna*, *Suvarṇāksha*, *Amara*, *Mahākāla*, *Kāyāvarohaṇa*, *Kālīnjara-vana*, *Sanku-karna*, *Sthalēśvara*, *Hariṣhendra*, *Āmrātkeśvara*, *Jālēśvara*, *Srī-Parvata*, *Māhālāya*, *Krīmichandēśvara*, *Kedāreśvara*, *Mahā-Bhairava*, and *Avimukta* is said to be superior in merit to all of them.

Chap. 182 continues the *Māhātmya* of *Avimukta* as recited by Kārttikeya on Kailāsa to the *Rishis*. It is definitely stated that *Avimukta* was known by the name of *Viśveśvara* :—

प्राप्य विश्वेश्वरं देवं न स भूयोऽभिजायते (M. 182. 17).

In connection with god *Avimukta* two points have to be specially noted, firstly that Kālidāsa refers to god Viśveśvara as the presiding deity of Vārāṇasī (आराध्य विश्वेश्वरमीश्वरेण तेनक्षिते विश्व सहो विजज्ञे, Raghu. 18. 24); secondly that the account of *Avimukta*, in Vārāṇasī has been confirmed by archaeological excavation in which several clay sealings were found at Rājaghāt bearing the name *Avimukta*, *Avimukteśvara*, *Avimukta-svāmin* and *Deva-deva-svāmin*. These are all written in the script of the Gupta period of about the 4th-5th century A. D. (V. S. Agrawala, Clay sealings from Rājaghāt, Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Golden Jubilee Volume p. 408)

Chap. 183 continuing the *Avimukta-Māhātmya* records a list of 8 classes of mendicants who were settled at Vārāṇasī and pursuing their own religious vows and practices, e. g. *Sākāparṇāśīnaḥ Samprakshyālyāḥ Marīchipāḥ, Dantolūkhalīnaḥ, Āsmakuttāḥ, Māsopavāsīnaḥ, Vrikshmūlanīketāḥ* (= *Anīketa*), *Silāśayyāḥ* (M, 183. 30-33). The extent of *Avimukta-kṣhetra* is stated to be 2 Yojanas from east to west and half a yojana from north to south direction (M. 183. 61-62). A number of *Gaṇa* names residing in Vārāṇasī is given including that of *Bhīṣhma-Chaṇḍīka* which is now known as Bhīma-Chaṇḍī (M. 183. 63).

A reference is made to Daśāśvamedha Ghāṭ on the river Gaṅgā, and to the clipping of Brahmā's 5th head for which the latter cursed Śiva to become a *Kapālin* and roam about for expiating *Brahma-hatyā*. There is mention of *Kapāla-mochana tīrthā* where Śiva got rid of the *Kapāla* that clung to his body. It is now known as *Pīśācha-mochana* and situated just near Lahurā-Bīr. A curious fact is mentioned that the place of Avimuktesvara was known as *Smaśāna*. This agrees with the site of the present *Maṇīkarnikā-ghāṭ* which is still used as the Burning Ghāṭ and is situated only about a furlong from the temple of Avimukta-Viśveśvara.

A casual reference is made to the visit of Veda-Vyāsa to Vārāṇasī, and his going about begging for *bhikṣā* which no one offered to him. Thereupon the great sage pronounced a curse that learning in Vārāṇasī would not continue for more than three generations in a family and so also wealth and friendship (M. 185.20). There is no shrine for Vyāsa in Vārāṇasī, but there is one across the river Gaṅgā in Rāmanagar. The story of Veda-Vyāsa does not appear to be without its meaning or some significant allusion to religious history. In the Gupta period the Vaishṇavas had accepted Veda-Vyāsa as the great teacher who symbolised the Bhāgavata movement through his manifold literary works, e.g. the *Śākhās* of the Vedas, 18 Purāṇas, Mahābhārata, Brahma-Sūtras and Bhāgavata. Therefore Vyāsa as the leader of a stupendous literary and religious movement was considered by the Bhāgavatas to be an incarnation of

Vishṇu, or more correctly as the son of Vishṇu and of Vāk and therefore said to belong to *Vāchyāyana gotra* (वाच्यायनाद् ऋषेः पूर्वं विष्णोर्वर्णी समुद्भवात्, *Ahīrbudhnya Saṁhitā*, 12.17).

Vārāṇasī as shown by the discovery of the numerous clay scalings engraved with the names of Śiva-liṅgas and as also by the Kāśī-khaṇḍa and by the short Māhātmya given here, was primarily a centre of Śaiva worship under the influence of Māheśvara or Pāśupata teachers. They were very strong in their convictions and naturally would not accept easily the inroad of the Bhāgavata teachings, literature and religion. This is made eloquent in the story of Veda-Vyāsa that even after going about for six months no body entertained him and offered him *Bhikṣhā*. Ultimately it were Lord Śiva and Pārvatī themselves who became reconciled to Vyāsa, but even that was poor consolation and Vyāsa had to find a lodging for himself outside Vārāṇasī with the generous concession that only on two days in the fortnight, viz. the 8th and the 14th day, he would be allowed to enter Vārāṇasī. Perhaps this points to a recitation of the Bhāgavata literature on these two days in the midst of an exclusively Śaiva atmosphere. Even today as we survey the religious shrines of Vārāṇasī there is hardly any old religious establishment dedicated to Vishṇu excepting Bindu-Mādhava or Veṇī-Mādhava which in addition to Ādi-Keśava seems to have been an ancient centre. Both of these names occur in a list of five holy spots of Vārāṇasī, the other three being the Daśāśvamedha, Lolāraka sacred to Sun worship, and Maṇikarnikā.

NARMADĀ-MĀHĀTMYA

IMPORTANCE OF NARMADĀ KSHETRA :— Chaps. 186-194 deal with *Narmadā-Māhātmyam*. There is a reason for the topic of *Narmadā-Māhātmya* being compiled in the Gupta period. There were five great centres of civilization and specially of religious importance viz. *Mathurā*, *Prayāga*, *Vārāṇasī*, *Avanti* and *Pāṭaliputra* (the last had only commercial and political importance).

For all places of pilgrimage there were topographical accounts of the nature of *Sthala-Māhātmya*. In case of Pāṭaliputra a *Gaṅgā-Māhātmya* was drawn up. Then the valley of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā was considered most holy and it was teeming with educational and cultural centres most of which were places of pilgrimage or *Tīrtha*. Similarly the Narmadā from its source in the Amarakaṇṭaka to Bhrigu-Kachchha where it meets the sea was considered to be sacred and along its bank a number of new centres of learning and culture grew up. As a matter of fact during the Gupta age Mālavā became the granary of the Empire and a receptacle of wealth flowing from the sea-ports of *Bhrigu-Kachchha* and *Sūrapāraka* on the west, from *Pratiśṭhāna* on the Godāvarī in the south, from *Mathurā* and *Kauśambī* on the north and along the Sone valley on the east. This is evident from the numerous art monuments that were built in this central region of west and east Mālavā (*Ākarāvanti*) during the Gupta age some of which have survived up to our own times. The Narmadā river was held as sacred as the Gaṅgā and *Māhishmati* on its bank became an important centre of Śaiva worship and Vedic and Purāṇic learning. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa was recited on an island in the stream of the Narmadā which place seems to be the present *Oṅkāra-Māndhātā* (Pargiter, Markandeya Puran, Intro- pp. ix). This Māhātmya of the Narmadā is also put in the mouth of Rishi Mārkaṇḍeya who recites it to *Yudhishṭhira*. The Narmadā region extended from the western sea to Amarakaṇṭaka and up to the western boundry of Kaliṅga (M. 186. 12).

TĪRTHAS ALONG THE NARMADĀ— The account of the *Tīrthas* on the Narmadā begins from *Rudrakoṭi* which was at the source of the river in the Amarakaṇṭaka hill. Another *tīrtha* was *Jaleśvara* near it. Two small rivers named Kapilā and Viśalyā are said to meet the Narmadā on its right bank.

Another Tīrtha connected with the Narmadā is named *Juḷeśvara* where an *Azura* king named *Bāṇa* is said to have lived in his capital at *Tripura* (Chap. 187), which is to be identified

with modern Tewar near Jabalpur. The name of *Tripura* gives an occasion for reintroducing the legend of *Siva's* battle against Tripura and his conquering the three cities by one shaft.

Chap. 188. is a vivid account of the burning of Tripura city. It seems to have been taken from a factual happening probably by the Hūṇa invaders who were in the habit of setting human habitations and towns on fire. It is a very pathetic account in which women complain to *Agni* why he was so heartless as to burn down even children and birds in their cages. *Agni* replied that he was not doing so of his own accord but under compulsion of some one else.

स्ववशे नैव युष्माकं विनाशन्तु करोम्यहम् ।

अहमादेशकर्ता वै नाहं कर्त्तास्म्यनुग्रहम् ॥ (M. 188. 57).

In this connection the Mlechchhas are mentioned and Agni itself is addressed as Mlechchha because it was caused by the Mlechchha raiders (अस्मान् संदह्य म्लेच्छ ! त्वं काङ्क्षति प्रापयिष्यसि, M. 188. 51). After the fall of the Gupta empire the Hūṇas came in occupation and ruled in Mālawā under Toramāṇa (c. 500 A. D. to c. 515. A. D.) and Miṇṛkula (c. 515 A. D.-533 A. D.) It seems to have been this period of extreme oppression and devastation that is implied in this account of the blazing of the city of *Tripura* in which so much pathos has been introduced. The heart-rending account of the atrocities perpetrated by the Hūṇas specially Mihirkula as given by Kalhaṇa in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* tallies with the moving account given in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (Chap. 188). The extent of the Hūṇa empire included Eraṇa (Skt. Airikīṇa) in the district of Sāgara which is only about 50 miles from Tripurī. The Hūṇas were ruthless barbarians carrying sword and fire before them. Sung-Yun, a Chinese traveller who visited the Hūṇa king of Gandhāra, corroborates the barbarous cruelties of that ruler. It was a common tale for the Hūṇa chiefs, and Yuvan-Chvang who came about a century later repeats the same story of the atrocities of the Hūṇas. It appears that Mihirkula brought destruction on the capital city of Tripurī by consigning

it to flames. This seems to give an account of that hellish conflagration by someone who was an eye witness or who had heard of it from direct sources. In that case this repetition of the episode of *Tripura* may well be understood, as the former by the name of *Tripurākhyaṇa* was a regular legend based on Vedic symbolism and handed down from antiquity, whereas this new account was a fabrication and related here in the context of the *Narmadā-Māhātmya* where its memory was green.

BURNING OF TRIPURĪ :—It is related in this account that the burning city of *Tripura* fell in three places, viz. on *Śrī-śaila* mountain in the Āndhra country (Kurnool Dist.), *Amarakaṇṭaka* hill at *Rudrakoti* and the third fell on the spot of *Tripurī* where the *Jvāleśvara-Śiva-līṅga* was installed in memory of the city's burning :—

एकं निपतितं तत्र श्रीशैले त्रिपुरान्तके

द्वितीयं पतितं तस्मिन् पर्वतेऽमरकण्टके

दग्धेषु तेषु राजेन्द्र ! रुद्रकोटिः प्रतिष्ठिता (M. 188. 74-75)

It may not be surprising if this account also may prove to be of an historical character, viz. that these three spots may have been ruled by *Bāṇa* kings, an important dynasty whose early history is shrouded in obscurity but who seem to have been widely distributed and some of them atleast ruled to the west of Āndhra country. They claim their title as the *Antapāla* or wardens of the Marches of the ancient Pallava kings.

Chap. 189 gives an account of the meeting of the *Kāverī* with the *Narmadā*, a small tributary, whose confluence was considered a very holy spot.

Chap. 190 gives a list of same *Tirthas* on the north bank of the *Narmadā*, e. g. *Mantrēśvara* (*Patrēśvara*, in *Padma-Purāṇa*) *Amrāteśvara*, *Āgārcēśvara*, *Kapilā-tīrtha*, *Karāja-tīrtha*, *Kuṇḍaleśvara* and *Vimaleśvara*.

Chap. 191 adds the names of some more *tīrthas* on the north bank, e. g. *Sūla-bheda*, *Bhīmeśvara*, *Nāradeśvara*, *Ādityeśvara*,

Nandikeśa, Varuṇeśa, Svatantrēśvara, Kōṭiśvara, Agastyeśvara, Balākeśvara.

In the second round some more names of Tīrthas on the south-bank and again on the north bank are given. The last of them being *Ankola* (a tīrtha in Baroda district) and *Siddheśvara*.

Chap. 192 glorifies *Sukla-tīrtha* which is even today known by its ancient name. It is 10 miles north east of *Bhṛigu-Kachchha*. It is a great centre of Sāmavedī-Brāhmaṇas. It is stated in the Matsya that Chāṇakya, the great minister of Chandragupta Maurya had come to spend some time in *Sukla-tīrtha* (चाणक्यो नाम राजर्षिः सिद्धिं तत्र समागतः, M. 192. 14). There is an ancient Banyan tree at *Sukla-tīrtha* which is referred in the Matsya description (पादपात्रेण दृष्टेन ब्रह्महत्यां व्यपोहति, M. 192. 16).

Chap. 193 gives an account of the *Bhṛigu-Tīrtha* at Bhṛigu-Kachchha or modern Bharoch at the confluence of the Narmadā with the Sea.

ERANḌĪ-NARMADĀ SAṄGAMA :—In chap. 194 *Eraṇḍi-Narmadā-Saṅgama* is mentioned once again, *Eraṇḍi* being a small river meeting the Narmadā in Baroda district. It appears that the list of *Tīrthas* in Chap. 194 is an amplified version including some of the previous names but mostly new ones. It also mentions the meeting of the Narmadā with the ocean (*Narmado-dadhi-saṅgama*, M. 194. 33) although *Bhṛigu-Kṣhetra* has already been referred to in Chap. 193. A *Śiva Liṅga* named *Sāgarēśvara* was installed at this place. There is a *Phala-śruti* at the end of the Narmadā-Māhātmya which is a pointer to its being an independent text which floated into the body of the Matsya at about the end of the 6th century A. D.

GOTRA-PRAVARA

Chaps. 195-202 give a list of the *Gotras* and *Pravaras*. The chaps. are entitled *Rishi-Gotra* (*Rishi nāma Gotrāṇi*) or *Vamśāvataraṇā*. The subject of *Gotra* was of much significance, above all for the purpose of negotiating marital alliances. There

should be no marriage within the *Gotra* and exogamy has been the supreme rule since the beginning of Aryan society. The *Brāhmaṇas* and following them the *Kṣhattriya*s and *Vṛiśya*s also strictly observed the rule of exogamy. The *Gotra* is therefore a living institution and the name of the *Gotra* in addition to the name of the individual is invariably remembered.

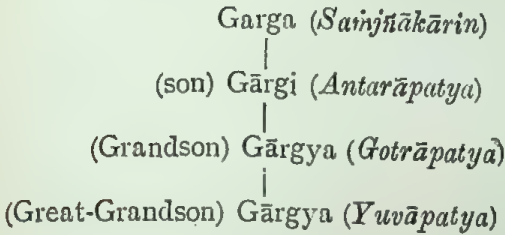
THEORY OF THE SEVEN ṚISHIS— *Gotra* means family (*Kula* or *Vaṁśa*) and the founder of a *Gotra* was called *Kula-vidulha* or *Vaṁśya*. The theory commonly accepted was that originally there were 7 Ṛishis, each of whom became the Founder of a *Gotra* (*Gotra-Kṛit*). The names of those 7 Ṛishis are *Bhrigu*, *Aṅgiras*, *Atri*, *Kuśika*, *Kaśyapa*, *Vasishṭha*, and *Agastya*. In the Matsya a mythical ancestry of these 7 Ṛishis is traced to Brahmā (M. 195. 7-11).

According to a different tradition Brahmā had four sons, Bhrigu, Aṅgiras, Marīchi and Atri. In Bhrigu's line was born Jamadagni who became the founder of a gotra. In the line of Aṅgiras there were two *Gotra-Kartā* Ṛishis, viz. Gautama and Bharadvāja. In the family of Marīchi there were three *Gotra-Kāra* ancestors, viz. Kaśyapa, Vasishṭha and Āgastya. The fourth son Atri himself became the founder of a *Gotra*. Thus these 7 were the primeval ancestors who were remembered as the founders of Gotras.

PRINCIPAL GOTRA NAMES— From one original ancestor there could be hundreds and thousands of descendants who all derived their names after him. They were perhaps all like common people and did not have any distinctive claim for celebrity, but there were some amongst them whose learning and piety or *Tapas* entitled them to special distinction and they too were remembered as the founders of sub-gotras under the main *Gotra-nāma*. This is why we find quite a number of other names under each main *Gotra*, which were given the same dignity as that of the original Gotras. This number of subsequent *Gotra*-founders could not be restricted and we find that under the 7

original Gotras the number of later *Gotra-Kartā* Rishis varies according to the fact of each case.

FORMATION OF GOTRA NAMES— The subject is treated at length in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini where a full list of Gotra names has been brought together for the specific purpose of grammatical formations of names. According to Pāṇini the original Gotra-founder was called *Saijñākārīn*. His son was *Antarāpatya*. His grandson was *Gotrāpatya* (अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम्, 4. 1. 162) and his great-grandson was called *Yuvāpatya*. For example :—



PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE OF GOTRA— In practical life Gotra name had special value. The head of the family always represented the family in political and social institutions and the Gotra name was attached after his personal name. If he was a *Gārgya* his son would be *Gārgyāyapa* and the latter would not be entitled to represent the family in place of *Gārgya*. This kind of practical consideration was the basis of Pāṇini's discussion of the Gotra names. But so far as the *Matsya* is concerned it is a merely classified presentation of the material of Gotra lists in the ancient texts known as *Pravarakāṇḍa* found in the Śrauta-Sūtras of Aśvalāyana, Āpastamba, Kātyāyana and the most important of them the Baudhāyana-Śrauta Sūtra named as *Pravara-praśna*. Amongst subsequent writers Purushottama compiled the evidence from the above sources with a detailed commentary in his *Pravara-Manjarī* which has been published along with other kindred texts under the title of *Gotra-Pravara-Nibandha-Kadamba*, and which has been studied by Dr. Brough in his 'The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara.'

The list of the Gotras is also found in the Vishṇu-Dharmottara Purāṇa (1.111-118) which for the most part is the same as in the Matsya. The scheme in the Matsya is as follows :—

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 1. Chap. | 195—Bhṛigu Vamśa |
| 2. Chap. | 196—Āṅgiras Vamśa |
| 3. Chap. | 197—Atri Vamśa |
| 4. Chap. | 198—Kuşika Vamśa (reckoned as a branch of the Atri family). |
| 5. Chap. | 199—Kaśyapa (a descendant of Marīchi) |
| 6. " | 200—Vasishṭha |
| 7. " | 202—Agastya (whose descendants were Pulastya and Pulaha) |

In chap. 201 there is a digression describing the family of Nimi.

PRAVARA— This word indicates the Ṛishi who was besides being a *Gotra-kāra* was also a *Mantra-drashṭā*. Those families in which there had been three *Mantra-Kṛit* Ṛishis were *Tri Pravara*, and those who had five *Mantra-kṛit* Ṛishis were called *Pañcha-Pravara*.

A list of these Gotra names is given in Appendix 2 classified under each original *Gotra-kartā* Ṛishi, viz. 1. Bhṛigu, 2. Āṅgiras 3. Atri, 4. Kuśika, 5. Kaśyapa, 6. Vasishṭha and 7. Agastya :—

DHARMA-VAMŚA

Chap. 203 entitled Dharma-Vamśa gives a list of Eight Vasus and their sons, as well as of the 12 Sādhyas and of the Viśve-Devas. The list of the eight Vasus and their sons is as follows :—

<i>Vasu's name</i>	<i>Name of his son</i>
1. Dhara	Draviṇa
2. Āpaḥ	Śrīmān
3. Analā (Agni)	Kumāra
4. Anila (Vāyu)	Purojavas
5. Pratyūsha	Devala

- | | |
|--|------------|
| 6. Dhruva (probably Sūrya) | Kāla |
| 7. Soma (= Chandra) | Varachas |
| 8. Prabhāsa (probably same
as <i>Munas</i> or <i>Yajamāna</i> or
<i>Brāhmaṇa</i>) | Viśvakarmā |

This is a new list of the Vasus in which some new gods like Kumāra, Viśvakarmā and Kāla have been inserted. Some names in the list are only tentatively identified. This small inset of Dharma-Vamśa appears to be quite foreign to the context because Chap. 204 ignores it and concerns itself directly with the list of learned Brāhmaṇas given in the Gotra-Adhyāya who are recommended for being invited to a Śrādha.

Chap. 204 itself is very trivial, dealing indifferently with Śrāddha and is a late appendage to Śrāddha-Kalpa.

Chaps. 205-207 are almost on the same level dealing with the gift of a cow, black antelope skin, *Vṛishotsarga*, all three being loose portions of some *Dāna-vidhi*. The word *Mūshaka-sannibha* (M. 207.27) is noteworthy as referring to a bull which in Hindi is still called *Mūsara* and is considered inauspicious as given here.

PATIVRATĀ-MĀHĀTMYA— Chap. 208-214 entitled *Pativrata Māhātmya* or *Sāvitṛi-Upākhyāna* gives the legend of Sāvitṛi and Satyavān. The theme of the story is the same as given in the Āraṇyaka-parva (Chaps. 278-282) but the language is different and the Matsya version seem to be an independent work.

RĀJA-DHARMA

Chaps. 215-229 appertain to Rāja-dharma dealing with the various subjects relating to the duties of an anointed king, including Civil and Criminal law. The author has drawn profusely on the Rāja-dharma chapters of the Manu-Smṛiti, using in most cases the same terminology. It is a sort of reverisified digest of the legal code which was in force and

also which elaborated the duties of the king and the officers of his government as well as the political ideals of state and administration.

KING AND HIS COUNCIL— Chap. 214 deals with the personality, character, duties and ideals of an anointed king. First of all it takes up the subject of the king's ministers called *Sahāya*, a word used also in *Manu-Smṛiti* (Manu. 7. 55) as a synonym of *Sachiva* (7. 54) and also *Amātya* (Manu 7. 60). It appears that in the Gupta age when this portion seems to have been compiled, the institution of *Mantri-Parishad* had become an essential part of monarchical government and all kings were almost as a rule associated with their ministers placed in-charge of several departments. Pāṇini had referred to the institution of *Parishad* as having come into existence in his time (c. 500 B. C.) and a king possessing a council of ministers was known as *Parishadvala-Rājā*. Throughout the Nanda, Maurya and Śuṅga periods this institution of the *Mantri-Parishad* continued with increasing importance. The council of ministers included a chief-minister with whom the king held both joint and separate deliberation. Here it is said in the words of the *Manu-Smṛiti* that the power of choosing the council vested in the king (तस्मात्सहायान् वरयेत् कुलीनान् नृपतिः स्वयम्, M. 215. 4). It is also said that government is impossible without the ministers because the foundations of government rest on them (सहायवरणं कार्यं तत्र राज्यं प्रतिष्ठितम्, Manu. 215. 2). Two more points are stated, namely that even the smallest business of the State passes through a minister, and secondly that the king appointed his council immediately after his coronation, viz. when his head was wet with the waters of anointing (अभिषेकार्द्रशिरसा).

QUALIFICATIONS OF MINISTERS— The qualifications of ministers are also stated, viz. respectability or high birth, courageous valour, solvency, moral virtues, health, generous nature, hard-working capacity, proficient in the knowledge of law (*Dharmajña*), sweetness of speech (*Priyavāda*), loyalty (*Svāmi-bhakta*) and the quality of tendering wholesome advice.

(*hitopadeśa-karṇa*). Even if a minister may lack the requisite qualification or knowledge or proficiency of a particular department he could be appointed if he was otherwise suitable in the personal discretion of the king. (गुणहीनानपि तथा विज्ञाय नृपतिः स्वयम् । कर्मस्वेव नियुंजीत यथायोग्येषु भागशः, M. 215.50). Probably such ministers were kept out of regular deliberation of the council but were entrusted with the working of departments.

NAMES OF MINISTERS— As to the number of ministers it is left to the exigency of administrative work and no hard and fast rule has been made but the most important set consisted of *Senāpati* (śl. 10), *Sandhivigrahika*, (śl. 13), *Dūta*, *Deśarakshitā* (who was to be proficient in matters of income and expenditure and seems to be the same as *Akshapātālika* or Finance Minister, *Dharmādhikārin* (Incharge of Justice or *Dharmādhikarṇa*). These appear to be more important than others and as members of the king's council or *Sabhā* they were known as *Sabhā-sād*.

SENĀPATI— He should be a person of high moral calibre and practical ability and insight, and should be conversant with the art of war, training of elephants (*Hasti-śikṣā*) and horses (*Aśva-śikṣā*) and *Dhanurveda* as also in military formations (*Vyūha-Tattva-vidhāna*).

DŪTA— The ambassador was a highly important official as representing the king in foreign courts. From about the first century A. D. the institution of embassies had become very important and they were exchanged between distant countries, e.g. between India and the Roman empire, or between India and Irān, or between India and China, or between India and Ceylon for all of which we have some historical references. Exchange of ambassadors was considered to be a part of the system of political alliances, e.g. the embassy sent by the king of Ceylon to the court of Samudragupta, or by Bhāskara-Varman to the court of Harsha Vardhana. The *Dūta* was expected to know the languages of several countries (*Deśa-Bhāṣhā-Viśāradah*), and if possible to have a personal knowledge of those places. He was

to state the facts as they were (*Yathoktavādi*) and to tender advice about *Nīti* at proper time.

SANDHIVIGRAHIKA— He was the minister for peace and war or for foreign affairs. He was to be an adept in state polity (नय-विशारद), a person with experience of *Shāḍgunya* and knowing the different languages.

DEŚARAKSHITĀ— This is a new term probably corresponding to a *Goptā*, or one who was incharge of revenue affairs. He should know the duties of government servants (कृतज्ञो भृत्यानाम्) and also have knowledge of the heads of income and expenditure (आय व्ययज्ञ) and should also know the affairs of the country (लोकज्ञ) and the various sources of revenue in each region (देशोत्पत्ति विशारद:).

DHARMĀDHIKARṆĪ— He was incharge of the department of justice and besides being a clean and upright person he was to be well versed in the law of the country (धर्मशास्त्र विशारद:).

Amongst the several other officers who seen to have of secondary position and not of the regular rank of councillors appear to be the following :

1. **DAUVĀRIKA**— The Royal Chamberlain, a very important person who was placed incharge of the palace establishment, and through whom the contact of the king with the outside world was maintained. An indication of his duties and importance is given by the description of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa in the *Harsha-charita* and in *Kādambarī*.

2. **TĀMBULADHĀRĪ**— He seems to have been of the grade of a *Pratihāra* appointed for the court and the palace.

3. **SŪDĀDHYAKSHA**— One incharge of the king's food arrangements.

4. **VAIDYA**— He was to be a person well versed in *Ashṭāṅga Āyurveda* and so strong in morals that he could not be won over (*Anāhārya*). Mostly he was to be a hereditary

officer, they were known as *Apta* or *Maula* in Gupta polity, and were the object of the highest trust placed in them by the king.

LEKḤAKA— He functioned as king's chief secretary placed incharge of all departments (लेखकः कथितौ राज्ञः सध्विकरणेषु वै). Of course there must have been a full bureaucracy of Lekhakas in each department. There is a casual reference to the forms of letters that were current when this portion of text was written, e. g. शोषोपितान् आन्तरान् i. e. letters with headlines, a feature of Gupta script.

RAKSHIṆAH— These were the body-guards or personal A. D.Cs of the king, selected as persons of extreme loyalty (दृढभक्ताः).

Other Officers were the *Sārathi*, the *Khaḍgadharī* (Sword-bearer), *Dhanurdharī* (Bow-wielder). These were the king's personal servants.

DHANĀDHYAKSHA— Seems to be the same as the person incharge of the treasury or *Koshāgāra* and *Bhāṇḍāgāra*. It appears that the above list is not well organised and seems to have been retouched at two different periods, the original being of about the Kushāṇa period when the *Senāpati*, *Dūta* and the *Sandhivigrahika* were more important than others, and a second list being drawn up according to the needs of Gupta administration.

SEVEN ADHYAKSHA OFFICERS— It is a fresh list in which some of the duties mentioned earlier have been repeated. It seems that these were not of the rank of ministers, but were the executive heads of departments, e.g. *Gajādhyaksha* (Elephants), 2. *Aśvādhyaksha* (Horses), 3. *Durgādhyaksha* (Forts), 4. *Sthapati* (Royal Architect proficient in architecture, वास्तुविद्याविधानज्ञ), 5. *Astrāchārya* (Officer incharge of military arms and equipments), 6. *Antahpurādhyaksha* (King's household-controller), 7. *Prāṇāchārya* or *Vaidya* (Royal physician). These seven are said to be officers placed incharge of Vyavahāra or actual executive duties. It is advised that Govt. servants should be drawn mostly from the hereditary class (*Pitri Paitāmaha-Bhritya*), the principle of service accepted in Gupta polity where such offices

were known as *Āpta*, a word often used in Bāṇa and Kālidāsa. The *Āpta* officers were recipients of Royal Honours (प्रसाद) in the form of a *mauli*. Govt. Service was called *Niyoga* and officers as *Niyukta*.

NUMBER OF MINISTERS— There are two questions involved here; first the number of ministers to constitute the *Muntri-Parishad*. Manu has advised 7 or 8 ministers but given a freedom to fix the number according to the needs of State business. There is no clear instruction given in the Matsya excepting the names of officers as indicated above. The other more important question related to the joint or separate responsibility of the ministers. Amongst the ancient jurists the question was hotly debated of which we have an indication in the Artha-Śāstra. There were two principal views, viz. that the king should consult all his minister or one to whom the departmental business relates. The danger in the first course is stated that the ministers in a team would thwart the judgement of the king and it was risky to be so influenced by their advice. In Matsya it is the latter course which is recommended that the king should consult one or more of the ministers but not together or jointly but individually and separately (बहुभिर्मन्त्रयेत्कामं राजा मन्त्रं पृथक् पृथक्, M. 215. 47. He may consult anyone but the final decision is to be taken by the king himself (एकश्च महोभतुंभ्यः कार्यो विनिश्चयः, M. 215. 49). It may be that the king agrees to or accepts the advice of some other minister but the final decision rests with him alone.

CONDUCT OF GOVT. SERVANTS— Chap. 216 is like a summary of the Government Servants Conduct Rules (राज्ञोऽनुजीवित्त) Some similar statements is made by Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa in Harsha-charita respecting rules for government servants by which he becomes approved for service. It appears that some such code was drawn up by the administrators in the Gupta period of which a record is incorporated here.

SOME OF THE MORE IMPORTANT RULES— 1. *Niyukta* (Govt. servant) should not speak against the king in public, but if duty requires him to do so he should tell the king in private.

2. A personal request to the king for some favour should never be made directly but through some friend or well-wisher.
3. All duties should be performed at the right time (Śl. 5).
4. Govt. money should not be wasted in a heartless manner (न च हिंस्यं धनं किञ्चित्, नियुक्तेन च कर्मणि, Śl. 5.)
5. King's secrets should not be divulged (यच्च गुह्यं भवेद्राज्ञो न तल्लोके प्रकाशयेत्, Śl. 10).
6. One should not enter the king's presence without his previous permission.
7. One should keep his heart and inner feelings loyal and pure (हृदयं निर्मलं कृत्वा पराभक्तिमुपाश्रयेत्, Śl. 22),

DURGA-VIDHĀNA

DURGA-VIDHĀNA— Chap. 217 relates to the important subject of *Durga* or the king's fortified city including the royal palace. As a matter of fact in ancient times the king's citadel and the palace were a common establishment and the security of the one depended on the defences of the other. The palace was invariably placed in the centre of the *Durga*, as observed from the earliest times in the acropolis sites at both Mohenjodaro and Harappa.

6. KINDS OF FORTS— A *Durga* (Fort) is a well defended place which is selected mostly on the basis of its offering facilities of natural defence. From this point of view six kinds of forts are mentioned :—

1. DHANVA-DURGA— A fort having a desert or marshy area for its defence.
2. MAHĪ-DURGA— Fortress built mostly underground.
3. JALA-DURGA— A fort surrounded by some river or lake, used for defence purposes.
4. VĀṚKSHA-DURGA— A fort built in the midst of a forest.

• 5. GIRI-DURGA— A fort having mountaineous defences. This was considered to be the best of all (सर्वेषामेव दुर्गानां गिरिदुर्गं प्रशस्यते, M. 217.7).

Most of the old Indian forts are of *Giri-durga* type, built by taking recourse to many ingenious defence devices.

6. NARA-DURGA— If none of the above five facilities of defence be available the king should site his capital city and the palace in the midst of a brave population who should serve him in good stead in times of need.

FORT ARCHITECTURE— Although there are many hundreds of surviving forts in the country no systematic survey or study of their architecture has been made. The subject of building the royal city and palace was of great importance in the life of the people and for the security of the State. As such it has received great attention in various treatises on architecture but specially in the *Artha-sāstra* of Kauṭilya. As observed in the excavations at Mohenjodaro the fortified city comprised a contingent of 10 main buildings, e. g. Rampart or city-wall (*Prākāra*); 2. Mud-foundation (*Vapra*); 3. City-gate (*Gopura* or *Dvāra*) with towers (*Aṭṭālaka*); 4. Broad roads crossing each other (*Mahā-patha* and *Patha*); 5. Royal Palace (*Rāja-prāsāda*); 6. Temple (*Devagriha*); 7. Audience Hall (*Sabhā* or *Āsthāna-Maṇḍapa*); 8. Guild-Hall (*Samithāgāra*); 9. Granary (*Koṣṭhāgāra*); 10. Great pond (*Pushkariṇi*) and 11. Markets and Residences (*Vipani-Griha*).

To a large extent this architectural plan of the city established a norm which was followed during the historical periods also. The *Matsya Purāṇa* also follows this picture and seems to have borrowed its material from traditional literature. Its architectural contingent of buildings includes the following:—

The *Durga* or the king's fort should be surrounded by a moat (*Parikhā*) and be furnished with *Vapraṭṭālaka* which means the city-wall with its bastions raised on high mud-foundation (*Vapra*). The city-wall was mounted by weapons *Śataghni-*

yantra, a kind of battering ram mounted on the towers of the walls) and was pierced by big gates (*Gopura*) with high door leaves (*Kapātu*) so that the king could enter-riding on it elephant back. Inside the city there were four main roads (*Chatasrah vithayah*) crossing each other in the centre. At the end of the first was the city-gate, of the other the city's main temple, of the third the royal palace in a line opposite to the city-gate, and of the fourth the courts (*Dharmādhikaraya*) or the court-officer (M. 217. 10. 11.12).

The city may be either rectangular, square, circular, or crescent-shaped if along a river bank. The Govt. treasury should be placed on the right side of the palace and also royal stables for elephants (*Gajasthāna*), horses (*Turagāsthāna*), and cows (*Goshthāna*). The royal kitchen (*Mahānasa*) and other workshops for craftsmen (*Karmāśālā*) may be sited on the right side of the palace. On the left side should be the houses of the royal priest, physician, councillors and *Koshthāgāra*. This is a practical scheme which may have been followed normally in town-planning in ancient India. An important fact is stated about the soldiery to be stationed inside the fort. The barracks for soldiers were generally built in the first court (*Prathama-kakshyā*) which was wide and open and in which accommodation for the king's own horses and elephants was also found. It is said that soldiers of the *Sahasraghātīn* type should be provided with arms and placed in-charge of the palace. The *Sahasraghātīn* was the soldier who could fight alone with one thousand persons. These were also known as *Sahasra-bāta* and *Sahasra-yodha* (*Divyāvadana*, p. 245). It seems that such brave and reckless fighters who risked their lives in resisting even a thousand men were greatly in demand and special contingents of them were posted round the royal palace.

DURGA SAÑCHAYA—An important item relates to the providing of stores inside the fort, not only for normal needs but more specially for emergency purposes during war times when the fort was besieged and supplies from outside were cut off. The

capacity of the defenders depended on how long their collection of stores and sources of water supply would carry them. In Matsya Chap. 217 gives an very extensive list of stores for easy reference which seems to have been taken from a *Varṇaka* text on this subject. The names of important articles which were collected is as follows :—

Arms and weapons a list of 28 of which is given; all articles manufactured by the various craftsmen (*Sarva-Śilpa-Bhāṇḍa*), musical instruments (*Vāditra*), herbs and medicinal plants (*Āushadhi*), fodder for animals (*Yavas*), fuel (*Indhana*), dairy products (*Gorasa*), all kinds of oil (*Sarva-taila*), molasses, sugar, tallow, hides, cereals and grains for food, cloth, barley and wheat, metals, earth and cow-dung, green crops, pulses, combustible materials, and many other kinds of herbs and plants (a list of 70 of them is given).

Articles of diet of the sweetening, sour, and astringent sorts, roots, fruits, flowers. Dealers in these commodities also should be kept.

Chap. 218 continues the same subject but in relation to articles for administering poison or neutralising its effects (*विषघ्न, विष-बाधक*).

Chap. 219 is like an appendix to the previous one giving details of how to protect a king against poisonous drugs administered through food or secretly applied to articles of use. It is stated that a room coated with the plaster of sea-salt, barley and clay burnt by lightning stroke does not catch fire (M. 219.7).

TRAINING OF PRINCES— Chap. 220 discusses the subject of the education and training of princes (*Rājaputra-rakṣā*). It was important that the princes should be brought up in the mould of austere educational discipline and both theoretical and practical training should be imparted to them by competent teachers. Only some indication of the subjects of study taught to a prince is given here, but we have much fuller details elsewhere, e.g. in the *Kādambarī* describing the education of

prince Chandrāpīḍa. In the latter part of this chapter the discipline necessary in the life of the king himself is given and a number of healthy instructions are listed. It is said that there are 7 constituents of State, viz. *Svāmī* or the king himself, 2. *Amātya* (Minister), 3. *Janapadu* (State), 4. *Durga* (the citadel and the palace), 5. *Danḍa* (Army), 6. *Kosha* (Treasury) 7. *Mitra* (friendly states) :—

स्वाम्यमात्यो जनपदो दुर्गं दण्डं तथैव च ।

कोशो मित्रं च धर्मज्ञ सप्तांगं राज्यमुच्यते ॥

(M. 220. 19).

Amongst these the king is the root of the State and the other six are like its branches and fruits. In matters of general policy the king should neither be very strict (*Dāruṇa*) nor lenient (*Mridu*) :—

न राजा मृदुना भाव्यं मृदुहि परिभूयते

न भाव्यं दारुणेनातितीक्ष्णादुद्विजते जनः (M. 220. 22-23)

It is also stated here that the king should not deliberate in his council only with one minister or with all of them (नैकस्तु मन्त्रयेन्मन्त्रं राजा न बहुभिः सह, M. 220. 37). This is based on the age-old controversy referred to above whether the king should take advice from an individual minister or from the cabinet as a whole. Opinions of political theorists were divided on this point as stated in the *Artha-śāstra*.

IDEALS OF KINGSHIP—The king should protect his State with highest endeavour both from his own people inside and from the outsiders, adopting a policy like father and mother towards their sons :

महता तु प्रयत्नेन स्वराष्ट्रस्य च रक्षिता

नित्यं स्वेभ्यः परेभ्यश्च यथा माता यथा पिता

Some sane advice is tendered to the king for adopting a policy of *Yukta-Dandatā*, *Vyasana-parivarjana* (the avoiding of excesses), *Adirgha-sutratā* (promptness in the disposal of public duties), *Samivṛita-mantratā* (secrecy of State Council), *Mantra-*

Sādhana (implementation of plans), avoidance of *Mantra-kshaya*, preventing people from loosing their morale (*Kṛīṣi-bhāva*) owing to king's inattention (*Anavakshā*), filling the people with zest for work (*Karma-yogyā*), inculcating a spirit of general welfare (*Rāshṭrānugraha*), self-control (*Indriya-jaya*) and lastly affection for the people (*Lokānurāga*) which creates general prosperity.

Chap. 221 casually introduces the subject of *Daiva* and *Purusha-kāra*, i.e. destiny and human endeavour as to which of the two is more powerful. A clear verdict is given, viz. that destiny relates to deeds done in a past life over which one have no control, therefore wise men consider personal endeavour to be superior and because human effort can turn the tide of even the worst Fate :

स्वमेव कर्म दैवाख्यं विद्धि देहान्तराजितम्
तस्मात्पौरुषमेवेह श्रेष्ठमाहुर्मनोषिणः
प्रतिकूलं तथा दैवं पौरुषेण विहन्यते (M. 221.2-3)

This view is in accord with the spirit of the Gupta age.

Chap. 222-225 discuss the pros and cons of the four-fold State policy based on *Sāma* (peace), *Bheda* (dissension), *Dāna* (distributing money) and *Danda* (chastisement). A eulogy on *Danda* is given more or less in terms of the Manu-Smṛiti.

KING AS OF THE FORM OF EIGHT LOKAPĀLAS— Chap. 226 describes the view of the political theorists who regarded the king as the embodiment of the characteristics of 8 *Lokapāla-Devas* like *Indra*, *Sūrya*, *Vāyu*, *Yama*, *Varuṇa*, *Agni*, *Chandra* and *Prithivī* (*Rājya-deva-Sāmya*). Kālidāsa has also referred to this theory of the 8 Lokapālas contributing a portion of their power for making the king's personality (गुरुभिरभिनिविष्टं लोकपालानुभावैः, Raghu. 2.75). The Political theorists here do not seem to support the claims of royalty about their devine origin, but take care to explain that the divine qualities or virtues of these 8 gods should descend on the king and conjointly make up his personality and policy for the good of the people as the Sun, Moon, Air, Earth, etc. contribute to world-happiness.

DANDA OR CRIMINAL LAW— Chap. 227 takes up again the question of *Danda* but here in the restricted sense of Criminal Law which prescribes a number of punishments for various offences.³ It is a long disquisition (in 214 ślokas) dealing not only with fines, physical correctives, deterrent punishments but also with *Prāyichitta* or voluntary expiation for sins of omission and commission.

ŚĀNTI CEREMONY— Chap. 228 describes some special *Śānti* ceremony to be performed in the beginning of a military expedition. Here the interlocuters are Manu and Matsya but from chapters 229 up to 238, the same subject of *Śānti* is elaborated but the narrator is *Garga*, probably the same as the author of *Garga-Saṁhitā* who deals with the subject of portents, ill-omens, natural signs foreboding 'evil etc. and measures to ward off their evil effects.

GRAHA ŚĀNTI— Chap. 239 reverts to the conversation between Manu and Matsya about the worship of the Planets (*Graha-Yajña*) by the performance of *Lakṣa-homa* and of *Koṭi homa*.

Chap. 240 takes up the question of *Yātrā-Kāla* or the suitable season when a king should start on his conquering campaign. When the *Vijigīṣhu* or the campaigning king may find the military situation in his enemy's kingdom as insecure he should start on his conquest. This situation is assessed with respect to the two neighbouring States called *Ākranda* and *Pārshnigrāha*. Kaṭilya defines *Ākranda* as a friendly king in the rear of the *Vijigīṣhu* (*Arthaśāstra*). A hostile king in the rear was called *Pārshnigrāha* (*Śānti Parva*, 69.19). Naturally a favourable political situation is that in which one's friendly state in the rear was powerful and when the State in the rear of the enemy was pressing hard against him :—

यदा मन्येत नृपतिराक्रन्देन बलीयसा ।

पार्ष्णिग्राहभिभूतोऽरिस्तदा यात्रां प्रयोजयेत् ॥ (M. 240.2)

One's own territory (*Mūla*) should always be rendered impregnable against possible insurrection or invasion by the hostile king in the rear.

TIME FOR MILITARY MARCHING :—Two times are recommended for taking up military marching, viz. the Full Moon Day in Chaitra and Mārgaśīrsha. He who starts on the *Chaitrī-Pūrṇimā* will come across the green crop sown in the summer season and the ripened crops sown in the previous winter season. Here the word *Pushṭi* occurs in the text (M. 240.5) which seems to be a corrupt reading for the original *Musṭi*. According to Kauṭilya *Musṭi* was a technical term as against *Sasya*, the former meaning ripe crop ready for harvesting and the latter wet crop recently sown. I have dealt with this subject while examining the system of rotation of crops in ancient India (*India as known to Pāṇini*, 2nd edition, pp. 205). If the king starts on the *Mārgaśīrshī Pūrṇimā* then he will find the summer crops ready for harvesting (*Musṭi*) and the *Aśva-yujaka* or *Vārshika* (Rainy) *sasya* crop. The idea behind this statement was that these crops would be available to him for disposal as he liked in the enemy country. A list of other situations unfavourable to the enemy is also given, e.g. visitation of famine in his territory, dissatisfaction in his army or any other kind of distress amongst the subject of the hostile king.

OMENS :—Chap. 241 entitled *Āṅga-Sphuraṇa* deals with certain portents as known from the throbbing of the various limbs of the body. It was a subject included under the general title of *Āṅga-Vidyā* of which an extensive Prakrit-text has recently come to light and published in the Prākṛit Text Society Series. under the title *Āṅga-Vijjā*.

Chap. 242 deals with the dreams as portents of good and evil.

Chap. 243 deals with good and bad Omens (*Maṅgalā-maṅgala-Sakuna*) which a king may encounter while starting on his *Digvijaya Yātrā*. A shaven Buddhist monk wearing red robe or a naked Jain monk are condemned as very inauspicious.

A list of 28 auspicious objects is given, like *Pūrṇa-Kumbha*, Cows, white flowers, *Brāhmaṇas*, Fire, courtesans, gold, silver and

copper, herbs and plants, *Ghrita*, curds, fruits, *Svastika*, *Vardhamāna*, *Nandyāvarta*, etc. (M. 243. 15-21).

VĀMANA-CHARITA

THE BIRTH OF VĀMANA— Chaps. 244-246 deal with the story of Vāmana incarnation. It is said that there was a temple erected in Krukshetra in honour of Vishṇu as Vāmana. The story begins with Aditi praying to Lord Vishṇu in a powerful stotra of 25 *Slokas* somewhat on the lines of the *Bhīṣhma-stava*. Aditi asked boon for a son. The descend of Vishṇu in the womb of Aditi caused fear in the mind of Bali. He asked its reason from his ancestor Prahalada who recites a sublime *Stotra* to Vishṇu (M. 245. 17-27) and informs Bali that the Lord *Hari* was about to take birth. Bali became nervous. Vāmana was born from Aditi.

Chap. 245 describes how Vāmana was praised by Brahmā in a *Stotra* and then equipped with various objects offered to him by the gods, e. g. black antelope skin by Brahmā, sacred thread by Bṛihaspati, staff by Marīchi, Kamaṇḍalu by Vasishṭha, bunch of Kuśāgrass by Aṅgiras, rosary by Pulaha, a pair of white garments by Pulastya. The four Vedas, Sāṃkhya, Yoga and other Śāstras attended on Vāmana and he in the guise of a *Brahmachārin* went to the Yajña of Bali.

Chap. 246 first gives a conversation between Bali and his Purohita Śukra. The latter informs him of the coming of Nārāyaṇa as Vāmana and Bali becomes ready to welcome him with all the magnanimity of his heart. Of course, the character of the mighty Asura king is painted as that of a devout Bhāgavata; he welcomed Vāmana and fulfilled his request for a gift of the earth for Yajña-Śālā to be measured by his three strides :—

ममामिशरणार्थयि देहि राजन्पदत्रयं (M. 246.48)

VĀMANA AND VIRĀT— As soon as the request was granted Vāmana expanded himself into the form of *Virāt* (वामनोऽभूद् वामनः, M. 246.52). Then follows a powerful description of the cosmic

or *Virāt* form of Vishṇu (M. 246. 53-70) which is the first and only one of its kind in the Matsya. In the later Purāṇas there is a tendency for insertions of the *Virāt* form. It is stated at the end that Vāmana bestowed the three *Lokas* on Indra and sent Bali to *Pātāla* with the promise that he would become in his next birth the 8th Manu named Sāvartī.

MEANING OF VĀMANA :—The motif of the Vāmana story was rooted in the Vedic symbolism of Vishṇu taking three strides and measuring out the three *Lokas* :—

इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे त्रेधा निदधे पदम् । सप्रह्मस्य पांसुरे (RV. I. 22. 17)

This motif of the three foot-steps of Vishṇu is repeated in several other *Mantras* of the R̥gveda :—

यस्योरुषु त्रिषु विक्रमणेज्वक्षियन्ति भुवनानि विश्वा (I. 154. 2)

यः पार्थिवानि त्रिभिरिद्विगामभिरुक्रमिष्टोरुगायाय जीवसे

(RV. I. 155. 4).

There are two aspects of the Divine principle, one as the unmanifest called Vāmana and the other as the manifest called Vishṇu, *Virāt*, Mahat, etc. That which is *Virāt* comprises the three or Viśvabhuvanas. It is the power of Svayambhū who is the same as unmanifest Vāmana or the self-existent centre which expands as the diameter and the circumference. This law of creation is expressed in the formulas :—

वामनो ह विष्णुरास

ŚB. 1. 2. 5. 5.

स हि वैष्णवो यद् वामनः

ŚB. 5. 2. 5. 4.

वैष्णवो वामनः (पशुः)

ŚB. 13. 2. 2. 9.

The meaning is that *Vāmana* and *Virāt* are two aspects of the same divine power that which is Vāmana or a Dwarf in its source or in the seed becomes *Vaiṣṇava* or *Virāt* i.e. cosmic in manifestation in the body or in the cosmic tree. It is the intrinsic power of the unmanifest centre which expands into the diameter on the basis of which the circumference is ascribed. All the measurements of space which become manifest in the diameter abide in the centre and it is only the principle of movement that makes it expand. The centre (*Madhya*) is Vāmana whom all

the Devas or manifest powers of light worship (मध्ये वामनमासीनं सर्वे देवा उपासते, Katho. 5. 3). The centre symbolises the principle of rest (*Pratishṭhā*) or stasis (*stṭhiti*) but when the principle of *Rajas* becomes operative the centre has to expand and become manifest in space. This is how the bodies of plants, animals and men wherever the principle of life functions are formed as a result of *Gati* or movement as exemplified in *Kāla* or Time. The basic principle is that *Kāla* which is movement or dynamism. Wherever there is *Kāla* there is growth. *Vāmana* is the symbol of the *Ānu* or the minute aspect and *Virāṭ* is of its Universal or Cosmic aspect called *Mahat*.

It is clearly stated in the story that *Vāmana* or the Dwarf God changes himself into *Virāṭ* or the Giant form which includes all the dimensional and temporal extensions of time and space. According to *Rigveda* *Vishṇu* first appears as *Yuvā-Kumāra* and then becomes of giant form (*Bṛihachchharīra*, RV, 1. 155.6).

Bali is depicted as an Asura king, viz. the Āsuric force which keeps the tendency of manifestation in its grip or coils which is the literal meaning of *Vali* (same as *Bali*). After its surrendering by the Asuric power the *Yajña* of the cosmos fulfils its course. All growth or manifestation is a *Yajña* in which the divine power unfolds itself in Matter which is symbolised by the three *Lokas* or the three steps of *Vishṇu*. We have already explained how the cosmic seed which had within its womb the seven mighty principles or creation (सप्तार्धगर्भा भुवनस्य रेतः RV. I. 164. 37), viz. Mind, Life and the five material elements which are moved by the ordinances of *Vishṇu* in order to become differentiated (विष्णोस्तिष्ठन्ति प्रदिशा विवर्मणि, RV. I. 164. 37). There is no organic centre in which the ordinance of the three steps of *Vishṇu* is not operative. It has many form, e.g. birth, growth and death; or past, present and future; or *Prithivi*, *Antariksha* and *Dyauh*; or the three principles of the life force viz. Growth, Assimilation and Procreation. Sometimes they are spoken of as three brothers of *Agni* (See my *Sparks from the Vedic Fire*, pp. 29-39). This legend of the *Tri-Vikrama* incarnation of

Viṣṇu was originally Vedic but received an enthusiastic treatment at the hands of the Bhāgavata teachers.

THE BOAR INCARNATION OF VIṢṆU¹ (MAHĀ-VARĀHA-CHARITA)

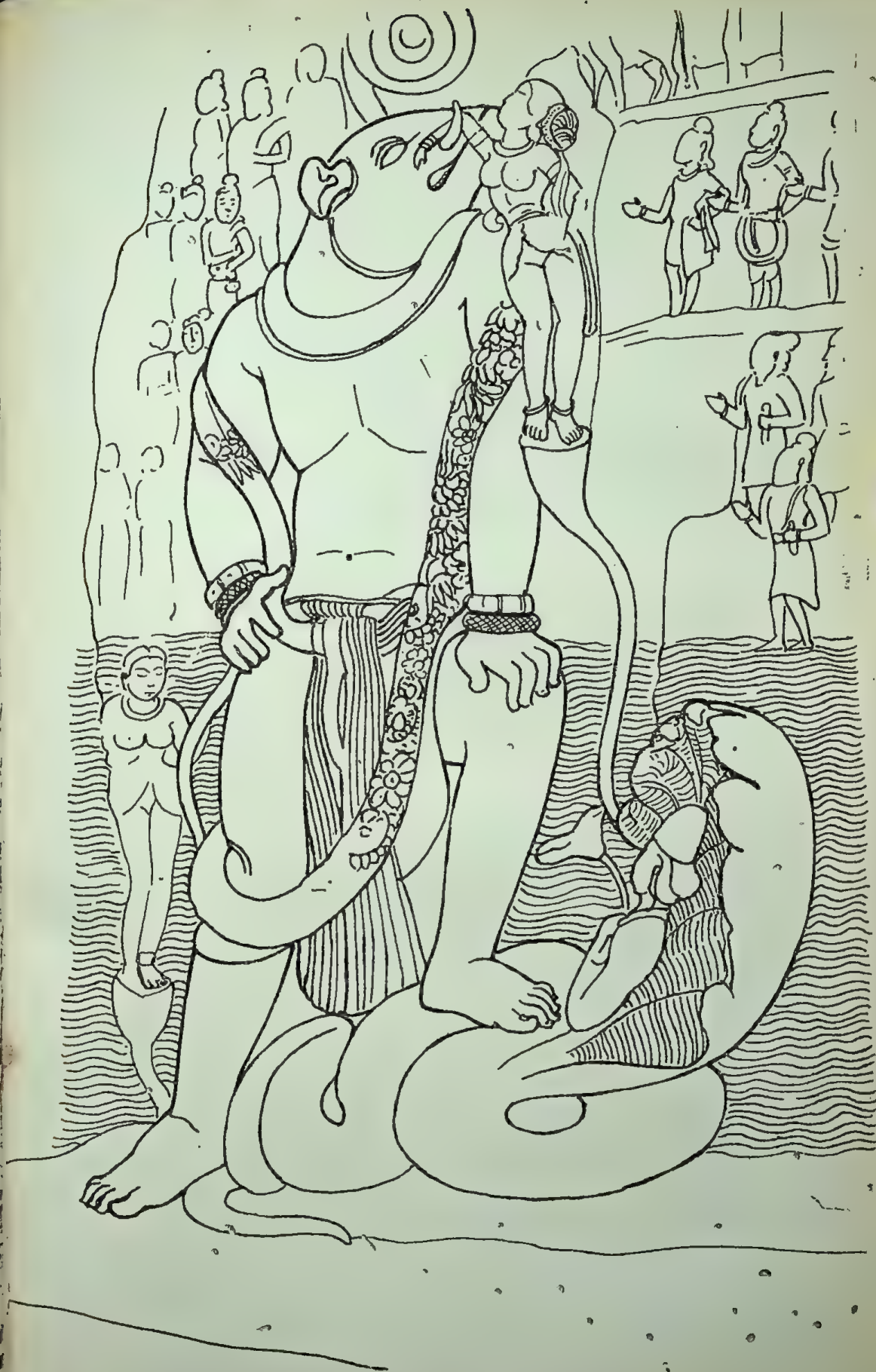
Chap. 247-248 describe the *Mahā-Varāha Charita*. With this was associated the Ekārṇava doctrine which has already been once described before as handed down from antiquity and the same is presented again in a revised version with several new motifs. According to the Vedic doctrine there were two aspects of the Creator or two stages in the creative process. The first is referred to as the Sleep (*Nidrā-yoga*) and the second as *Jāgaraṇa* (*Buddhayte vibudhādhipaḥ*). The divine principle in the state of rest or sleep is referred to here as *Sāntātmā*, *Amīta yogātmā* which was the same as *Svayambhū* and in the second stages he manifests himself as *Parameshīhī* (M. 247.31-33). This idea is vividly repeated in a rich terminology in this chapter.¹

MAHĀ-VARĀHA SYMBOLISM—Chap. 248 continues the Mahā-Varāha symbolism at a higher pitch. When the period of a thousand divine years was over the Golden Egg was released which was the form of Prajāpati. This is the dectum of the Vedas which in the previous state had its mouth turned towards the centre or upper point (*Ūrdhva*) that is towards *Puruṣa* himself became for the sake of creation inclined towards outside (*Adhaḥ*) or Prakṛiti :—

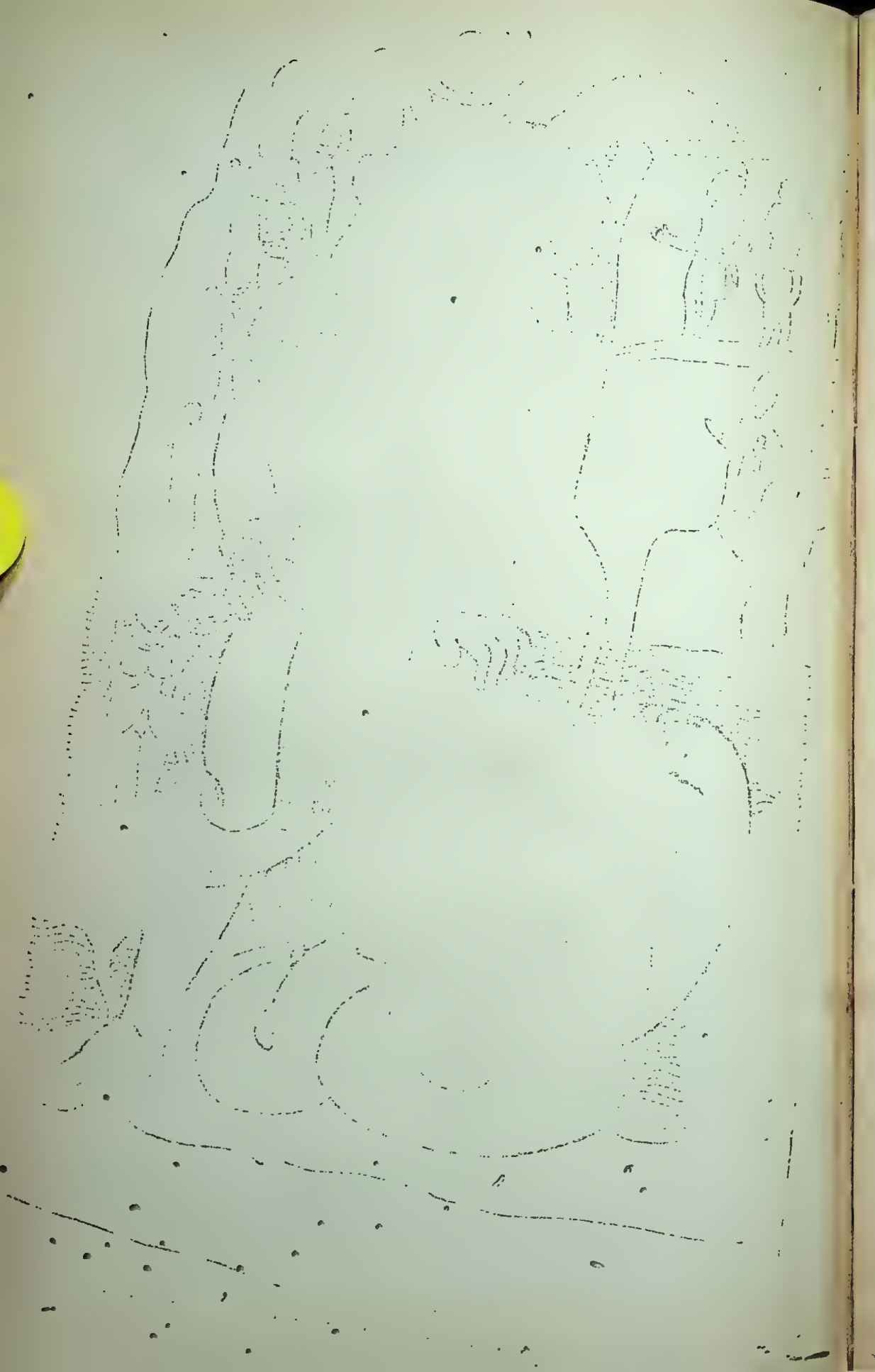
जगदण्डमिदं पूर्वंमासीद्विष्यं हिरण्यमयम्
प्रजापतेरियं मूर्तिरितीयं वैदिकी श्रुतिः
तत्तु वर्षसहस्रान्ते विभेदोर्ध्वमुखं विभुः
लोकसर्जनहेतोस्तु विभेदाधो मुखं पुनः (M. 248. 1-2).

Here two technical term, viz. *Ūrdhva* and *Adhaḥ* are noteworthy, which are known in Rīgveda (RV. X. 90.4) and which

1 स स्वयम्भूरिति ज्ञेयः स स्रष्टा भुवनाधिपः ।
तदेष संहृत्य जगत्कृत्वा गर्भस्थमात्मनः ।
मुमोचाण्डं महायोगी घृतं वर्षसहस्रकम् ।



Mahā-Varāha Image, Udaigiri Cave ; C. 400 A. D.



we also find in the Gītā describing the cosmic tree (उच्यते मूलमधःशाखं
अमृतं प्रादुरव्ययम्).

The golden egg refers to the Vedic doctrine of *Hiranyagarbha* *Prajāpati* and has been explained fully in our commentary on Chap. 2. It is said here that the material egg splits into eight portions which represent the constitution of the world of matter.

भूयोऽष्टधा बिभेदाण्डं विष्णुर्वै लोकजन्मकृत्
चकार जगत्श्चात्र विभागं स विभागकृत् (M. 248. 3)

The idea is that the self-existent *Svayambhū* or *Vishṇu* was the *Purusha* or *Kshetraja*. He created out of himself the Golden Egg from which the 8 fold constituents of *Kshetra* or *Prakṛiti*. They are as follows :

1. *Prakṛiti*—also called *Pradhāna* or *Avyakta*
2. *Mahat* or the Universal
3. *Ahaṅkāra* or the individual
4. *Ākāśa*
5. *Vāyu*
6. *Agni*
7. *Jala*
8. *Prithivī*

The principle of *Ākāśa* is a kind of vacuum (*Chhidram*) which in the precreational stage or *principio* was turned towards the centre *Ūrdhvam* but in course of time attains a hollow condition (*Vivārākṛiti*) which has an opening outside. That comes in contact with the cosmos and becomes the world here below which in other terms is known as *Rasātala* (विहितं विश्व-योगेन यदधस्तद्रसातलम्, M. 248. 4). Since the Golden Egg was floating in the primeval Ocean its cavity was filled with a golden liquid which became frozen as the Golden mountain *Sumeru* :

यदाण्डमकरोत्पूर्वं देवो लोकचिकीर्षया
तत्र सलिलं स्कन्तं सोऽभवत्काञ्चनो गिरिः (M. 248.5)

MEANING OF MERU— The golden fluid of the Golden Egg is the life-principle called *Prāṇāyini* or the immortal *Soma*

which is the root principle of motherhood. It is that which fills the inner sheath of the Egg and which becomes the solid substratum of the four-fold subsequent manifestation. In the language of the Purāṇas this is called *Meru* or the Golden Mountain which is the centre of the earth or the root principle of motherhood. *Meru* is the same as solidified *Soma* called *Aśmā-Soma* which becomes the substratum for the principle of motherhood to become fecundated and bear on it the child. The *Meru* described in the Purāṇas as a four-armed *Svastika* evolving in four directions each with 7 constituent members (see *Ante* p. 187). Upto this point the Purāṇa writer is proceeding in his description on the basis of the earlier conception of the *Hiranyagarbha* or *Hiranyāṇḍa*.

MEANING OF MAHĀ-VARĀHA—From here the imagery takes a new turn and the Earth goddess invokes the divine power of Mahā-Varāha who should become manifest and lift her from the depth of the *Ekārṇava* Ocean. Earth here is the principle of motherhood and without her being redeemed from the dark depth of the primeval state of dissolution and darkness the creative process of Light or Gold or Prāṇa can not become effective. Therefore at first occurs a *Stotra* recited by Prithivi in praise of *Varāha* or the devine power (M. 248. 12-56). This sublime *stotra* is unparallel for the variety of motifs it contains and for the exalted style in which it is couched. In the first part it identifies Nārāyaṇa with all knowledge (*Purāṇam-Veda-vadāṅgam Saṁkhyā yogau*) and the whole cosmos (*bhavā bhavau*) :—

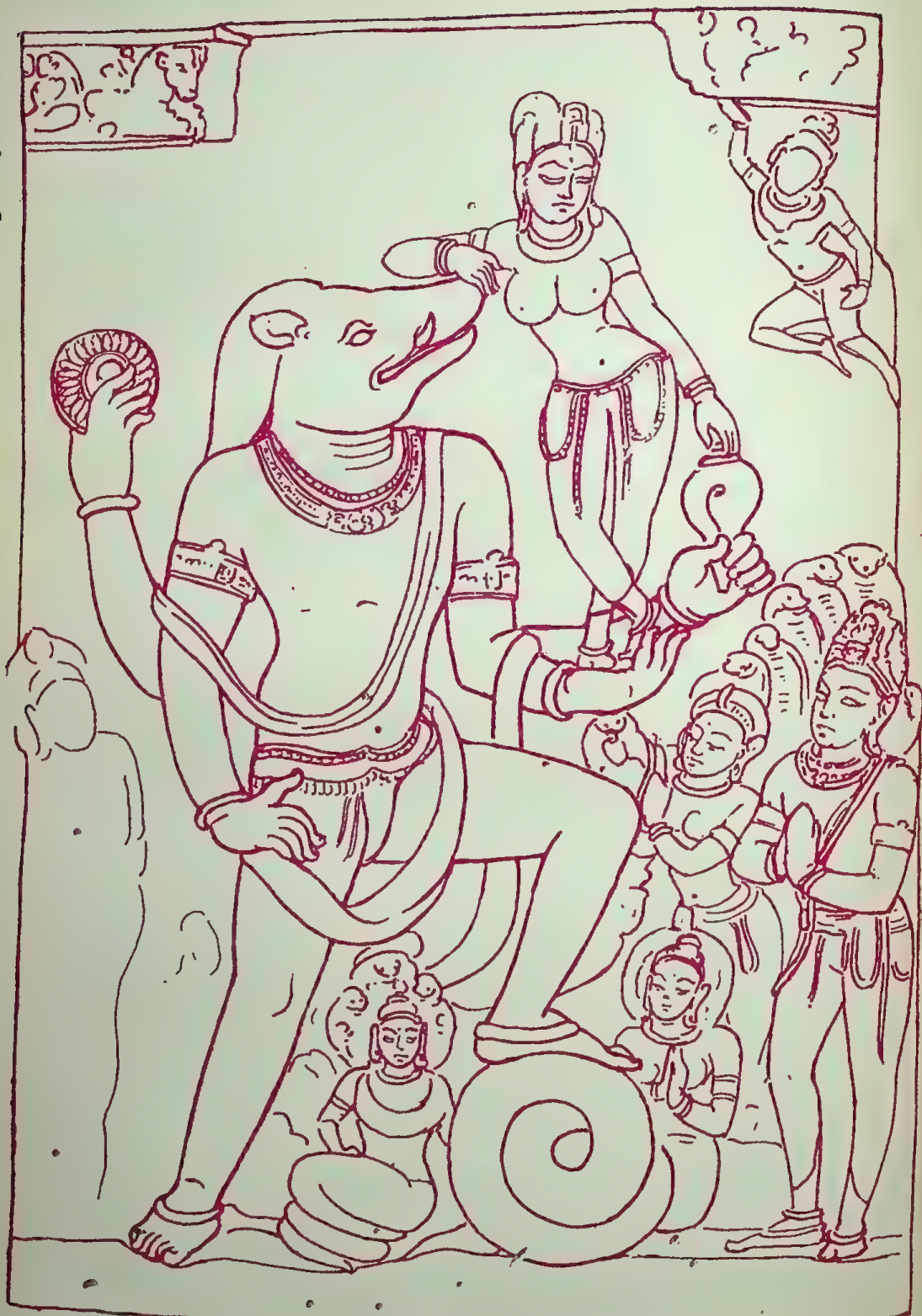
जगमं स्थावरं चैव भविष्यं च भवच्च यत् ।

सर्वं तच्च त्रिलोकेषु प्रभावोपहितं तव ॥

(M. 248. 18).

In the second part it conceives of Nārāyaṇa as the cosmic tree (सर्वलोकमयो द्रुमः, cf. Chap. 172. 26-30).

The third motif in the *Stotra* is that of Nārāyaṇa conceived as the Ocean (Nārāyaṇa-Mahārāṇava, cf. 172. 37-41). This was a magnificent conception worthy of the Golden Age of Indian History when contacts with *Dvīpāntara* or Indonesian islands



Mahā-Varāha Image at Badami, Chalukyan Art ; Seventh Cent. A. D.

were established in the most intimate manner. This has been explained above specially with reference to the twelve *Dvīpas*, 11 *Pattanas* and the 8 Mountains along the extensive sea coast of India. It is said here that the ocean changes its colour sometimes its waters are dark and in other places clear. This is the same as the description in the *Divyāvadāna*, *Supriyāvadāna*, (*Mahā-Samudra-udakasya varṇa samsthāna*, p. 111) which the navigators were expected to know.

NĀRĀYAṆA AS TIME— The fourth motif is the identification of Nārāyaṇa with Kāla in his changing phases of the *Yugas* and other units of time.

In the fifth part the *Stotra* takes the nature of *Nāma-nirukti* (as found in the *Numaḥ Stotra* or *Śata-Rudrī-Stotra* in the *Droṇa Parva*, 173. 78-98). The Purāṇa writers were deeply interested in the subject of cementic etymologies (*Ārthī-nirukti*) and were inspired by the Vedic etymologies of this type. For example, we find this topic treated in detail in *Liṅga-Purāṇa* 1. 70. 96. 106; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 5. 39. 46; 4. 25-45 *Liṅga Purāṇa* 2. 18. 13-14, *Uddyoga Parva* 68; *Śānti parva*, 330. 1-67, 328. 34-51 where it is stated that these etymologies were based on *Guṇa* and *Karma* (नाम्नां निरुक्तं गुणकर्मजम्). The author of the *Matsya* explains the meaning of *Sesha*, *Achyuta*, *Hari*, *Sanātana*, *Ananta*, *Akshara*, *Vishnu*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Govinda*, *Hrishīkeśa*, *Vāsudeva*, *Saṅkar-śaṇa*, *Pradyumna*, *Aniruddha*. In verse 58 the *Stotra* is styled as *Mādhavīya-Stavottama*, i. e. the excellent *Stotra* recited by *Mādhavī* or Earth goddess.

THE BOAR FORM— Nārāyaṇa was pleased with the invocation of *Prithivī* and deliberated as to what form he should take to redeem the earth from the ocean. Ultimately he decided on assuming the form of a *Yajña-Varāha*, i. e. the dynamic principle of *Yajña* which creates the cosmos and of *Varāha* or the principle of *Prāṇa* or *Sūrya* which is produced from the depth of the ocean and then brings the universe into existence,

The *Yajña-Varāha* description consists of 7 ślokas वेदपादो यूपदंष्ट्रः etc.) which were composed by some brilliant

Vedic scholar who was a master of Yajña terminology on one side and of the Purāṇic style on the other. They were eloquent in their appeal even to the ancient writers and were bodily taken in the Vāyu (6. 16. 23); Brahmanāṇḍa (Prakriyāpāda 5. 9-23); Brahma-Purāṇa (213. 33. 7); Harivaṁśa (1.41.29.33 also 3.34. 34-41); Padma-Purāṇa (Śṛiṣṭi-khaṇḍa, 16.55.61); Viṣṇu Dharmottara (1.2.3-8); Viṣṇu Smṛiti (1.3-9); Viṣṇu Sahasranāma (Śāṅkara Bhāṣya, Śloka 117, on the word Yajñāga, where Śāṅkara cites the text from Harivaṁśa). Besides the above, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (1.4. 32-33), Bhāgavata Purāṇa (3. 13. 35-38); and Ahirbhudhnya Saṁhitā (37. 40-48) also include *Yajña-Varāha* description but with a different text and attempting a new metaphorical description of their own. The Matsya text (M. 248.67cd-73ab) is as follows :—

वेदपादो^१ यूपदंष्ट्रः^२ क्रतुदन्तश्^३ चित्तीमुखः^४ ॥६७॥
 अग्निजिह्वो^५ दर्मलोमा^६ ब्रह्मशीर्षो^७ महातपाः ।
 अहोरात्रेक्षणधरो^८ वेदाङ्गश्रुतिभूषणः^९ ॥६८॥
 आज्यनासः^{१०} सुवतुण्डः^{११} सामघोषस्वनो^{१२} महान् ।
 सत्यधर्ममयो^{१३} श्रीमान् कर्मविक्रमसत्कृतः^{१४} ॥६९॥
 प्रायश्चित्तनखो^{१५} घोरः पशुजानु^{१६} मंखाकृतिः^{१७} ।
 उद्गीयहोमलिङ्गो^{१८} यथ^{१९} बीजौषधिमहोफलः^{२०} ॥७०॥
 वाय्वन्तरात्मा^{२१} यज्ञास्थिविकृतिः^{२२} सोमशोणितः^{२३} ।
 वेदस्कन्धो^{२४} हविर्गन्धो^{२५} हव्यकव्यतिवेगवान्^{२६} ॥७१॥
 प्राग्ध्वंशकायो^{२७} द्युतिमान् नानादीक्षाभिरन्वितः^{२८} ।
 दक्षिणाहृदयो^{२९} योगी महासत्रमयो^{३०} महान् ॥७२॥
 उपाकर्मोष्ठरुचकः^{३१} प्रवर्ग्यवित्तभूषणः^{३२} ।
 नानाछन्दोगतिपथो^{३३} गुह्योपनिषदासनः^{३४} ।
 छायापत्नीसहायो^{३५} वै मणिशृङ्ग इवोच्छ्रितः ॥७३॥

(M. 248 Ānandāśrama Ed.)

The following variant readings are given in the footnotes.

- Śl. 69. °सत्क्रमः for °सत्कृतः
 Śl. 70. अङ्गतानो होमलिङ्गो and उद्गीयाहोमलिङ्गोयथ for उद्गीयहोमलिङ्गोयथ
 Śl. 71. वाय्वन्तरात्मा यन्त्रास्थिविकृतिः and भावानामन्तरात्मा यो विकृतः for वाय्वन्तरात्मा यज्ञा°
 Śl. 73. ततः कर्माष्टवर्कः for उपाकर्मोष्ठरुचकः गुह्योपनिषदावर्तः and गुह्योपनिषदावर्तः for गुह्योपनिषदासनः



Yajña-Varāha Image

From Vihāra Village (ancient Varāhanagara), 8 Miles from Vijāpur
in North Gujarat ; about 10th century A. D.



श्री मदादि वराह

Ādi-Varāha Silver Coin of Mihira Bhoja (836-885 A.D.)

श्री मदादि वराह

MEANING OF THE YAJÑĀNGAS

The conception of Yajña-Varāha seems to have been formulated for the first time by the author of the Vāyu Purāṇa, which includes it in the proper context of *Srīṣṭi-varṇana*, and from there taken by the Matsya which adds it at the fag end in ch. 238. There are two aspects of the question, viz. the real meaning of the Varāha conception as applied to Yajña, i. e. its significance as a symbol of Vedic cosmogony; secondly the correspondence between the various elements of the sacrifice or Yajña and the different limbs of the body of Varāha as an animal.

We propose to examine first the string of epithets applied to Yajña-Varāha :—

1. *Veda-pādaḥ*— The four Vedas are the four feet. The number 4 seems to be the basis of comparison. The reading is undoubted in all the versions.
2. *Yūpa-Daṁṣṭraḥ*— This reading also is uniform and clear, viz. the long *yūpa* with its curved top is similar to the projecting tusks of the bear.
3. *Kratu-dantaḥ*— The *Kratu*s are the Soma-sacrifices which are many in number and that seems to be the justification for their being compared to the teeth. Nanda Paṇḍita points out that the number of *Kratu*s was 64.
4. *Chitī-mukhaḥ*— The *Chitī*s are fire-altars built as a part of the *Agni-chayana* ceremony. They are constructed with bricks and have a wide gaping mouth.
5. *Agnijihvaḥ*— This simile of Agni compared to the tongue of the God is approved by the Rīgveda itself where Agni is several times spoken of as the tongue of the Gods with which they eat their food (वृत्तस्य नाम गुह्यं यदस्ति जिह्वा देवानाममृतस्य नाभिः, RV. IV. 58. 1). Any offering or oblation through Agni reaches all other gods, implying in its *ādhyātmi*ka sense that the food eaten

through the mouth sustains all the sense organs and parts of the body.

6. *Darbha-lomā*— The *kuśa* grass spread on the altar is compared to the shaggy hair of the body of the boar. This reading also is easy, only *loma* and *roma* are variants.
7. *Brahma-śrīśaḥ*— Brahmā is Vedic knowledge or the mind of the Creator, therefore its comparison with the head is apt.
8. *Aho-rātrekṣhaṇa-dharaḥ*— Day and night are compared to the two eyes of the Varāha. *Aho-rātra* are the twin symbols of Sūrya and Chandra, and it was usual to compare them with the two eyes of the Virāṭ or Universal form of the deity.
9. *Vedāṅga-Śruti-Bhūṣhaṇaḥ*— The word *śruti-bhūṣhaṇa* is clearly the ear-ornaments worn by the deity. They are compared to *Vadāṅga* which is susceptible of a twofold meaning, viz. the six Vedāṅgas, but that does not seem to be quite appropriate since in that case the number of the ear-ornaments will have to be taken as six for which there is no sufficient authority or art-tradition. It seems that Nāṇḍa Paṇḍita is right in taking it as the two bunches of *kuśa* grass for sweeping the Vedi or the sacrificial fire.
10. *Ājya-Nāśaḥ*— *Ājya* or butter is compared to the nostrils perhaps for the reason that there were two *āhūtis* called *āghāra* for sprinkling clarified butter on the fire at certain sacrifices. Moreover, the nostrils are the seat of *prāṇa* which is but another form of Agni, and Agni is considered to be identical with *ghṛita* ('आग्नेयं वै घृतम्', ŚB. 7.4.1.41)
11. *Sruva-tuṇḍaḥ*— *Sruva* and *sruk* are two kinds of ladles for pouring oblations on the fire, the former being smaller and the latter bigger in size. *Sruva* is

compared to the *tunḍa* or long snout projecting at one end.

12. *Sāma-ghosha svanaḥ*— The gurgling sound of the throat is compared to the chanting of the Sāma-songs which appear to make an indistinct murmuring noise.
13. *Satya dharma mayah*— This is the uniform reading of all versions. Obviously there is no mention of the limb of the animal's body and hence no physical comparison. But *Satya* is Yajña and *Dharma* is Varāha and the two are compared as explained later.
14. *Karma-Vikrama-satkṛitaḥ*— *Karma* refers to the body of ritual as practised by the officiating priests; it is compared to *Vikrama* or movement of Varāha. An alternative reading of *Karma* is *Krama* which is a kind of recitation of the Vedic mantras. The reading *satya-vikrama* is not very suitable. Between *Karma* and *Krama* the former may be selected.
15. *Prāyaścitta-nakho ghorah*— The sharp claws are compared to the *Prāyaścitta* or expiatory ceremonies that form part of *Yajña* for faults of omission and commission in the ritual. The other readings are not so appropriate or relevant to the meaning.
16. *Paśu-jānuḥ*— The animal tied to the stake for immolation in the sacrifice is compared to the knee-joints of Varāha. The point of comparison seems to be that just as the knee is flexed and folded, similarly the body of the animal is subjected to fracturing of its skeleton by blows.
17. *Makhākṛitḥ*— The appearance of Varāha is compared to *Makha* or sacrifice. This is equivalent to the idea of Yajña-Varāha itself, namely wherever there is a *Makha* or *Yajña* there is the existence of the Varāha deity.
18. *Udgātrāntraḥ*— This is the reading in Vāyu, Hari-varṁśa and Viṣṇu Smṛiti, which seems to have been

the original reading and not *Udgītha* of the Matsya in the Ananda Aśrama Edition. The reading *Udgātānta* in Brahma also supports it. The Udgātṛi or more correctly Audgātra, his singing of the Sāma-chant, is compared with the long entrails of the animal. The point of similarity between the singing of Sāma songs and the large intestines seems to be the length of the two.

19. *Homa-Liṅgaḥ*— The offerings of *ghṛita* made in the fire are compared to the *liṅga* of the animal, which also is the medium of fertilizing with the semen.
20. *Bijaushadhi-mahāphalaḥ*—There are several variants but this seems to have been the original reading as supported by Matsya, Brahma, Harivaṁśa, Viṣṇu Smṛiti and others. The word *mahāphala* is a little obscure. I am indebted to Dr. Raghavan for pointing out its meaning, viz., scrotum. The herbs and plants which produce the seed are compared to the testicles.
21. *Vāyvantarātmā*— This is the reading in Matsya with a variant *vādyāntarātmā* in Brahma and Brahmāṇḍa. Another variant is *Vedyantarātmā* in Vāyu and Viṣṇu Smṛiti which is much better, for both *vāyu* and *vādyā* do not have any justification in the imagery of *Yajña*. *Vedī* or the big fire-altar is compared to the *Antarātmā* or *Antaḥ-karaṇa* of the animal. There is, however, an objection to this reading, viz. that *Vedī* is mentioned in the next verse. Dr. Raghavan has suggested to me an emendation, viz. to read *Vāyvantarātmā* as *pāyvantarātmā*, but this does not give us the metaphorical picture which would be true both in the case *Yajña* and the Varāha animal. Moreover, the physical limbs of the Varāha are as a rule mentioned in the second part of the compound.
22. *Mantra-sphig-vikṛitaḥ*—This is a difficult phrase with several variant readings as *mantra-sphig-ājya-sprīk* in

Vāyu, *Yajñāsthi vikṛitih* in Matsya, *mantra-sphig-vikramah* in Hv. It seems that the original reading was *mantra-sphig-vikṛitah* as in Brahma and Vishṇu Smṛiti. *Sphig* is a well known word denoting buttocks or hips. The changing movement of the hips of the boar while walking, running, butting or diving are compared to the Ūha or verbal changes made in the words of the mantras at the time of using them in the sacrifice.

23. *Soma-śoṇitah*—Both the reading and the meaning are certain. *Soma* of *Yajña* is compared to the blood of the animal.
24. *Vedi-skandhah*—The broad fire-altar of the Śrauta sacrifice is compared to the broad shoulder of the Varāha.
25. *Havir-gandha*—The smell from the body of Varāha is compared to the fragrance rising out of the *Havis* or oblations thrown in the fire.
26. *Havya-kavyātivegavān*—Matsya has *havya-kavyavibhā-gavān*, but Hv., Vāyu, Brahma and others give the reading *havya-kavyātivegavān*. The speed or the vehement movements of the animal are compared to the *havya* and *kavya* rites for the Devas and the Pitṛis, viz., *Agnihotra* and *Srāddha* with which the body of *Yajña* is kept in unceasing activity.
27. *Prāgvamśa-kāya*—It is the unanimous reading and the meaning also is fixed. Sanskrit *Kāya* refers to the trunk of a tree or the body of a lute. So the trunk of the body is rightly compared with *Prāgvamśa* or the main beam placed in transverse position on the upright pillars in a building or thatched roof of a sacrificial shed.
28. *Nānādikshābhiranvitaḥ*—Reading in the Br., Hv. is *Architaḥ* which gives better sense, i. e., the different forms of worship offered to the deity may be compared.

with the several *Dikshās* taken by the Yajamāna for performing different *sattras*.

29. *Dakṣiṇā-hṛidayah*—This is the reading in all texts. *Hṛidaya*, i. e. the heart of the animal which keeps it alive is compared to *Dakṣiṇā* or sacrificial fee which by keeping the priests satisfied makes the *Yajña* continue from session to session.
30. *Mahā-sattramayah*—*Mahāsattra* is a great Soma-sacrifice lasting from 13 to 100 days and performed by many officiating Brāhmaṇas. *Sattra* also has the meaning of an assumed form, and this applies quite well in the case of Varāha
31. *Upākarmoshṭharuchakah*—This is the reading in Matsya, Hv. and Saṅkara and seems to have been certainly the original reading. Because the meaning of *Oshṭharuchaku* was not understood, it was changed to *oshṭharuchira* in Vishṇu-Smṛiti and *Upā-karmeshṭi-ruchirah* in Vāyu and *Upākarmāshṭharuchakah* in Brahṃa. *Upākarma* is the reading of the Vedas and the same is compared to *oshṭha ruchaka* or beautiful lower lip. This was a particular term invented in Sanskrit language of the Kushāṇa-Gupto period. *Ruchaka* meant a round disc (*padaka* or *niṣhka*) which is mentioned as an ornament in Patañjali's Mahābhāshya, Paspasāhnikā—तथा (सुवर्णं कयाचिदाकृत्या युक्तं पिण्डं भवति, पिण्डाकृतिमुपमुद्य रचकाः क्रियन्ते). One of the marks of a beautiful lip was that it should be shown pendent with the middle portion appearing like a round disc (*ruchaka* or *padaka*). Hence the phrase *oshṭha-ruchaka* became popular. It is used in the Chaturbhāṇī, Padma-prābhṛitakam of Śūdraka, verse 8, विभ्रान्तेक्षणमक्षतौष्ठरुचकम्. In the Kādambārī Bāṇa has used *adhra-ruchaka* describing the lower lip of prince Chandrāpīḍa, and again in the description of Puṇḍarika (P.L. Vaidya Edition, paras 65 and 142). In the Harivaṃśa it is used twice, 1.41.34, 3.34.16. In the

latter instance Nīlakaṇṭha rightly translates *Ruchaka* as *Bhūṣaṇa*, an ornament. In fact the Hv. repeats the Veda-pāda verses in two places. The Medinī gives *Nishka* as a synonym of *Ruchaka* (‘रुचको बीजपुरे च निष्के दन्तकपोतयोः). The pendent lower lip with a *nishka* or *ruchaka* in the middle may be seen in several of the Ajanta paintings.

32. *Pravargyāvarta-bhūṣaṇaḥ*— The whorls of hair on the chest of Varāha which make for its beauty are compared to the *pravargya* or the big milk-pot into which hot butter is poured, giving rise to high flames. *Pravargya* is also called *Gharma* or *Mahāvīra*. The whorl of hair is also called *Deva-maṇi* and a number of them, i.e. five, in the front portion of a horse's chest were together known as *Śrī-vriksha* and a horse beautified with them was called *Śrī-vrikshakī* as mentioned in Māgha, 5, 56 and Daṇḍin's *Avanti-Sundarī*, p. 94. A series of such whorls (*āvarta-bhūṣaṇa*) is compared to the flames rising from the *Pravargya* vessel.
33. *Nānāchhandogatipathaḥ*— The various forms of movements of Varāha are compared to the different metres.
34. *Guhyopanishadāsanaḥ*— This seems to be the most approved reading, a variant *Nishādāsanaḥ* in some MSS. of the Matsya being surely corrupt. *Guhyopanishad* appears to be in the case of *Yajña* a reference to the *Vidatha* sessions of the priests in which only a few knowledgeable persons took part and discussed the mystical meanings of the sacrificial ritual. The exchanges and discussions at these assemblies became the Upanishads in which the secret meaning and mysterious knowledge were incorporated. This aspect of the sacrificial session is compared to the particular posture of the animal at the time of mating. *Āsana* generally is a seat, but also has a reference to erotic postures.

35. *Chhāyāpatnī-sahāgaḥ*— Chhāyā is compared to the female Śakti of Varāha. Just as in the sacrificet he Yajamāna is accompanied with his wife, similarly God Varāha has *Chhāyā* as his consort. This is a somewhat difficult statement because *Chhāyā* is the wife of Sūrya, also called Savarṇā. She was the shadow or counterpart of Saṁjñā. Why it should be mentioned as the female partner of Varāha is a question. The answer, however, lies in the fact that in the mind of the author of the Yajña-Varāha conception, the Primeval Boar is the same as Sūrya.

SYMBOLICAL MEANING

YAJÑA-VARĀHA, ITS MEANING— The elaborate imagery describing *Yajña* as Varāha may be due to Purāṇic ingenuity to produce an impressive literary effect, but originally Yajña-Varāha is an entirely Vedic conception having a profound meaning with reference to Vedic cosmogony. The Vāyu Purāṇa sets the ball in motion by making the statement that Brahmā Prajāpati entered the waters of the *Ekārṇava Samudra* or the Primeval Ocean in the form of Vāyu :

ब्रह्मा तु सलिले तस्मिन् वायुर्भूत्वा तदाचरत् । ६।७

जलक्रीडासु रुचिरं वाराहं रूपमस्मरत् ॥ ६।११

This statement is extremely thought-provoking and helpful and the author of the Purāṇa has extracted it from the Brāhmaṇa literature :

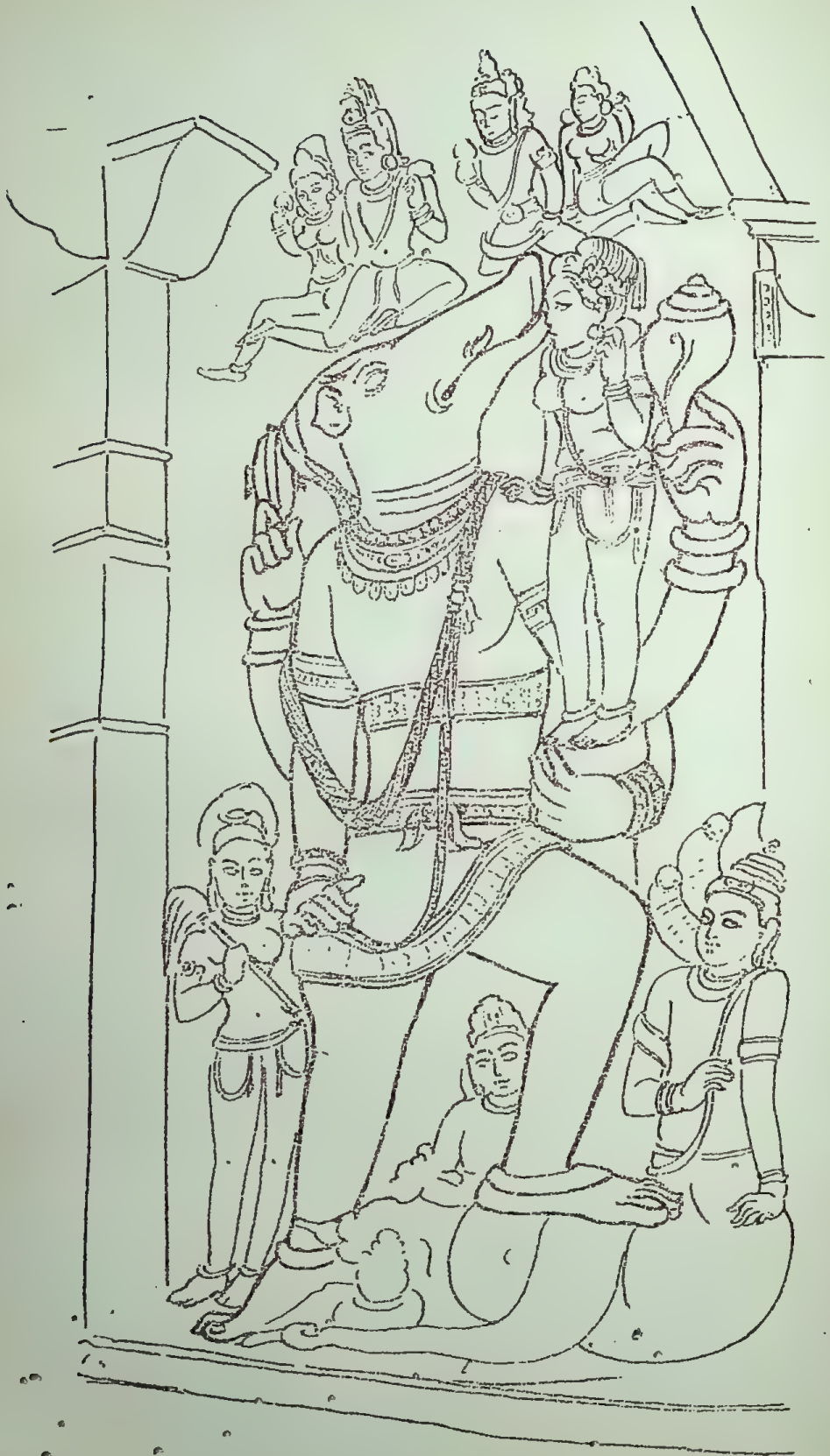
आपो वा इदमग्रे सलिलमासीत् ।

तस्मिन् प्रजापतिर्वायुर्भूत्वा अचरत् ।

स इमामपश्यत् । तां वराहो भुत्वाहरत् ।

(Tait. Br. 1.2.1.3, Sāyaṇa Bhāṣhya)

Although the statement is there, but the real meaning is not clear and requires to be fully explained. Who is Prajāpati ? Why did he assume the form of Vāyu at first and subsequently of Varāha ? What is Earth and where was it concealed ? From which place was it lifted or rescued by the Primeval



Mahā-Varāha Image in the Daśāvatāra Cave at Ellora ; Eighth cent. A. D

Boar ? In order to explain these questions in their background of Vedic cosmogony we might set forth the following arguments :

1. Meaning of *Ekārṇava* ;
2. Meaning of Prajāpati as Vāyu ;
3. Meaning of Vāyu as Varāha ;
4. Meaning of Varāha as Sūrya ;
5. Meaning of Varāha as *Trayī-vidyā* (*Trayīmaya Saukara rūpa*, Bhāgavata 3.13.41).
6. Meaning of Varāha as all-Gods (*Sarvadevamaya Varāha*, Kūrma 1.16.82).
7. Meaning of Varāha as a fat-dripping jar of butter (मेदुरघृतकुम्भ, ŚB. 5.4.3.19).
8. Meaning of Varāha as *Manyu*, the 'wrathful form of Prajāpati or Rudra (TB. 1.7.9.4).
9. Meaning of Varāha as *Emusha* (एमुष RV. VIII. 177.10 ; एमुष ŚB. 14.1.2 11)
10. Meaning of Five Varāhas (*Pañcha-Varāhakī-vidyā*).
11. Meaning of Varāha as *Satya* and *Dharma* (Matsya, 249.69).
12. Etymology of Varāha as *Vara* and *Ahaḥ*.
13. Varāha as *Prishad-ājya*, minute globules of butter (RV. X. 90.8).
14. Why the cows are called *Varāhī* ?
15. Varāha as *Suhoja-Agni* produced by friction (*Manthana*).
16. Varāha as Bhṛigu and Aṅgiras.

We may now offer an explanation of the arguments stated above, covering the wide field of Varāha conception in Vedic and Purāṇic literature.

(1) *EKĀRṆAVA*—From the story as related in the Purāṇas it is evident that the conception of Varāha was rooted in the doctrine of *Ekārṇava* which was the same as *Sakīlam*, *Āpaḥ*,

Samudraḥ, *Ambhaḥ* of the Vedas. The idea is that the cosmos was concealed in the womb of its First Cause which was unmanifest, and is spoken of as the Primeval Ocean both in the Vedas and in the Purāṇas. The whole world existed under the *Ekārṇava Samudra* (Harivaṁśa, 3.10. 31-34, Viṣṇu 1.3.24, and many other texts including the Matsya 2.10. 14). I have discussed this doctrine in detail in my Hiranyagarbha paper and also shown its intimate relationship with the *Hiranyagarbha-vidyā* PURĀṆA Bulletin Vol. II. pp. 285-306 ; also 'Sparks from the Vedic Fire, pp. 14-28). The basic idea is that within the womb of the Primeval Water the cosmos existed somewhere in an unmanifest or invisible form. It is distributed all over the waters of that Ocean and some elemental force was required to bring it to a focus. The whole cosmos is symbolised as *Prithivī*, the Mother of all that exists.

(2) PRAJĀPATI— Prajāpati is the Creator or Brahmā, i.e. the force which makes the germ of the world develop into its manifest form. The foetus in the mother's womb is subject to the law of growth (*Bṛimhaya*) and the same is called Brahmā. It is virtually the same as Nārāyaṇa (ब्रह्मा नारायणात्मकः, Viṣṇu, 1.3.24). He is the highest *Brahman* (*Paramah Parmātmā*) and has two aspects, viz. *Vyakta* and *Avyakta*. In his unmanifest state Prajāpati is beyond the categories of time and space, but for the sake of creation he assumes a relative form called *Vyakta* which is the aggregate of the Three Guṇas. The interaction of Prajāpati with *Ekārṇava* is explained in several ways. Prajāpati enters into the Waters as the Primeval force which brings about the churning of the Ocean and produces the Fire which existed in the beginning (*agre agniḥ*) and form which subsequent creation takes place. Fire is the deity of *Yajña* and thus Prajāpati's incarnation or emergence from the depth of the Primeval Ocean is an act of *Yajña*.

(3) VĀYU— How the Churning of the Ocean or the first agitation of the still Waters of dissolution is effected was a question present in the mind of the Vedic and Puṛāṇic writers. They speak of it in diverse ways. Firstly, they conceive of

Prajāpati as taking the form of Vāyu which causes a current in the mids of the still waters. This is the same as *Manthana* or friction which results in generating particles of heat or fire. This is conceived of as Vāyu which symbolises in Vedic terminology the principle of movement. In the Upanishads there are two symbols, viz. Ākāśa for *Sthiti* or rest, and Vāyu for *Gati* or movement. The Brāhmaṇas explain these two symbolised as *Yat* and *Jūh* (एष (वायु) हं यन्नेवेदं सर्वं जनयति एतं यन्तमिदमनुप्रजायते, तस्माद्वायुरेव यजुः । अयमेवाकाशो ज्ञः, ŚB. 10.3.5.1-2).

Thus the principle of Vāyu was first engendered within the Waters of creation and produced movement (*gati*).

(4) SŪRYA— The principle of movement produced profound stirring spoken of as *Manthana*, a deep churning in which nothing is outside the eddies or dynamic spiral gyrations which pull the scattered particles of fire within a prescribed field. This is a regulated movement comprised of the triple forces, viz. centrifugal or going away from the centre, centripital or coming towards the centre and the latent force in which these two are merged. The restful centre is known as *Brahmā*, the outgoing force as *Indra* and the incoming as *Vishṇu*. It is symbolically described as a rivalry between Indra and Vishṇu (इन्द्रश्च विष्णो यदपस्पृधेताम्); they are interlocked in opposition for mutual victory (उमा जिग्यधुः), but none vanquishes the other (न पराजिग्ये कतरश्चनैनोः, (RV. VI. 69.8). Their dynamic colliding movements create the Three Thousands, three divisions, or trinitarian patterns, of Triadic Infinities (त्रेषा सहस्रं वि तदैरयेयाम्). These deities or forces exist in each centre where dynamic movement is the main quality. Nothing can be created or made manifest without the inter-action of these three forces. This is the principle which was known in Vedic times as *Trayī-vidyā*, the triadic doctrine that is the bed-rock of Vedic and Purāṇic metaphysics. I have dealt with the doctrine of *Trayī* at length in my book entitled *Vedic Lectures* (pp. 21-41). By the force of this regulated movement which is symbolised as a perfect circle or rotating wheel (*Vṛitta Chakra*, RV. I. 155.6), heat which was in the beginning

distributed in equilibrium becomes effective at a point. Its particles come closer on account of friction and become effective as temperature. The ball of the fire thus thrown up by the world-building forces or the churning of the Primeval Ocean is visible to our eyes as Sūrya in heaven, named Mārtanda or Hiranyagarbha Prajāpati, and, Vaiśvānara on earth. He is the same as *Trayī-Vidyā*, as stated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa—What is seen as the blazing fire in the solar orb is nothing else than *Trayī-Vidyā* (सैषा त्रयैव विद्या तपति' ŚB. 10.5.2.3; also 4.6.7.1). Thus to the Rishis from the outset Sūrya became the symbol of the Cosmic Fire, of the divine Heat (*Devaushnya देवौष्ण्य*), of the Primeval Fervour (*Agraja Tapas, Abhiddha Tapas*, RV. V. 190.1) of Prajāpati which is the foremost powerful agent of creation. As we shall see Sūrya is Varāha, and that is why Chhāyā is mentioned as the consort of Yajña-Varāha (*Chhāyā-patnī*). Sūrya is not the physical ball of fire, although that also is the great light called *Brahma* (ब्रह्म सूर्यसमं ज्योतिः, Yajur. 23.48), the source and centre of cosmic consciousness of which a ray is present in each individual centre as *Vaiśvānara* Fire (अयमग्निर्वैश्वानरो योज्यमन्तःपुरुषे, ŚB 14.8.10.1)

(5) VARĀHA AS TRAYĪ-VIDYĀ— It is thus clear from the above that Varāha, Sūrya and Trayī refer to an identical principle which is three-fold movement. In Vedic terminology this is also called *Rig*, *Yajus* and *Sāman*, where *Rig* is the diameter (*Pinḍa* or *Mūrti*), *Sāma* is the circumference or *Maṇḍala* and *Yajus* is the vibrating centre (*gati*):—

ऋचा मूर्तिः, याजुषोः गतिः, साममयन्तेजः । (GB. 1.2.9)

ऋग्न्यो जातां सर्वशो मूर्तिमाहुः सर्वा गतिर्याजुषो ह्येव शश्वत् ।

सर्वं तेजः सामरूप्यं ह शश्वत् सर्वं वेदं ब्रह्मणा ह्येव सृष्टम् ॥ (TB. 3.12.9.1)

(6) VARĀHA AS ALL-GODS— The epithet *Sarvadevāmaya* used for Varāha in the Kūrma is significant because once Agni or Sūrya is created as a result of the churning of Waters or of the mother-principle, all the powers in heaven and earth become effective in that centre. This is the cardinal Vedic idea and therefore Agni is called *Sarvādevatāh*, (अग्निः सर्वा देवताः, AB., 2.3)

and Sūrya as *Viśva-devya* (विश्वदेव्यावता, RV. X. 170.4). This is also right, since Prithivī is lifted by Varāha from the Ocean -and she symbolises the womb of the Mother or Infinite Nature and therefore, all the forces or powers that function in the cosmos have their existence in the source or mother's womb.

(7) VARĀHA AS GHRITA-KUMBHA— The ŚB leads us a step further in clarifying the imagery of Varāha by saying that Varāha is a Fat-dripping animal (*Medura Ghrita-kumbha*);—
 अग्नौ ह वै देवा घृतकुम्भं प्रवेशयाञ्चक्रुस्ततो वराहः संवभूव, तस्माद्बराहो मेदुरो घृतादिसंभूतस्तस्माद्बराहो गावः संजानते स्वमेवैतद् रसमभिसंजानते, (ŚB. 5.4.3.19). 'Now the Gods once put a pot of *ghrita* in the fire. Therefrom a Boar was produced; hence the Boar is full of fat, for it was produced from *ghrita*. Hence also cows readily take to a boar, 'it is indeed their own essence or life-sap'. Obviously the Boar is an animal in which thick layers of fat underlie the skin. But this is only superficial, the real meaning is that Sūrya is the Fat-dripping animal from whose fat the cosmos is being created. The dripping fat is the temperature of its rays, the heat radiated by the Sun throughout space, and this is true not only with respect to our Sūrya but to millions and billions of other Suns in space, all of which are dripping this symbolical fat (*Vapā* or *Medas*) from which creation in different forms is taking place. *Medas* or fat is the same as *Medha*, the offering or oblation by which the sacrifice is accomplished (मेदो वै मेघः, ŚB 3.8.4.6). To complete a sacrifice some animal must be immolated. Who is the animal of the cosmic *Yajña*? It is verily Sūrya, the sacrificial horse in the cosmic *Aśvamedha* who is being depleted of his fat or heat. He is called *Aśva*, the Horse, because he is an exemplar of movement.

• What is the symbology of *Ghrita*? The answer is that *Ghrita* is but another form of fire, because it is an obvious fact that fire is kindled by butter and extinguished by water. Prior to creation there was an Ocean of water which had no butter in it concentrated at one place, because the heat was equally distributed. This Ocean of Water was converted into an Ocean

of Milk (*Kṣhīra-Sāgara*) for the sake of creation. Conversion of water into milk is genuine motherhood. Motherhood is symbolised as cow. When the cow gives birth to a calf it also produces milk in her teats. Thus *Ghṛita*, *Gāvaḥ*, *Medas* are connected symbols and all of them are related to *Sūrya* which is also spoken of as Calf of the Mother-Cow, or Infinite Nature. Now *Sūrya* is conceived of as a potful of butter, in which form Prajāpati as *Varāha*, the fat-dripping animal, has become manifest to our eyes. The Brāhmaṇa-writers refer several times to inter-relation of *Ghṛita* and Agni:—

‘तेजो वा एतत् पशुर्नाम यद् घृतम्’ AB. 8. 20.

‘आग्नेयं वै घृतम्’ ŚB. 7. 4. 1. 41.

‘एतद्वा अग्नेः प्रियं धाम यद् घृतम्’ Tait. B. 1. 1. 9. 6.

(8) VARĀHA AS MANYU— Once the symbolism of *Varāha* as Agni and *Sūrya* is established the transition to *Rudra* as *Varāha* is quite natural, for *Rudra* is many times spoken of as Agni in the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas (‘यो वै रुद्रः सोऽग्निः,’ ŚB. 5.2.4.13; ‘अग्निर्वै रुद्रः,’ ŚB. 5.3.1.10.; त्वमग्ने रुद्रः, RV. II. 1.6).

Indeed the identity of *Rudra* with Agni was a patent fact of R̥gvedic thought and is repeated in many mantras. *Rudra* is conceived of as *Manyu*, the wrathful one (Yajur., 16.1. ‘नमस्ते रुद्र मन्यवे’). Of the animals *Varāha* also is full of much wrath ‘पशूनां वा एष मन्युर्यद् वराहः’ Tait. B. 1.7.9.4). In the R̥gveda *Rudra* is spoken of as the heavenly *Varāha* having *Kaparda* locks on his head. There is again a reference to *Varāha* as *Sūrya*, who is the same as *Rudra*.

As a matter of fact the emergence of *Manyu* from within the womb of Waters is a significant fact for the Vedic R̥ishis, since *Manyu* is the principle of individuation, or the individual mind, which is the same as *Ahaṅkāra*, the Ego. Unless this unique centre of consciousness is produced in the midst of the Universal, there can be no manifestation of life, for which *Manyu* of *Varāha* or of Agni or of *Rudra* is essential.

(9) VARĀHA AS EMÜSHA— *Emüsha* (एमुष in the R̥gveda, एमुष later) as the name of Varāha first occurs in the R̥gveda (R̥V. VIII, 77.10, I. 61.7 ; also इयतीह वा इयमग्ने वृथिव्यास प्रादेशमात्री तामेमुष इति वराह उज्जघान सोऽस्याः पतिः प्रजापतिः, ŚB. 14.1.2.11; Macdonell, JAOS, 1895, p. 186). *Emüsha* is a symbolinal term composed of three elements, *ā* plus *im* plus *uśha* (आ+ईम्+उष from the root वृश्), 'that which envelopes his (earth or the cosmos).' It is a pointer literally to the same doctrine of *Trayī* which enters into the womb of the Waters and by its churning force draws into its field the scattered particles of fire, earth or matter and solidifies them into a compact mass round a fixed centre controlling a spiral revolving force.

(10) PAÑCHA-VĀRĀHAKĪ— The Vedic conception of creative modality comprises the five-fold pattern of Svayambhū, Parameshthī, Sūrya, Chandra and Prithivī, the first two being unmanifest and the last three manifest. They are known as *Pañcha-pura*, *Pañcha-jana*, *Pañcha-kṛishṭi*, *Pañcha-deva* or the Pentadic scheme of creation. Each one of these has its Varāha or the enveloping principle by which their respective forms (*Mūrti* or *Pinḍa*) are held fast together round a fixed centre which does not permit the force to disintegrate and the forms to disrupt. These are together known as *Pañcha-Varāhas* as follows :—

- (i) Svayambhū as *Ādi-Varāha*
- (ii) Parameshthī as *Yajña-Varāha*
- (iii) Sūrya as *Sveta Varāha*
- (iv) Chandramā as *Brahma-Varāha*
- (v) Prithivī as *Emüsha-Varāha*

All these are the same as the five *Prāṇas* which are the essential life-principles manifested in Matter. Thus the *Pañcha-Varāhakī* principle is not different from what is known as *Pañcha-loka* and *Pañcha-Prāṇa* and which are the support or mainstay of the *Pañcha-bhūtas* or *Kshara-Brahman*.

(11) VARĀHA AS SATYA AND DHARMA— In the Matsya an epithet *Sātya-dharma-mayuh* has been used in describing the

Yajña-Varāha. Now Sūrya as produced from the womb of the Waters of creation is the symbol of *Satya*, which has rather a scientific meaning as the principle of movement which is regulated from a centre, that which has a Heart (*Hridaya*), which controls its corporeal or material form. Sūrya is such a centre and therefore called *Satya*. *Yajña* itself is *Satya*:

आप एवेदमग्रः आसुः । आपः सत्तममसृजन्त तद्यत् तत्सत्यम्, सत्यमसौ आदित्यः
(ŚB. 14. 8. 62).

In the very beginning of an *Ishti* the Yajamāna takes the vow of moving from untruth to truth, by means of Yajña ('इदमहमनृतात् सत्यमुपैमि'). The Purāṇas give to the Varāha incarnation the name of *Dharma*:

अलक्रीडासु रुचिरं वाराहं रूपमस्मरत् ।

अवृष्यं सर्वभूतानां वाङ्मयं धर्मसंज्ञितम् ॥ (Vāyu 67.)

Thus the *Satya* principle of *Yajña* has its counterpart in the *Dharma* of Varāha.

(12) ETYMOLOGY OF VARĀHA— The word *Varāha* may be split into *Vara* and *Aha* giving the etymology as 'वृणोतीति वरः' 'अद्वोतीति अहः'. The significance is to refer to the principle of force which envelopes, finitises or prescribes a limit to an undefined field and by its controlling potency gives form to that which was formless and creates a system of forces and counterforces, regulated or balanced according to a magnetic rhythm. Now this principle is best illustrated in Sūrya and its solar system and therefore the main Varāha form is exemplified in Sūrya.

(13) VARĀHA AS PRISHDĀJYA— The R̥gveda mentions that there was a shower of globules of butter from the *Sarva-hut* sacrifice of Prajāpati ('तस्माद् यज्ञात् सर्वहुतः संभृतं पृषदाज्यम्' RV. X. 90. 8). The meaning of this statement should be clearly understood in the context of *Sriṣṭi-vidyā*. The *Sarvahut* sacrifice refers to the cosmic *Yajña* ('विश्वा भुवनानि जुह्वत्' RV. X. 81. 1) in which Prajāpati made a total offering of himself, that is all his powers and modalities have become incarnate in his creation. When he wished to perform this *Kāmpa Yajña* (Wish-fulfilling

Sacrifice), the first phenomenon that occurred was the collection of the distributed sparks of fire or particles of heat at individual centres. This is referred to as *Prishadājya*, the shower of minute particles of butter. The simile started from the churning of milk as pointed out above, the Ocean of Milk signifying the principle of motherhood. In the father there is the principle of Agni and in the mother of Soma, the body of both is churned and their union results in fecundation by the principle of *Prishadājya*. There can be no creation without the 'rain of butter' from the father principle in the womb of the mother. The R̥gveda referring to the clouds of creativity or to Golden Birds rising from the ocean of Varuṇa, distinctly mentions that as a result of the Birds fluttering their wings and splashing drops of water the whole earth is moistened with molecules of butter (घृतेन वृथिवो व्यद्यते, RV. I. 164. 47). The meaning *Ghr̥ita* is clear in Vedic symbology; it refers to *Retas* or the seed both in the individual (रेतः कृत्वाज्यं देवाः पुरुषमाविशन्, AV. 11. 8. 29) and cosmos ('भुवनस्य रेतः', RV. I. 164. 36).

What was the source of this rain of butter? The answer to the question is that Sūrya is the *ghr̥ita-kumbha* or the fat-dripping Varāha, from which the showers of butter or particles of heat or Agni are being scattered.

(14) COW AS VĀRĀHĪ— From the above explanation it will be clear that there is ample justification for the cows to be looked upon as Varāhī, i.e. the containers of milk and butter or of the Varāha forces which create the cosmic seed. There are such cows or forces in the cosmos and there is such a cow in each individual centre which at its proper time converts the ocean of water into an ocean of milk for the sake of creativity or the effective principle of motherhood. In fact in the marriage ritual the bridegroom is symbolised as Varāha, i.e. the personified form of Agni or seed or the globules of butter, which will function as the fecundating power for the progenition of the child.

(15) VARĀHA AS SAHOJA AGNI— We have spoken above of the principle of churning or *Manthana* which is responsible

to generate a spiral movement and thereby create currents of Burning Water or Boiled Milk. This force is known as *Sahas* and therefore Agni that is produced by the drilling friction of the two churning sticks is called *Sahoja*. Agni exists in each centre in a latent form until its flame becomes visible by friction. The same phenomenon happens in the process of creation described above. When Vāyu entered the womb of Waters and generated frictional currents, fire was produced and the same is Varāha as stated in the Vāyu Purāṇa. Therefore from the cosmogonical point of view both Vāyu and Agni or Sūrya are names of Varāha. In fact it is one Deva Agni who assumes three forms as Agni, Vāyu and Āditya. This is why Varāha is the same as *Trayī* and the Bhāgavata actually calls it *Trayīmaya Saukara Rūpa* (Bhāg. 3. 13. 41).

(16) VARĀHA AS BHRIGU AND ĀNGIRAS— The primeval Waters Āpaḥ are spoken of as comprised of the two principles of heat called *Āṅgiras* and cold called *Bhrigu* :

आपो भृग्वङ्गिरोरूपमापो भृग्वङ्गिरोमयम्,
सर्वमापोमयं भूतं सर्वं भृग्वङ्गिरोमयम् ।

अन्तरेते त्रयो वेदा भृगूनङ्गिरसोऽनुगाः ॥ (Gopath, 1.1.39)

This is just using a mythical language for a scientific truth and it amounts to saying that the First Cause of creation comprised the two principles of *Agni* and *Soma* or *Grāṁsa* and *Hima*, i.e. the Plutonion and the Neptunist principles of Fire and Water (आपोभृग्विष्ठाः and अग्निभृग्विष्ठाः, RV. I. 161.9). The fact is repeated many a time in the Vedas. Therefore it is quite consistent to speak of the two principles of *Bhrigu* and *Āṅgiras* as making up the First Cause called *Āpaḥ*. The only feature is that in the state of rest or the unmanifest condition the heat or fire is withdrawn into its substratum of water or cold, that is, *Āṅgiras* is concealed by *Bhrigu*, but by the power of *Trayī-vidyā* or the triple forces as explained above movement generates friction and *Agni* or *Āṅgiras* becomes effective. Therefore the Gopatha rightly says— अन्तरेते त्रयो वेदा भृगूनङ्गिरसोऽनुगाः (GB. 1.1.39). Here comes the importance of *Trayī-vidyā* or the three Vedas,

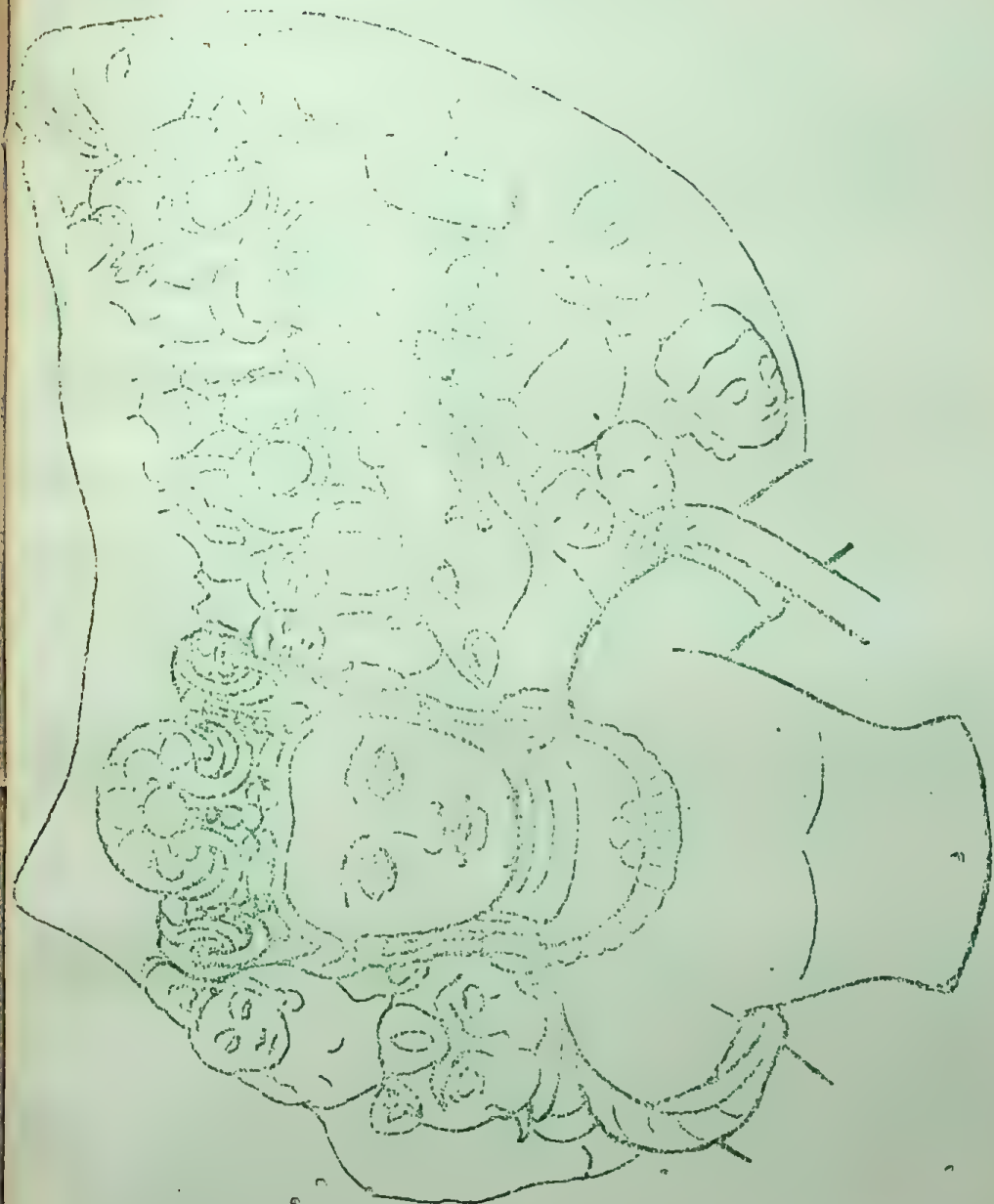


Fig. 1. A large jar, found at the site of the ancient city of Nineveh.



Mahā-Vishnu with Nṛsiṃha and Varāha Heads. From Mathura : c 5th Cent. A. D.

in other words Varāha who is none other than Agni or Hiranya-garbha or Sūrya or Nārāyaṇa. This is the meaning of the great legend of Varāha incarnation which the Purāṇas accept as the principal motif in the scheme of *Sṛiṣṭi-vidyā* for which they have adopted a rich symbolical terminology.

HIRANYĀKSHA

The Asura of the Golden Eye is said to have stolen the earth and to have concealed it under the primeval flood. This refers to the incipient stage in which *prāṇic* manifestation had not become effective, although it existed *in principio*. It is the principle of *Varāha* which conquers the Asura and bringing the Golden Eye in his power gives an initial push to the creative process. Prithivī or Bhūdevī represents motherhood not only of our limited world but of the whole creation. She is the *Yoni* or Womb, namely primordial *Prakṛiti* or *Pradhāna* in which the Self-existent Creator, Svayambhū, deposits his germ. This womb was seized by the Asura, but even he had the eye of gold namely *Hiranya* or *Prāṇa*, which finally becomes the sprouting germ opening on to the conscious world. In the Purāṇas Hiranyāksha and Hiranya-kaśipu are two Asura brothers, of whom Viṣṇu incarnated as Varāha and Nṛsiṃha, whose birth and exploits are usually narrated one after another. Hiranyāksha is the symbol of creation *ab intra*, in the stage of *Prāṇa*, and Hiranya-kaśipu of the same *ab extra*, on the plane of *Prakṛiti* (Matter) which becomes the *kaśipu* or golden cushion of life or consciousness.

VARĀHA AND UCHCHHISHṬĀ

The Vedic idea about the creation is that it is the *Uchchhishṭa* or overflow from a conscious center of Prāṇic energy which is perfect and full in its intrinsic nature and is called *Sahasra*, *Ananta*, *Pūrṇa*, 'Plenum'. From this source a portion becomes separated as its surplus (*Uchchhishṭa*). The transcendent *Brahman* is called *Brahmaudana* and the surplus portion *Uchchhishṭa* or *Pravargya*. The rejected portion (*Pravargya*) which separates or drops out from its immortal source is the

mortal cosmos. Prajāpati so arranged his affairs that *Brahman* continues to live on his immortal food known as *Brahmaudana*, but at the same time he creates out of His own Self a centre which becomes the Eater (*Annāda*) of the mortal food (*Anna*), i.e. cosmic matter. It is *Sūrya* in the form of *Varāha*. The symbolism is very emphatic, because of all animals *Varāha* is the creature *par excellence* who eats the *Pravargya* portion of the food as it is rejected out of the body of a living *Prāṇic* centre. *Sūrya* is called *Varāha*, because as *Kāla* or *Samvatsara* (Time) it is eating the whole world, but on the other hand as *Satya-Nārāyaṇa* it is also organising and substantiating the energy radiated by its own immortal centre, which is *Brahman*. These are all primeval ordinances (*Prathamāni Dharmāni*) and expressed through more than one symbolism that may be profitably pursued for fuller clarity of the problem. The quint-essence of the whole conception of *Yajña-Varāha* is that there are two stages in the evolution of the cosmos. First is the existence of the first cause called *Samudra*, *Ekārṇava*, *Salilam*, etc. and secondly the emergence of *Agni*, *Prāṇa*, *Hiraṇya*, *Sūrya*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Hiraṇyagarbha*, *Yajña*, *Veda*, all of which are the same as *Varāha*. The *Rigveda* puts the two stages in a *sūtra* form :—

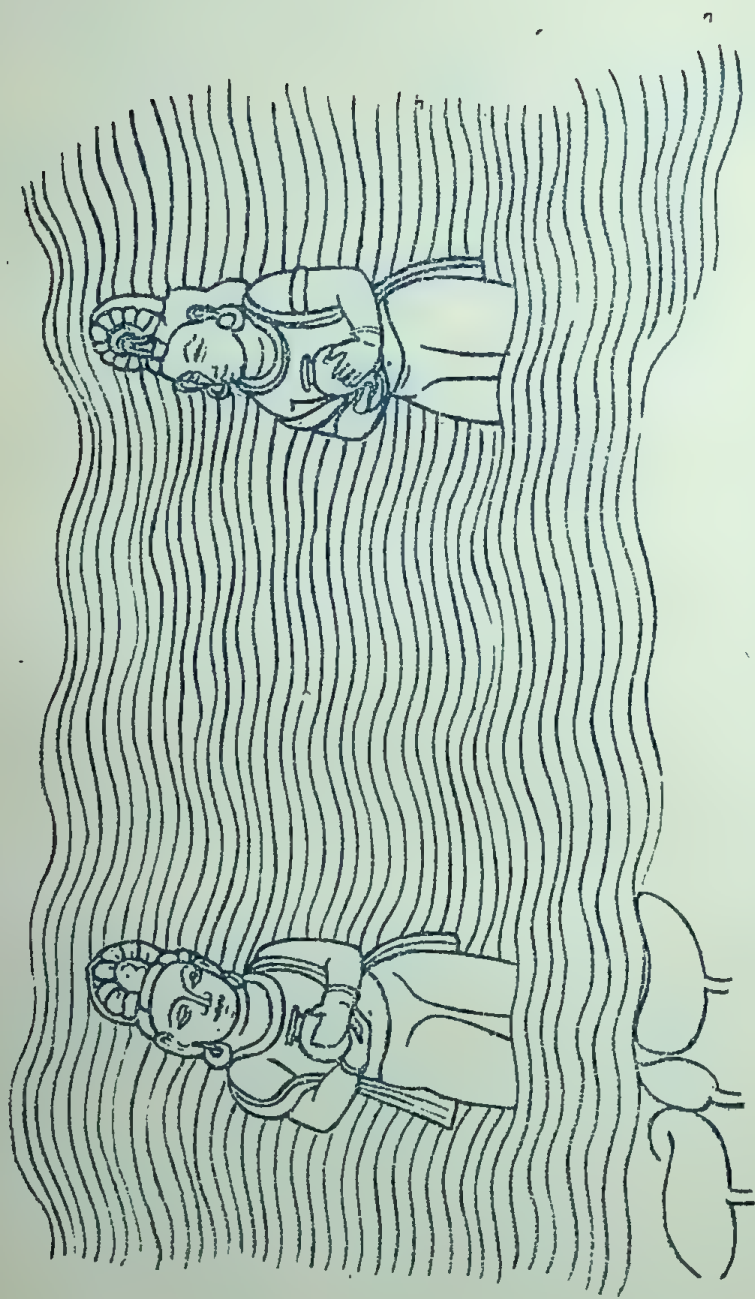
अत्रा समुद्र आगूढं सूर्यमजभतं (RV. 10. 7.27)

When the *Devas* like *Yatis* made a whirling dance with innumerable worlds as their foot-steps, they threw to the surface *Sūrya* who was concealed under the depth of the ocean. This ocean in the *Varāha* story is also called *Rasātala* and *Varāha* is named *Ādi-Purusha*, Primeval Being, whose main attention in creation is to redeem the opposite mother-principle called *Bhūdevī*, *Prithivī*, *Virāj*, *Prakṛiti*, *Mahat*, *Yoni*, etc. The union of the two parents namely *Svayambhū* and *Virāj* or *Nārāyaṇa-Varāha* and *Bhūdevī* leads to cosmic creation. This was an important theme in the philosophy of the *Pāñcharātra-Bhāgavatas* to which *Kālidāsa* has drawn pointed attention :—

रसातलादादिभवेन पुंसा भुवः प्रयुक्तोद्वहनक्रियायाः ।

अस्याच्छमम्भः प्रलयप्रवृद्धं मुहूर्तवक्त्राभरणं नभुवः ॥

(Raghu. 13. 8)



Ekāṇava-Samudra-Mūrti, Udaigiri. c. 400 A. D.

Also, विलोलयामास महावराहः कल्पक्षयोद्वृत्तमहाण्वाम्भः ।

(Raghu. 7. 56)

MAHĀ-VARĀHA IN INDIAN ART

The most conspicuous example of Mahā-Varāha lifting the earth from the ocean is found at Udaigiri in the rock-out temple excavated in the time of Chandragupta Vikramāditya. In the age of the Guptas the Varāha exploit was known as *Saukara-siddhi* (Prākṛita passage in पादताडितं, श्लो० ६०). What actually happened was the conquest of the vast area including Aparānta, the Śaka kingdom of Saurāṣṭra and Gujrat, and Mālavā, that was considered to be an extraordinary achievement, almost superhuman, which only the Emperor was able to accomplish because he represented the glory of Mahā-Varāha, the Primeval Boar. This idea caught the imagination of the people. The political inspiration and the metaphysical conception agreed well with each other about which the authors of the Purāṇas and the Kāvya made their inspiring contributions.

What we find at Udaigiri is a rock-out image of Varāha of colossal size, standing as a powerful human figure with a boar's head shown in profile. He supports the Earth goddess on his folded left arm. The figure is extremely well-built and wears a long lotus garland, which in the Gupta age was called *Kinjalakīnī*, किञ्जल्किनी and consisted of one thousand lotuses (Devī-Māh. 5. 51; Matsya 247.50). In front of the Varāha is the figure of the cosmic serpent Ananta Śeṣha, literally the Infinite Substratum, who is supporting the Primeval God. By his side is the figure of Garuḍa with an eagle's head and holding a serpent in his hands. In the next panel the political idea is illustrated in an emphatic manner. Above is a scene of the descent of Gaṅgā and Yamunā from heaven and mingling their waters in the ocean. This is exactly a picture of Antardeśa or Madhyadeśa, the homeland of the Gupta empire. The river goddesses are depicted both in their natural and human form, first as two mighty streams taking their rise from the heavenly world shown here with divine dance and music; and on the

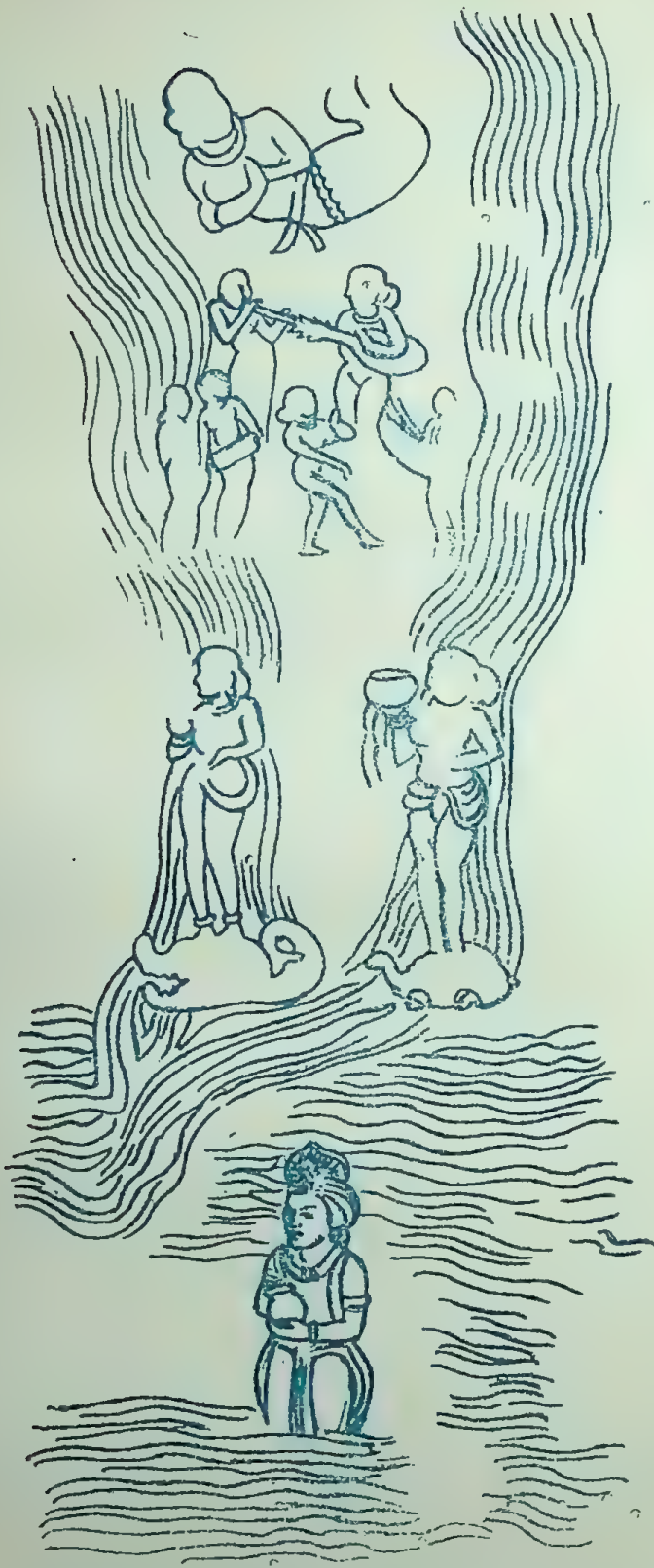
earth they are against shown in a human form (मूर्ते गङ्गायमुने, कुमार सं० ७४२) i.e. Gaṅgā standing on *makara*, and Yamunā on *kacchhupa*, both holding in their right hands Full Vases (*Pūrṇa-Ghaṭa*). This is one of the happiest representations in Indian art pregnant with so much meaning.

In the wide space below is depicted the Primeval Ocean (*Ekārṇava*) in the form of high rippling waves (प्रलयप्रवृद्धमम्भः). At one end stands a royal figure who seems to be the Emperor himself, viz. Chandragupta, politically identified with Mahāvarāha and referred to as 'Deva' by his contemporaries, since he made the country free from foreign domination of the Śakas. At the opposite end stands Bhagavān Samudra, Lord of the Ocean shown in human form and facing the king, both of them worshipping the mighty Varāha figure.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF CHANDRAGUPTA VIKRAMĀDITYA

They square up to the above representation. In addition to his exterminating the vestiges of foreign rule he extended the limits of his empire up to the ocean (महोदधि) on the east and the sea on the west by his conquest of Vaṅga and Aparānta respectively. His gigantic programme of consolidation of territory (घरणिबन्ध) included direct conquest of the north west upto Bālhika or Bactria on the Oxus (cf. तीर्त्वा सप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोजिता बाह्लिकाः) and a system of peaceful alliances with kings of the South (referred to as प्रस्थापन by Kālidāsa, Raghu. 7.), i.e. 'restoration of their autonomy or sovereignty' which had been disturbed by Samudragupta and by this his fame perfumed the waters of the south sea (यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्वीर्यानिर्लैर्दक्षिणः, Mehrauli Pillar Inscription of Chandra).

The Purāṇa writers followed these political intimations with their inspiring exposition of the Mahāvarāha conception on a philosophical plane, which met with national approval. We also find the representation of Varāha and Bhūdevī in Chālukyan art at Badami, and in Pallava art in the Varāha Māṇḍapa at



Mādhyaśeṣa as the two Rivers Gaṅgā-Yamunā and
their confluence ; at Udaigiri, c. 400 A. D.

Mahabalipuram in the South. This political imagery was repeated five hundred years later and applied to the Gurjara Pratihāra king Bhoja (836-885 A. D.), who issued his Ādi-Varāha silver coins in large numbers bearing a replica of the Udaigiri figure on one side and 'श्रीमदादिवराह' on the other.

VARĀHA AS PRAJĀPATI

It will be clear from the above that the Purāṇic exposition of Varāha in more way than one was rooted in the Vedas. The Atharva speaks of an intimacy between Varāha and Prithivī:

वराहेण पृथिवी संविदाना सुकराय विजिहीते मृगाय । (Atharva, 12. 1. 48)

"The Earth Goddess loves the Varāha and opens herself for the wild Boar.' When the Brāhmaṇa-writer identified Varāha with Prajāpati (स प्रजापतिः वै वराहो रूपं कृत्वा उपन्यमज्जत्, TB. 1. 1. 3, 6), the whole gamut of Vedic symbolism associated with Prajāpati was invoked. Therefore, it is valid to speak of Varāha as Sūrya, Nārāyaṇa, Prāṇa, Hiraṇygarbha, Agni, Indra, etc., the principle of Life or Consciousness, which enters the *First Cause* or Primeval Ocean and rescues from its depths the Earth or the principle of cosmic motherhood with whom Varāha consorted. That is what is meant by the Earth unveiling her body for the Varāha, as a bride for her husband.

VARĀHA MYTH IN ANCIENT GREECE

Dr. Gonda has drawn attention to an interesting ceremony called 'Eidopfer' described by Homer, in which a wild boar was sacrificed as an offering to Zeus, the Earth and the Sun. (J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Vismuism*, p. 137). He also traces many other references to the boar in Nordic, Celtic and Austric myths and cults. It should, however, be cautioned that an anthropological approach to the problem is barren and inadequate to explain the Vedic and Purāṇic evidence. Here Varāha as Prajāpati furnishes the key to unlock the mystical truth. It is a complete spiritual answer in accordance with the Indian tradition.

CHURNING OF THE OCEAN

SAMUDRA-MANTHANA— Chaps. 249-251 relate the story of *Samudramanthana*. At one time the Asuras being revived by the *Sanjivani-vidyā* revealed to Śukrāchārya by Śivā became very powerful. The Devas were frightened and approached Brahmā for advice. Brahmā advised the Devas to cultivate friendship with the Asuras. So the Devas approach the Asuras and put up the proposal for the churning of *Amṛita* from the ocean by drinking which the Asuras would attain immortality. The Asuras agreed to this proposal. Indra then became busy with the collection of necessary appliances for churning. The churning stick was made of the *Mandara* mountain and the rope was *Ananta-Sesha* or the cosmic Serpent himself. The problem was of the finding a suitable support for the churning staff. For this the gods approached the cosmic tortoise named *Kūrma* which is the substratum of the cosmos and was able to offer his back as the base on which the mount *Mandara* would turn at the time of churning. The *Devas* and the *Asuras* together approach Nārāyaṇa, sleeping in the midst of the ocean, and praised him with a *Stotra* (M. 249. 37-45). Viṣṇu accepted their prayer and the mighty process of churning was commenced. The *Devas* were frightened of the poisonous fumes of the serpent and therefore went to the tail-side, but the *Asuras* were bold and seized the hoods of the serpent.

The first to begin the churning was Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu himself and this joint endeavour on the part of the *Asuras* and the *Devas* continued for a hundred years. Then both got tired, but Brahmā egged them on to continue until success was reached. The churning restarted and the sap of plants and herbs was mixed in the ocean whose water was converted into milk (*Dadhī* M. 249. 60) and then was produced *Vāruṇī* or the principle of fermentation. Then there follows a juxtaposed description which again refers to the mingling of the sap of plants and herbs and the churning of *Ghṛita* (M. 249. 78) from the milk of the ocean. Then *Soma* or Moon was produced from



Churning of the Ocean [समुद्रमंथन]
From a Sculpture in the Gurukula Kangri Museum, Haradwar

the ocean. It was followed by goddess *Śrī* and *Surādevī* (mentioned a second time) and then the White Horse, *Pāṇḍura-Turaga* (M. 250. 3), and *Kaustubha-Maṇi* (Divine Jewel) which was taken by Nārāyaṇa himself as a decoration for his breast. Then *Pārijāta*, tree of heaven, was produced.

ŚIVA DRINKING POISON :—Then there appeared poisonous fumes which rose up to the sky. In its train first appeared the hellish fire and then the serpent and finally the death-dealing poison named *Hālāhula*. Viṣṇu enquired as to what it was and the reply came : “I am the poison *Kālākūṭa* appearing for universal destruction being able to kill everything in a moment.” Both gods and demons got frightened and then Brahmā and Viṣṇu approached Śiva. The gods and demons propitiated Śiva by reciting a *Namaḥ-Stotra* (M. 250. 28-40) in the *Satarudrīya* style combining many new motifs with the old ones. Śiva agreed to swallow the poison as requested and all came to the spot in the milky ocean where the poison *Kālākūṭa* was emitting its vitriolic fumes. Śiva with the self confidence of a *Yogī* and as the death-conquering Lord of the cosmos drank the poison and stationed it in his throat which therefore became blāe.

THE JEWELS (*Ratna*) :—When the churning was resumed the Divine-physician *Dhanvantari* Father of *Āyurveda*, appeared. As to the distribution of the Jewels Viṣṇu took for himself *Lakṣmī* and *Kaustubha*, Indra took the *Airāvata* Elephant, Sūrya took the excellent Horse.

The number of *Ratnas* is variable in the several accounts of *Samudra-manthana*. Originally in the R̥gveda we find mention of the Seven Jewels (दमे दमे सप्त रत्ना दधानः, RV. V. 1. 5.). The account in the Ādi-parva names only 7 *Ratnas*, viz. *Soma*, *Śrī*, *Sūrā*, *Turaga*, *Kaustubha*, *Dhanvantari* and *Amṛita*. According to the constituted text (Ādi-parva, 16. 33-37, Poona Edn.) in a śloka proved to be an interpolation, we find the names of *Pārijāta*, *Surabhi*, *Airāvata*, *Visha*, *Apsarā* and *Jyeshṭhā*. In the Matsya Purāṇa there are two lists, the first a shorter one which was the original and the second a later retouching. In the first list are

included *Soma*, *Srī*, *Surā*. *Turaga*, *Kaustubha*, *Pārijāta*, *Kālākūṭa*, *Dhanvantari* and *Amṛita*. This gives the names of 9 Jewels, and it appears that the ślokas between 251. 1. and 251. 6. have been added later and the connection of 251. 1. cd. goes quite well with 251. 6. ab. :—

मथ्यमाने पुनस्तस्मिञ्जलधौ समदृश्यत ।

धन्वन्तरिः स भगवानायुर्वेदप्रजापतिः । [1 cd.]

श्वेतं कमण्डलुं बिभ्रदमृतं यत्र तिष्ठति । [6 ab.]

The second list in the interpolated verses is inflated and also abruptly introduces the subject of the distribution of the *Ratnas* amongst the Gods, Vishṇu, Indra, Varuṇa, etc. This list also includes several items which are even excluded from the latest list of the 14 *Ratnas*. For example, the second list in the Matsya includes *Madirā*, *Amṛita*, *Surabhi*, *Lakshmī*, *Kaustubha*, *Gajendra*, *Haya-ratna*, *Dhanvantari*, *Pārijāta*, *Chhatra* and *Kuṇḍala*. The last two items are foreign to other lists.

THE VEDIC CONCEPTION OF RATNA— The Vedic conception of *Ratna* or *Vasus* which Agni bestows on each individual (*Agni* as *Rātnadhātama*, RV. I. 1. 1) was that of the seven principles of manifestation which we have explained earlier including *Manas*, *Prāṇa* and the *Pañcha-bhūtas*; by counting *Prāṇa* as two-fold, viz. *Prāṇa* and *Apāna*, their number becomes eight and these were the eight *Vasus* of Agni, each *Vasu* being a *Ratna* deposited in the human body which is spoken of as a *Vasudhāna-kośa* or a Treasure-Chest.

This idea was later on transferred to the birth of the Seven Jewels from the ocean. According to the Brāhmaṇas, *Puruṣa* is the model of an ocean (पुरुषो वै समुद्रः, Jaiminiya Upanishad Br. 3. 35. 5.). There is also the conception of the three oceans, viz. *Arṇava* Samudra or ocean of the earth, *Nabhasvān* Samudra or ocean of the mid-region, and *Sarasvān* Samudra or ocean of Dyuloka. These correspond to *Manas*, *Prāṇa* and *Vāk* each of which is a *Samudra* (मनो वै समुद्रः, §B. 7. 5. 2. 52; वाग्वै समुद्रः, TB. 7. 7. 9; रुक्मो वै समुद्रः, §B. 7. 4. 2. 5, where *Rukmā*

or *Hiranya* is the same as *Prāṇa*). These are three floods which are inexhaustible like the ocean. These three are present in a composite form in every individual centre because of which *Purusha* is conceived of as *Samudra*.

MEANING OF RATNAS— This ideology was elaborated and given the form of a legend in which the *Devas* and the *Asuras* representing the powers of Light and Darkness together churn the cosmic reservoir of energy and create new archetypal forms by which the individual lives and functions. The new symbols include *Soma* and other objects which have their esoteric significance, e. g. *Soma* represents the principle of Mind as the Moon (*Chandramā manaso jātaḥ*). *Srī* is the same as *Śrī-Lakshmī*, the Fleet Women or Lady of the Lake (*Apsaras*), the Great *Urvaśī* who was produced from the thigh of *Nārāyaṇa*. In the *Yajurveda* *Śrī* and *Lakshmī* are spoken of as Twin Goddesses who are the consorts of *Vishṇu* or *Nārāyaṇa-Purusha* (श्रीश्च ते लक्ष्मीश्च पत्न्यौ). *Śrī* represents the principle of *Prāṇa* and *Lakshmī* that of *Bhūta*. They are different and at the same time of composite nature. In art they are depicted without distinction and in mythology also one goddess under the name of *Śrī-Lakshmī* was conceived. *Śrī-Lakshmī* in that case signifies the unified energy of the *Prāṇas* and the *Bhūtas* in each individual organism.

Surā-Devī as the principle of fermentation is the opposite of *Soma*. The one mortal and the other immortal. *Surā* is the fermentation of the physical *Bhūtas* and *Soma* is the enchanted region of the Mind in which a subtle kind of simmering of feelings, ideas, emotions and sentiments is constantly taking place. The White Horse, *Pāṇḍura-Turaga*, which was taken by *Sūrya* for his chariot is identical with the principle of *Rajas* or movement. *Sūrya* is the same as the Time-Horse (कालो अश्वः वहति सप्तारिम्). *Kaustubha* is said to be the jewel on the chest of *Vishṇu*. It is the symbol of the divine will which is at the centre of each individual and represents the divine element in Matter (cf. ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां हृद्देशेऽर्जुन तिष्ठति, *Gītā* 18.61). *Dhāhvantari* symbolises the Divine Physicians, viz. the two *Aśvinīs* who know the secret of *Soma*.

and whose presence guarantees a link with immortality. *Amṛitam* therefore is said to be present in the water-pot (*Kamaṇḍalu*) which *Dhanvantari* carries in his hand. The integrated life-principle, viz. *Prāṇa* or *Āyuh* is *Amṛitam* for which both *Devas* and *Asuras* eagerly desire. In course of time new names of *Ratnas* were added to this list, e. g. the four tusked elephant of *Indra* which also is a symbol of the principle of ego or consciousness (*Ahaṅkāra*) which is manifesting itself in the individual as the four states of consciousness, viz. *Jāgrat*, *Svapna*, *Sushupti* and *Turiya*. The principle of *Hālāhala* (*Visha*) or *Kālakūṭa* although missing in the list of *Ādi Parva* is also in this list, since it symbolises the principle of *Mṛityu* and co-exists with *Amṛitam* as its opposite. The *Pārijāta* of the *Matsya* list is the same as *Kalpa-Vṛiksha*, the heavenly tree, which symbolises Mind. As the name implies it remains with each one of us since birth and whatever one desires under its shade one gets. As the word *Kalpa* indicates it is the wish-fulfilling tree and is symbolical of the *Arbor Vitae*, Tree of Life. There are two kinds of thoughts namely *Sanikalpa* of the concentrated mind named *Vijñāna*, and *Vikalpa* of the disorganised mind called *Prajñāna*. Thus the *Pārijāta* or *Kalpa-Vṛiksha* was also a happy symbol included in this list.

AMṚITA FOR THE DEVAS— The whole idea of the Ocean is to help the *Devas* with *Amṛitam*. As a matter of fact the *Deva* principle represents Immortality, Light and Truth and the *Asura* principle Death, Darkness and Untruth. The divine purpose favours the *Devas*. In the distribution of *Amṛita* the *Devas* have a predominant share. The question is as to why do the two *Asuras*, viz. *Rāhu* and *Ketu* who in fact are of a composite form, the head being *Rāhu* and trunk *Ketu*, also get a potion of *Amṛitam*. The reason is that as soon as *Amṛita* descends to the level of matter it becomes soiled with an element of darkness represented by *Rāhu*. Even the two great principles of Light viz. *Chandra* and *Sūrya*, are assailed by *Rāhu*, the demon of Darkness, for creation is not the result of immortality alone. Both *Amṛita* and *Mṛitū*, Life and Death are essential

for creation. It is said in the R̥gveda that Mother Aditi had 8 sons, 7 of whom were the immortal *Adityas* and the eighth one was *Mārtāṇḍa* or *Sūrya*. Aditi approached the group of Immortals and asked them to create, but they failed to do so because they lacked the essential element of death. The Divine Mother Aditi, who is the same as Infinite Nature then approached her 8th son whom she had formerly cast aside and requested him to create. He could do so because he was the master of the two principles of birth and death (प्रजायै मृत्यवे स्वप्नुनमर्तिरिडमाभरत्, RV. X. 72.9).

MEANING OF RĀHU AND AMṚITAM— This is what is implied by *Vishṇu* giving *Amṛitam* to *Rāhu*. He enjoys partial immortality and his head has to be cut off again and again. This is what is happening in each individual centre where the pot of immortality and the demon *Rāhu* are present together. *Amṛitam* is Light and *Rāhu* is Darkness or Matter. For a time only *Prāṇa* or Light shines in matter and then it is devoured by darkness. That is a grave hour which causes concern to Gods and men, that is in the immortal heavens and on mortal earth.

RUDRA AND POISON— Creation is the composite form of both immortality and death. Rudra represents the great principle of *Prāṇa* or the Fire of immortality. Poison is the symbol of death or matter. The five material elements are all symbolised as poison. God Śiva is able to encounter poison or death because he is *Mṛityuṅjaya*, viz. being identified with Agni or *Prāṇa* is beyond death but only half of his *Ardhanārīśvara* form is Agni. The other half is Soma. *Agni* is immortal and *Soma* mortal. Therefore Śiva also although he swallows the poison did not permit it to come down his throat. If he had done so then poison would certainly have had its effect because poison is death and the same as matter. The five material elements are *Ākāśa*, *Vāyu*, *Agni*, *Jala* and *Prithivī* and all of them abide in *Ākāśa* which is the blue throat of Śiva. *Ākāśa* like the throat is the source of speech. It is the mortal speech *Martyā-Vāk* that is uttered from the visible *Ākāśa* or material

Ākāśa, but there is the immortal or transcendent *Ākāśa* which is called *Parama Vyoma* and that is the source of *Amritā Vāk* or immortal speech. Thus in the composite form of Śiva we find a combination of both *Amritam* and *Kālākūṭa*. In fact that is his real nature.

PRĀSĀDA-VIDHI

TEMPLE AND PALACE ARCHITECTURE

Chaps. 252-270 present a unified text dealing with the following subjects :—

1. Principle of Architecture
2. Selection of site and planning
3. Making of Divine Images
4. Building of Temples and palaces

This seems to have been an independent treatise which Matsya has borrowed. The subject is also found in the Garuḍa Purāṇa and in Viṣṇu Dharmottara and formed an essential element of the later *Silpa* texts also ; for example, in the Bṛihat-Saṁhitā of Varāha Mihira, Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra of Bhoja, Aparājita-Prichchhā of Bhuvanadeva and Vāstu-sāra of Ṭhakkur-Pherū.

Chap. 252 opens with a list of 18 teachers of Vāstu-śāstra, viz. Bhṛigu, Atri, Vasishṭha, Viśvakarmā, Maya, Nārada, Nagnajit, Viśālāksha, Indra, Brahmā, Kumāra, Nandikeśvara, Śaunaka, Garga, Vāsudeva, Aniruddha, Śukra and Bṛihaspati (M. 252. 2-3). Obviously some of these names are mythical but they seem to be based on the existence of different architectural traditions. Shri Tarapada Bhattacharaya in his study on *Vāstu Vidyā* or Canons of Indian Architecture (1947) has gone into the historicity of these writers and their work (pp. 88-103). One thing may be taken for granted that during the 4th century when Indian Architecture entered upon a renewed course of creativity and development names of the 18 teachers had become standardised as representing so many different branches or schools of Architectural Canons.

BIRTH OF VĀSTU—The birth of Vāstu-śāstra is traced from *Rudra* after his encounter with the demon *Andhaka*. It is

imagined that although *Andhakāśura* was killed by another *Bhūta* or *Yaksha* of terrific form appeared from the brow of Śiva and he wanted to devour the whole world. Śiva granted to him a boon that he should choose for his abode separate dwelling where the gods also would live with him and thence he would be known as *Vāstu*. The *Bhūtas* thus tied to particular places asked the Devas as to the form he should take and the way of life he should adopt. It was added that the demon *Vāstu* should occupy the site lying with his face downward (स्यास्याम्यहं किमाकारो ह्यवष्टब्धो ह्यधोमुखः (M. 353. 16) and that he should receive for his food the offerings made at the time of *Vāstu-Sānti* and *Vāstu-Pūjā* (M. 252. 17-18).

IMPLICATION OF THE LEGEND— There are two implications in this legendary description. Firstly that the ancient most shrines were those of the *Bhūtas* which was a synonym of *Yaksha*. The ancient most layer of religious worship which preceded Rudra or Śiva was that of Yakshas as shown in the Chapters on *Vārāṇasī-Māhātmya*. Therefore it was natural to believe that the *Yaksha* type of shrine became the models of *Rudra-Siva* shrine and later on of other gods and goddesses following the same tradition. The second implication is that the absence of a residential dwelling is a fearful state which was replaced by the evolution of proper human dwellings. It has been stated earlier that man in the state of a hunter was without a dwelling (*Aniketa*) living in the mountainous caves or rock-shelters and under trees. This was the Palæolithic man. He was succeeded by the Neolithic man who took to agriculture and became food-gatherer giving a new fillip to the evolution of culture. Thus these two stages are referred to here as the *Bhūta-Yaksha* stage and *Rudra-Siva* stage. It appears that the former was followed by the latter and *Yaksha* shrines were replaced by regular *Siva* shrines or *Siva-Liṅgas*. There is a distinction between the two. A *Yaksha* image is like a small conical pillar with a niche for keeping a lamp. The *Siva-Liṅga* is round at the top and without a niche. In a *Yaksha* shrine there can be no other image whereas under in a *Siva* shrine there may be other

images. Generally in each village there was a *Yaksha* platform (cf. the saying :—गव गव को ठाकुर गव गव को बीर) but in the case of *Śiva-Liṅgas* the rule was elastic. In the beginning there were no roof. *Yaksha* and *Śiva*-images which were aniconic were placed on platform (सं० चत्वर, हि० चौरा) under the open sky. This fact is confirmed by archæological finds and we may thus find here a reference to the earliest origin of image worship in local cults.

VĀSTU-PADA-VINYĀSA— Chap. 253 deals with the important topics, first description of the squares on the site plan and secondly of *Vāstu-Purusha*.

VĀSTU-PADA-CHAKRA OR DEVATĀ-STHĀNA— This interesting topic corresponds to the modern conception of a graph dividing the ground plan into squares and giving a name to each square. There are three kinds of graphs as follows :—

1. Chatuḥ-shasṭī-pada, in which the area of the site (*Talachhanda*) is divided into 64 equal squares (8×8).
2. Ekāśīti-pada, in which the site is divided into 81 equal squares (9×9 *Navanavakāḥ* M. 253. 21).
3. Śata-pada, in which the site is divided into 100 equal squares (10×10 , this is not given in the *Matsya*).

Normally the plot intended for building houses or residential building was treated on the 9×9 square basis and the one for palaces and temples on the 8×8 square basis. The description of the *Matsya* is detailed about the 81 square plan. This may be said to be a convenient method for indicating any spot on the plan by the name of a particular deity presiding over a particular square. In the centre is the abode of *Brahmā* occupying 9 squares. On the four sides of *Brahmā* are *Arymā*, *Vivasvān*, *Maitra* and *Prithivīdhara* (*Ananta*) each of whom is *Tripada* occupying three squares (M. 253. 33). In each of the four corners there are five deities each occupying one square (पदिकानान्तु वर्गोऽयमेव कोणेष्वशेषतः, M. 253. 32). For Example, the north-east corner is occupied by *Āpa*, *Āpavatsa*, *Parjanya*, *Īśa* (*Agni* in *Matsya*) and *Diti* and each is called a *Padika* deity. Between each pair of

two corners there are 20 gods, five on each side and each occupying two squares therefore called *Dvipāda* (तन्मध्ये तु बहिर्विश द्विपदास्ते तु सर्वशः, M. 253. 32).

VĀSTU-DEVATĀ--Besides the practical significance of the *Vāstu-Devatās* indicating the different squares in the ground plan of the building there is another aspect which governed the nomenclature of the *Vāstu-Devatās* and their placement in four bands. If we look at the *Vāstu* diagram it is a *Chatushpada* conception similar to that of *Chatushpada* Brahma. In the centre is Brahma who is surrounded by three bands or sheaths in the inner most band are the *Tripādita Devatās*, in the middle band *Dvipāda* and in the outer band *Elka-pada*. There three bands of divinities correspond to the *Sāttvika*, *Rājasika* and *Tāmasika* powers. The interaction of which is constantly present in the *Vāstu* and influenced the person who resides there.

But whether one realises it or not the *Vāstu* is the emergence of a divine *Kshetra* in the midst of the Āsuric universal. The forces of all the *Devas* are concentrated on the limited sanctified area of the *Vāstu*. *Sūrya* is the abode of all the gods and the divine centre which impells the deities in the cosmos (*Savitā vai devānām prasavitā*). That Sun constantly keeps an eye on the *Vāstu* as its *Adhyaksha*. It makes a daily *Parikramā* of the *Vāstu* moving through the two quadrants in the day, the first from morn to noon and the second from noon tide till evening, and through the other two quadrants during the night. The Sun rises in the east and sets in the west from the moment of early dawn (*Brāhma-Muhūrta*) begins the influence of the Solar rays on each *Vāstu*. This influence waxes until noon and then begins to wane. Howsoever strong the Solar deity presiding over each *Vāstu* may be it is overpowered by the opposite Āsuric principle of darkness. The *Vāstu* is a complete specimen or replica of the cosmos in which light and darkness exists together. This is expressed by the two divisions of the *Vāstu* in which the two diagonal (*Vamśa*) divide the *Vāstu* into the eastern quadrant presided by *Arymā* and the southern

quadrant by Vivasvān and similarly into the western quadrant presided by Mitra and the northern quadrant by Prithivī-dhara also called Ananta or the cosmic Serpent. In the first two quadrant are deities of Light and in the last two of Darkness. The former set includes such celestial forces as symbolised by Isāna, Parjanya, Jayant (= or Kaśyapa), Indra, Sūrya, Satya, Vṛisha (= Kāma) and Akāśa (= Nabhas). This is the first octave of heavenly powers. The second one on the south begins with Agni and accompanied by Ushā (= Mātṛikās), Vitatla (Son of Kali), Gṛihakshata (son of Chandra) or Budha, Yama (son of Vivasvān Dharmarāja), Gandharva (= Nārada), Bhṛiṅgarāja (son of Nirṛiti), Mṛiga (= Agni on earth). This is how the Solar influence begins to decline in the other two quadrants towards west and south is the region of Pitṛis who head the list of the deities. After them we have Nandī (*Dauārika*) who is the guardian of all the grotesque and evil Gaṇas in the family of Śiva. In his company is Manu Ādi Prajāpati who is himself auspicious but has to submit to the influence of Darkness in association with other deities like Varuṇa, Rāhu, Śosha (= Śaniśchara), Pāpa Yakshmā, Roga, Nāga (= Vāsuki), Mukhya (= Tvashṭā, who brings about fragmentation of forms, Bhallata (= Chandra, a form of Vṛitrāsura), Soma (= Kubera), Charaka, Aditi and Diti. Most of these are the spirits of death and darkness which symbolise the reverse arms of the *Svastika*. It is after all a complete rotation of the Wheel of time witnessed everyday in the changing colours of the Solar rays falling on each Vāstu. Brahmā is the principle of Hiranyagarbha in the centre of each Vāstu. He is the golden germ or Prāṇa or Life and Light, that is the soul of each Vāstu. The external Sun moving round him is coming into contact with the centre and radiating its subtle influences through each hour of day and night. The power of the Sun consists in the mystery of his rays which are represented here by eight Eka-padika Devas on each side of the peripheral band. The Vāstu is thus conceived as placed in space-time relata and constantly fecundated by the most subtle actinic and thermic radiations. Each Vāstu is thus

पूर्व

ईश	पर्जन्य	जय	इन्द्र	सूर्य	सत्य	भृश	आकाश	अग्नि
दिति	आप						सवित्र	पूषा
अदिति		आपवत्स	अ	र्य	मा	सविता		वितथ
शैल		ऊ	ब्रह्मा			त		गृहक्षत
कुबेर		पू				वरुण		यम
भल्लाट		पु				णि		गन्धर्व
मुख्य		रुद्रदास	मै	त्र	गरा	इन्द्र		भृगराज
नाग	रुद्र						जय	मृग
रोग	पाप-यक्षमा	शेष	असुर	वरुण	पुष्पदन्त	सुग्रीव	नन्दि	पितृदेव

पश्चिम

वास्तुपदविन्यास

पूर्व

पीली पीडा								विदारिका	
चरकी	श	पर्जन्य	जय	इन्द्र	सूर्य	सत्य	भृश	आकाश	जंभा
दिति		आप	आपवत्स	अर्यमा			सवित्र	सविता	अग्नि
अदिति									पूषा
शैल									वितथ
कुबेर		भृश		ब्रह्मा				गृहक्षत	
भल्लाट							वैवस्वत		यम
मुख्य								गन्धर्व	
नाग		रुद्र रुद्रदास							भृंग
रोग				मैत्र			अय		मृग
अर्यमा	पाप यक्षमा	शेष	असुर	वरुण	पुष्पदन्त	सुग्रीव	नन्दि	पितृ	पूतना
पाण									स्कन्द
				पश्चिम					

वास्तु-पुरुष

the picture of a Solar laboratory in which the Prāṇic or Yājusha *Purusha* in *Sūrya* is represented by *Vāstu Purusha* whose centre or womb is *Prajāpati Brahmā*. (see P. A. Mankad, *Aparājita-Prichchhā*, Introduction, pp. xvi-xxii).

In all there are 45 gods, 13 on the inside and 32 on the outside or periphery. Their exact names and positions will be clear on the diagram. The subject is treated in several texts as *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā* (Chap. 45, *Haya-śrisha-Pāñcha Rātra*; Chap. 1, *Isāna Śiva-gurudēva-Paddhati*, *Samarāṅgaṇa-Sūtradhāra* and other texts there is a general agreement in the names and their positions. The diagram of 64 squares is called *Maṇḍuka-Maṇḍala* and of 81 *Parama-Sāyika* (परमशायिक). Diagram of the *padas* agrees better with the body of *Vāstu-Purusha* which is also shown on the plan (M. 253.38.46); for a detailed study of the two kinds of diagrams i.e. the *Maṇḍala* of 64 squares and 81 squares and the *Vāstu-Purusha*, see Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, pp. 46-50; diagram on p. 32 following the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*, 52. 43 ff.; also *Vāstusāra* of Thakkur Pherū edited by Pandit Bhagwan Das Jain of Jaipur, pp. 64, 68; and *Aparājita-Prichchhā* edited by Shri Mankad, p. XV).

The diagram of 81 *Vāstu padas* reproduced in this book is after Dr. Stella Kramrisch and *Vāstu-Purusha* after Pt. Bhagwandas.

The *Samarāṅgaṇa-Sūtradhāra* (Chap. 14) is the only *Vāstu-grantha* that gives the *Nighantū* of these *Vāstupadadevatās* as follows:—

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| १. ब्रह्मा = अग्निसंभव, सहस्रात्मन, | ६. अन्तरिक्ष = नभस् |
| अचिन्यविभव | १०. मास्तः = वायु |
| २. वह = सर्वभूतहर, हर | ११. पूषा = मातृगण |
| ३. पर्जन्य = वृष्टिमान्, अम्बुदाधिप | १२. वितथ = अधर्म, कलेरप्रतिमः सुतः |
| ४. जयन्त = कश्यपभगवान् | १३. गृहक्षत = चन्द्रतनय-बुध |
| ५. महेंद्र = सुराधिप, सुराधोश, | १४. यम = प्रेताधिप, Son of विवस्वान् |
| दनुजानां विमर्दन | १५. गन्धर्व = नारद |
| ६. विवस्वान् = अहस्कर | १६. भृङ्गराज = Son of निर्वृति |
| ७. सत्य = भूतहित, धर्म | १७. मुग = अनन्त, स्वयंभु धर्म |
| ८. भृश = क्रोध, मन्मथ | १८. पितरः = पितृ लोक निवासिनः देवाः |

१६. दौवारिकः = नन्दी, प्रमथानामधोश्चरः ३३. दिति = (?)
 २०. सुग्रीव = आदिप्रजापति-मनु ३४. शूलभृत् = वृषभध्वज
 २१. पुष्पदन्त = Son of विनता, ३५. आप = हिमवान्
 २२. वरुण = पाथसां नाथः, लोकपाल ३६. आपवृत्स = उमा
 २३. असुर = राहु - अकन्दुमर्दन - सिंह- ३७. अर्यमा = आदित्य
 कात्मज ३८. सावित्र = वेदमाता
 २४. शोष = सूर्य पुत्र-शनैश्चरः ३९. सवितु = देवीगंगा
 २५. पापयक्ष्मा = क्षय ४०. विवस्वान् = मृत्यु, शरीर हर्ता,
 २६. रोग = ज्वर ४१. जयाभिध = वज्री
 २७. नाग = वासुकि ४२. इन्द्र = बलवान् हरि
 २८. मुख्य = त्वष्टा, विश्वकर्मा ४३. मित्र = हलधर, माली
 २९. भल्लाट = चन्द्र ४४. रुद्र = महेश्वर
 ३०. सोम = कुबेर ४५. राजयक्ष्मा = गुह
 ३१. चरक = व्यवसाय ४६. क्षितिभ्र = अनन्त
 ३२. अदिति = श्री ४७. चरकी, विदारी, पूतना, पापराक्षसी =
 रक्षयोनिभवा देवतानुचर्यः

VAMŚA— *Vamśa* here means diagonal line of which there were six. Two of them connected the opposite four corners and the rest four formed a diagonal parallelogram in which two each of the shorter lines were parallel to the two main diagonals (M. 253. 34-37). These are described as the *Marma* or vital points of the *Vāstu-Puruṣa* and should be avoided for raising pillars and lintels i.e. reserving open spaces in the building. In the end the *Vāstu* of 64 squares is likewise described (M. 253. 46-48).

FOUR KINDS OF HOUSES— Chap. 254 describes the construction of *Chatuṣśāla*, *Triśāla*, *Dviśāla* and *Ekaśāla* houses. The *Chatuṣśāla* is defined as a house having four entrances and four *Alindas*, i.e. the ante-rooms called *Dvāra-koshṭhaka*, which are attached to the outer gateway (*Bahiradvāra*). Such a big and complete house was called *Sarvato-bhadrā*, i.e. having a face (*Bhadra*) on all the four sides. If the western entrance be omitted it is called *Nandyāvarta*. If the south entrance is omitted it is called *Vardhamāna*, if the eastern entrance is omitted it is called *Svastika*, if the northern entrance is omitted it is called *Ruchaka* (M. 254. 1-4). If the northern *Śāla* is left out

the house is called *Trisāla* and if the eastern *Sāla* is left out it is called *Sukshetra*. If the southern *Sāla* is left out it is called *Viśāla*, if the western *Sāla* is left out it is called *Pakshaghna*. In the same manner *Viśāla* houses consisting only of rooms on two sides are described.

ROYAL PALACE— The palace of the king is said to be of five kinds :

1. *Uttama*, measuring 108 cubits (*hasta*) in width by 135 cubits in length.
2. 100 cubits in width by 125 cubits in length.
3. 92 " " by 115 " "
4. 84 " " by 105 " "
5. 76 " " by 95 " "

HOUSE OF THE CROWN PRINCE— The house for Yuvarāja also is of five kinds, as follows :—

1. 80 × 107 cubits
2. 74 × 99 "
3. 68 × 91 "
4. 62 × 83 "
5. 56 × 75 "

The house of *Senāpati* is of five kinds being 64 cubits in width for the first type and then decreasing by six cubits. The length should be increased by one sixth of the ($\frac{1}{6}$ th) width. The house of a minister should be 60 cubits in length decreasing by four cubits and increased by $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the width to make it of five kinds.

OTHER HOUSES :— The houses of the *Sāmantas* and *Amātyās* (Here distinguish from *Mantrins*) are also of five kinds, the best being 48 cubits in width and decreasing by 4 cubits, and increased in length by $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the width. The houses of the *Silpins* and of *Vaiśyas* are also of five kinds, 28 cubits in width and 48 cubits in length. The houses for the middle class people are of similar dimension. The houses for *Dūtī* and for *Karmāntikas* (Superintendent of Works) should be of five kinds,

being 12 cubits in width and increased in length by $1\frac{1}{4}$ of the width. Similarly dimensions for the houses of astronomers, teachers, priests and physicians, the house of the first class being 40 cubits by 47 cubits. The houses for middle men (*Sāmānyu-griha*) measure 32 cubits by a length increased by $1\frac{1}{10}$ th, $1\frac{1}{8}$ th, $1\frac{1}{4}$ th of the width.

RELATIVE POSITIONS OF THE HOUSES— The house of the *Senāpati* should be near that of the royal palace and between them should be built the *Bhāndāgāra* (Royal store houses) and the king's residential quarters (*Nṛipavāsa-griha*). Usually the king's living apartments were built in the royal palace itself but this *Vāsagriha* seems to be another dwelling of a casual nature. The houses of the king and *Senāpati* when they are built adjacent to each other should be 70 cubits long and the area occupied by the building proper should have its diameter reduced by 14 cubits. The outer entrance (*Alinda*) should be placed at a distance of 35 cubits.

VITHIKĀ— The word *Vithikā* signifies a corridor or verandah in front of a *Sālā* or room to be $\frac{1}{3}$ rd in width (शालायास्तु त्रिभागे यस्यग्रे वीथिका भवेत्, M. 254.37). Such a house was called *Soshṇāa*. If the *Vithikā* was built on the two sides it was called a *Sāvasṭamabha* house, and if on all sides the house was called *Susthita* (समन्ताद्वीथिका यत्र सुस्थितं तदिहोच्यते, M. 254.38). Some indication is also given of the height of the several storeys. The first storey should be $\frac{1}{16}$ th of the width of the house plus 4 cubits. The succeeding storeys were to be decreased by $\frac{1}{12}$ of the height of the preceding one.

The walls of a house may be of three kinds, viz. of baked bricks or of wood or of earth :—

पक्वेष्टका भवेद्भित्तिः षोडशंशेन विस्तरात् । दारवैरपि कल्प्या स्यात्तथा मृण्मयभित्तिका ॥
(M. 254.41)

The breadth of the wall should be made $\frac{1}{16}$ th of the width of the house. In all buildings the measurement of the *Garbhagriha* determines that of the doors and the height of the roof, etc.

The width of the door-way (*Dvāra-vishkambha*) should be 68 *Āṅgulas* (= 4 ft. 3 ins.). Its height (*Uchchhṛaya*) should be twice the width, i. e. 8 ft. 6 ins. The breadth of the door-jambs (द्वारशाला-बाहुन्य) should be as many *Āṅgulas* as the number of cubits in the height of the door way. The door-sil (*Udum'ara*) and the lintel (*Uttamāṅga*) should be one half and one quarter respectively of the width of the door-jambs.

DETAILS OF PILLAR— Chap. 255 deals with the measurements and decoration of the pillar (*Stambha-māna-Viniṣṇaya*). The entire height of the building may be raised to seven times to that of the pillar. If there is a *Navagraha* lintel placed on the two jambs it may be made projecting by $1/80$ th part of the width of the jamb (अशीत्यंशः पृथुत्वे स्यादग्रे नवग्रहे सति, M. 255.2).

The pillars are of five kinds, viz. four-sided (*Ruchaka*), eight-sided (*Vajra*), sixteen-sided (*Dvivajra*), thirty-two sided (*Pralinaka*), and the one which is round in the middle portion, i. e. of circular shaft called *Vṛitta* (M. 255. 2.3).

The pillars are decorated (*Rūpita*) with different motifs such as lotus (*Padma*), flower-stick (*Vullī*), creeper design (*Latā*), Full-Vase *Pūrṇa-Kumbha* which was incorporated in the basement and the capital foliated scroll (*Patra*) and circular mirrors (*Darpaṇa* 255.4) which were engraved on the four sides of a square pillar (पञ्चत्रलोलताकुम्भपत्रदर्पणरूपिताः). The design of the *Darpaṇa* as a circular disc in the upper portion of the four faces of a *Ruchaka* pillar was very pleasing and seen on the square pillars of the Gupta period. The decoration of *Patrāvalī* or conventionalised foliated leaves was a special feature of Gupta art bearing several names as *Patra-latā*, *Patrāṅgulī*, *Kuṭila-patra*, etc. The *Patra-latā* designs were used in sculpture, painting, moulded bricks and ornaments as evident from literary description and surviving art monuments. A very conspicuous example is carved stone surface (आच्छादनपट्ट) of the Dhamekha Stūpa at Sarnath. The Gupta pillar was a thing of joy and beauty, developed as a perfect architectural specimen with various decorations.

In verse 19 there is again a mention of the main entrance to the *Garbha-griha* of a house or palace being decorated with such designed as *Kumbha*, *Srīparṇī* and *Vallī*. *Srīparṇī* here is a new motif signifying the same as *Śrī-vriksha*, i. e. a foliated design in segment repeated and super-imposed one over the other as is seen on the door-jambs of *Daśāvatāra* temple of Deogarh. The door-jambs of the main entrance (*Mūla-dvāra*) were particularly decorated as decorations where the gods had taken their seats. This custom of decorating the main doorway of a house whether in stone or wood has come down up to our own days except where the tradition has not been rudely disturbed.

TULĀ AND UPATULĀ— In relation to the door-jambs and the doorway two essential architectural elements known as *Tulā* and *Upatulā* have been described. The *Tulā* is entablature placed on the capital of the pillar or door jambs and the *Upatulā* is the lintel supported on the *Tulā*. The width of the *Tulā* should be equal to that of the door-jamb (*Stambha-tulyā tulā proktā*), but reduced only by one-ninth part of the width of the pillar so as to be accommodated quite firmly on the top of the *Padma-Kumbha* capital (स्तम्भस्य नवमांशेन पद्मकुम्भान्तराणि तु, M. 255. 5). The word *Padma-Kumbha* is technical for the Full-Vase and Lotus capitals commonly seen on the Gupta and post Gupta pillars. The *Upatulā* or the lintel with lion dentils and other designs which is placed on the above the entablature of the door way should be made somewhat reduced in width of the *Tulā*.

ŚILĀNYĀSA— Chap. 256 takes up the subject of laying the foundation and *Vāstu-Santi*. These ceremonies are known by the general name of *Vāstu-Yajña*. The first of them begins with *sūtra-pāta* or measuring of the site-plan; the second relates to the raising and of the main pillar (मूल स्तम्भोच्छ्रय, स्तम्भोदय). The third special ceremony is to be performed on the day when the door of the main entrance to the house (*Dvāra-Vamśochhraya*) is fixed in position. The fourth ceremony takes place after the house is completed and at a time of *Griha-praveśa*. The

fifth may be performed whenever there is an occasion for *Vāstu-Sānti*. It is stated that the main foundation pillar should be raised on a *Silā* or stone block under which some Ratna or precious jewels etc. have been deposited (रत्नोपरि शिलां कृत्वा सर्ववोज-समन्वितां चतुर्भिर्ब्राह्मणैः स्तम्भं कारयित्वा सुपूजितम्, M. 256. 6).

Sūtra-pātu or *Sūtra-māpana* is meant the division of the site into equal squares either 81 or 64 or 100 as the case may be by making deep marks on the site (*Pada-vilekhana*).

TIMBER FOR HOUSES— Chap. 257 describes how timber should be obtained from strong and well grown forest-tree (*Dārvāharana*). It is recommended that trees like *Āsana*, *Āśoka*, *Madhua*, *Sarjya*, *Sāla*, *Chandana*, *Panasa*, *Devadāru*, *Haridru*, *Simśapā*, *Śrīparaṇī*, *Tiṇḍukī*, *Sarala*, *Arjuna* and *Padmāka* are better for house construction than other and the best of all is *Simśapā* (Hindī. *Śīsam*, *Dalbergia Sissoo*), which is still the most approved Indian wood for door-leaves and house construction besides *Śāla* (*Soria Rebusa*) and *Devadāru*.

WORSHIP OF IMAGES— Chap. 258 is entitled '*Kriyā-Yoga-Vidhi*' which in simple words denotes the worship of Gods in the form of images as the practical side of religion (क्रिया योगं प्रवक्ष्यामि देवतार्चां नु कीर्तनम्, M. 258. 2). The installation of a Divine Image in a temple and its proper worship is equal in merit to a *Yajña* (M. 258. 3). This was a new doctrine inculcated by the *Bhāgavata* teachers that the worship of *Nārāyaṇa* or *Śiva* through images in the temples confers the merit (*Punya*) both of *Yajña* (*Anatarvedi*) and of meritorious works (*Āpūrta*) like *Vāpi*, *Kūpa*, *Ārāma*, etc. called *Bahirvedi*.¹ Both of these accrue to the individual who devotes himself to ideal worship. The entire institution of image worship was so elaborated as to include the arts of singing, dancing, recitation of Mantras, sculpture, painting,

1. यज्ञेषु देवयजनमन्तर्वेदि प्रकीर्तितम् । बहिर्वेदि तथैवोक्तमुपवासव्रतादिकम् ॥
 इष्टापूर्तेन लभ्यन्ते ये लोकास्तान्भूषता । देवानामालयः कार्यो द्वयमप्यत्र दृश्यते ॥
 विशेषेण कलौ, कृत्वा कर्त्तव्यं देवतागृहम् । कृतत्रेताद्वापरेषु नराः पश्यन्ति देवताम् ॥

architecture and a number of other useful arts and practices which together made the complete form of the *Devatārcchanam*.

In Chaps. 258-263 the subject of images of the various gods and goddesses is dealt with in a detailed manner.

✓ IMAGE OF VISHṆU— God Vishṇu should be eight-armed, four-armed or even two-armed. If the image has eight hands it should hold as its *Ayudhas*, a sword, arrow, club, lotus, in the right hands and bow, shield, conch and disc in the left. The four hands should hold *Gadā* and *Padma* in the right and *Śaṅkha* and *Chakra* in the left. These attributes may be seen in the image of *Vishṇu* in Kushāṇa and Gupta Art. *Prithivī* should be shown between the feet of Vishṇu and *Garuḍa* in a bowing posture on the right. On the left of the deity should be shown *Lakshmī* holding lotuses in her hand. *Garuḍa* can also be depicted in front of the deity. On the two sides *Srī* and *Pushpī* holding lotuses may be shown. In the background of Vishṇu image may be a *Toraṇa* (as seen in the well known seated Buddha image of Sarnath), two *Vidyādhara*s, or *Gandharva*s and divine music (*Devadundubhī*). The *Vidyādhara* figures hold garlands of flowers (*Mālā-Vidyādhara*, M. 268. 20), or of beads *Gulikā-Vidyādhara*)

UMĀ-MAHEŚVARA—The image of *Umā-Maheśvara* should show Śiva as four-armed or two-armed having matted locks on the head and three eyes with one hand placed on the shoulder of *Umā*. The goddess should be seated on his left thigh and her hair be shown in frizzled locks (*Alakair-lalitānanā*) and big earrings in her ears as also *Muṇi-Kuṇḍala*, *Karṇika*, *Hāra* and *Keyūra*. She should be touching with her left hand the shoulder of Śiva with a sportive gesture. In her left hand she should hold a mirror or blue lotus. Her girdle consists of three strings with which are pendent in fastune like manner (*Pralambaka*). *Jayā* and *Vijayā* and *Kārttikeya* and *Gaṇeśa* should be shown on the two sides. On the two sides above the *Toraṇa* should be shown *Gāṇas* and *Guhyakas* and *Mālā Vidyādhara*s (Garland-bearing *Vidyādhara* couples) and also *Apsarās* holding *Vīṇa* (M. 260. 11-20).

The *Toraṇa* should be decorated by foliated scroll work (*Patra vallī samopetum*) and on the two sides there should be *Vyālaka* figures of lions and tigers *Simha-Vyāghra-Samanvitam*) as seen in the *Toraṇa* of the Sarnath Buddha figure. The motif of *Kalpalatā* and of gods reciting stotras should also be depicted. The pedestal should be one third of the height of the image.

MĀNONMĀNA— This is a tabular statement of measurement :—

1 Trasareṇu—one particle of dust in a Sun beam =
1 Treasareṇu

8 Trasareṇus = Bālāgra

8 Bālāgra = 1 Likshā

8 Likshās = 1 Yūkā

8 Yūkās = 1 Yava (Barley)

8 Yavas = 1 Aṅgula

12 Aṅgulas = 1 Vitasti or Tāla

This gives us a basis for the measurement of images both in length and width.

An image can be of different materials, e.g. *Sauvarṇi* (gold), *Rājatī* (Silver), *Tāmri* (copper), *Ratnamayī* (precious gems), *Sailī* (stone), *Dārumayī* (wood), *Loha saṅghamayī* (of eight metals or *Aṣṭadhātu*, *Rītikā-Dhātuyuktā*, an alloy of bronze and other metals, *Tāmra-kaṣṣamayī*, an alloy of copper and bronze. An image to be installed for private worship in houses should measure from the width of a Thumb to 12 Aṅgulas. In a temple the height of image should be upto 16 Vitastis, in accordance with the wealth of the *Yajamāna*. The height of the door-way may be divided into 8 parts. Its seven parts may again be divided into three, two of which determine the height of the image and the third that of the pedestal (*Piṭhikā*, M. 258. 25).

The Navatāla Image—The height of an image is said to be *Navatāla*, 108 Aṅgulas as follows :—

TĀLA-MĀNA ICONOMETRY

ऊर्ध्वमान (Height Measures)

Sanskrit Names	Modern Name	Unit of Māna
1. मुख (<i>Mukh</i>)	<i>Mukha</i> is the face, not mouth mouth—from chin to the top of the forehead	12 <i>Āṅgulas</i> (अंगुल)
2. ग्रीवा (<i>Grīvā</i>)	Neck from chin to the collar bone	4 „
3. हृदय (<i>Hṛdaya</i>)	From collar-bone to the heart or thorax	12 „
4. नाभिस्तस्मादधः	Upper half of the abdomen from the heart to the navel (Umbilicus)	12 „
5. नाभि	The hole of the navel	1 „
6. मेढ्रमूल (<i>Medhramūla</i>)	From umbilicus to external genital organ	12 „
7. ऊरु (<i>Uru</i> , Thigh)	From pubis to knee-cap	24 „
8. जानुनी (<i>Jānunī</i>)	Knee-caps	4 „
9. जङ्घा (<i>Jaṅghā</i>)	Leg from knee-cap to ankle	24 „
10. पाद (<i>Pāda</i>)	Foot from ankle to sole	4 „
Total		= 108 <i>Āṅgulas</i> = 9 <i>Vitastis</i> = 9 Tāla mea- sures = 81" or 6'-9"

विस्तर मान [Widthwise Measures]

[पृथुत्व = विस्तर = Width]

11. मौलि	Distance between the two temples across the forehead	14 <i>Āṅgula</i> (अंगुल)
12. ललाट	Ht. of the fore-head	4 „
13. ऊर्ध्वनासा	From root of the nose to the tip	4 „
14. नासाग्र to ओष्ठ	From nostril to lip	2 „

15. अघरोष्ठ to हनु	From lips to the chin	2	अंगुल
16. ललाट आयाम	Length of the fore-head	8	"
17. भ्रू आयाम	Length of the two eye-brows	8	"
18. भ्रुवोर्ल्लेखा	Width of the brows in the middle portion	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
19. अक्षिणी आयाम or अक्षिणी-विस्तर	Length of the eye width of the eye	2 1	" "
20. मध्ये उन्नतोदर अक्षि	The eye-ball should be convex		
21. रक्तान्ते अक्षि	Internal and external canthus should be red		
22. दृष्टि	In the centre of the eye-ball is the pupil = $\frac{1}{5}$ of the eye ball	$\frac{1}{5}$	of the eye-ball
23. भ्रुवोर्मध्ये नासामूल	Distance between the inner ends of the eye-brows and root of the nose	2	अंगुल
24. नासाग्र	Tip of the nose	1	"
25. नासापुट	Oblique walls of the nostrils	1	"
26. नासाविल	Each nostril or nasal orifice	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
27. कपोले द्वयंशुले तद्वत्कर्णमूलाद्विनिर्गते	Cheeks should be raised from the base of the ear.	2	"
28. हन्वग्र	Chin should be projecting	1	"
29. तद्वद्विस्तरो	and its width	2	"
30. उत्तरोष्ठ	Thickness of the upper lip.	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
31. सुक्लिणी	The distance between the centre of the lips to the angle of the mouth.	2	"
32. कर्णमूल	Distance between the angle of the mouth and base of the ear (tragus).	6	"
33. कर्णौ (ऊर्ध्वमान)	Vertical length of the ear.	4	"
34. कर्ण-भ्रू	Distance between the outer end of the eyebrow and the year.	4	"

35. कर्ण-पार्श्व	Vertical height of the lobule and its width.	2 अंगुल 1 "
36. कर्णयोरुपरिष्ठाच्च मस्तक	From the centre of the ear to the mid-point of the head.	12 "
37. ललाटे पृष्ठतोऽर्धेन	Distance between the lower part of the forehead and the occipital region.	18 "
38. शिरोगत परीणाह	Circumference of the head	36 "
39. सकेशनिचय	Girth circumference of the head along the hair.	42 "
40. केशान्तात् हनुका	From middle print of the hair-line up to the tip of the chin.	16 अंगुल
41. ग्रीवामध्यपरीणाह	Circumference of the neck at its broadest part	24 "
42. ग्रीवापृष्ठद्वि	Transverse diameter of the neck	8 " or 1/3 of No. 41
43. स्तनग्रीवान्तर	Distance between the स्तनसूत्र (Nipple line) and ग्रीवासूत्र (Neck-line)	12 "
44. स्तनयोरन्तरं	Distance between the two nipples	12 "
44. स्तनयोः मण्डलं	The black pigmented area round the nipple (Areola)	2 "
45. चूचुकौ	Thickness and height of the nipples	1/4th अंगुल = 2 यव
46. वक्षःस्थल	Front of the chest	24 अंगुल
47. बाहुमूलस्तनान्तरे कक्षे	Distance between the nipples and middle axillary line	6 "
48. पादौ	Length of the foot	14 "
49. अंगुष्ठ	Toe	3 "
50. अंगुष्ठाग्र-परीणाह	Circumference of the tip of the toe	5 "
51. प्रदेशिनी	Index finger	5 "

52. मध्यमाङ्गुलि	Middle finger	Less by 1/61th part
53. अनामिका	Ring-finger	" " 1/8th "
54. कनिष्ठा	Small finger	" "
56. गुल्फौ	Ankles	2 अंगुल
57. पाष्णिः	Ht. of Heel	2 "
58. अंगुष्ठः	Circumference of Thumb	2 "
59. प्रदेशिनी	Circumference of Index finger	3 "
60. कनिष्ठिका	Circumference of small finger	Less by 1/8th part
61. जङ्घाग्र-परीणाह	Circumference of the lower end of leg	14 अंगुल
62. जंघामध्य	" " middle portion "	18 "
63. जानुमध्य	" " the knee-cap	21 "
64. जानूच्छ्रयः	Ht. of the knee-cap	1 "
65. मण्डलम्	Circumference of the knee-cap	3 "
66. उरुमध्य-परीणाह	" " thigh in the middle	28 "
67. उरु-उपरिष्ठ-परीणाह	" " " in the upper part	31 "
68. वृषणौ	Scrotum	3 "
69. मेढू परीणाह	Male Organ	6 "
70. मणिबन्ध	Glans penis	2 "
71. केशरेखा	From glans penis to pubic hair	2 "
	Circumference of the glans penis	4 "
72. मणिकोश		18 "
73. कटिः	Buttock	
74. स्त्रीणां कटिः	Female buttocks	22 "
75. स्तनौ	Female breasts	12 "
76. नाभिमध्यपरीणाह	Circumference at the navel	42 "
77. पुरुषकट्यां वेष्टनम्	Male girth at navel	55 "
78. स्कन्धौ	Shoulder	6 "
79. ग्रीवा	Neck	8 "
80. भुजयोः आयामः	Length of the arms	42 "
81. बाहुशिखर	Top of shoulder measures from neck to the post- erior end	16 "

82. बाहुपर्यन्त ऊर्ध्वं	Distance from the spine of the scapula to the elbow	18 अंगुल
83. बाहुद्वितीयपर्वं	Distance from the elbow to the wrist	17 „
84. बाहुमध्यपरीणाह	Circumference of the middle of arm	18 „
85. प्रबाहुः	Circumference of the forearm	16 „
86. अग्रकरः	Wrist	6 „
87. करतलम्	Palm	7 „
88. मध्यमाङ्गुलि	Middle finger	5 „
89. अनामिका	Ring finger	7 „
90. अंगुष्ठपरिणाह	Circumference of Thumb	4 „
91. मध्यमा यध्यभागं	Middle of the middle finger	2 „
92. केशवल्ली	Distance from the scapula to the knape or the point of <i>venī</i>	10 „

Chap. 259 takes up the images of various gods, e. g. Balarāma, Varāha, Narasiṃha, Vāmana (who should be made of the *Sapta-tāla* measure), Matsya and Kūrma,

✓ **RUDRA**— A detailed description of the image of Śiva is given. He should have a crescent on his matted locks, appear like a youth of 16 years, be wrapped in *Vyāghra-charma* (Tiger's skin) and hold in his hands various weapons like *Śakti*, *Daṇḍa*, *Triśūla* and *Śaṅkha* in the right hand and *Kapāla*, *Khetaka*, *Nāga* and *Khatvāṅga* in the left hand. A reference is also found to the *Natarāja* form of Śiva when he should stand in the *Vaiśākha* pose, have 10 arms and be holding an elephant's skin. Śiva as *Jñāna-yogeśvara* (*Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form) should have either four arms or eight arms.

✓ **ARDHANĀRĪŚVARA FORM OF ŚIVA**— Chap. 260 describes the *Ardhanārīśvara* form of Śiva (M. 260. 1-10), *Umā-Maheśvara* image, *Śiva-Nārāyaṇa* (*Hari-Hara* form) of Śiva images. Then the image of *Mahā-Varāha* lifting the earth from the ocean on his pointed tusk and placing one foot on tortoise and the other on the

cosmic serpent and being praised by the *Lokapālas*. Images of the other incarnations are also described, e. g. *Narasimha*, *Trivikrama* or *Vāmana*, *Matsya* and *Kūrma*. *Brahmā*, *Kārttikeya*, *Kātyāyanī* (*Mahishāsura-mardinī*), *Indra* and *Indrāṇī* images are also described as they were made in the Gupta period.

✓ IMAGE OF SŪRYA— Chap. 261 describes an image of Sūrya. He should be seated in a chariot with one wheel and drawn by seven horses. In his two hands lifted to the shoulders are held two lotuses. He wears a different kind of *Mukuta* (*Vichitra mukuta*) and his body is covered with a coat (*Cholaka*) or sometimes he may be painted with a pair of garments (*Vastrayugma-samopetam*). The hint is that Sun images were dressed from the Kushan period onwards for about five hundred years in Northern dress (*Udichya-vesha*) consisting of a coat, trousers and thick boots. Gradually the features were Indianised and the Northern dress began to be replaced by the Indian style of drapery. Because of his wearing boots the convention became current that his feet should not be shown (*Charaṇau tejasāvritau*).

On his two sides *Danḍī* and *Piṅgala* should be shown as attendants. *Danḍin* is also written in other texts as *Danḍa*. In Art he is represented as holding a staff. *Piṅgala* is shown in images as an amanuensis of Sūrya holding pen in right hand and ink-pot in left, but here both are said to be holding daggers and a new attendant named *Dhātā* holding a pen is introduced (M. 261.6).

Aruṇa is the charioteer of Sūrya. He was not depicted in the Kush images but began to be represented in Gupta period. There are two alternatives about the number of horses, either they may be two on the two sides or they may be seven restrained by reins in the forms of serpents. It seems that the mention of two horses belongs to an earlier stage when it was an iconographic fact in Kush period as seen in many images at Mathura. But in the Gupta period the number of horses was raised to seven. It seems that the statement about seven horses is a later addition.

✓ IMAGE OF AGNI— Agni should be represented like a Brāhmaṇa wearing sacred thread and a long beard (*Lamba-kurcha-dhara*). The flames round his body (*Jvālā-vitānu*), water-pot in left and rosary in right hand, and a goat as his vehicle (*Aja-vāhana*) are also mentioned.

✓ IMAGES OF YAMA ETC.— Then the writer proceeds to describe the images of the *Lokapālu* gods like Yama on a human corpse, Varuṇa on *Makara*, Vāyu on deer and Kubera bearing a club (*Gadādhara*) and accompanied by the 8 *Nidhis* (*Nidhyā-shṭaka-samanvita*). He should be a pot-bellied (*Mahodara*) and colossal (*Mahākāya*) and wear two conspicuous ear-rings.

✓ ŚIVA— He should be shown as holding trident in one hand with three eyes and standing against the bull. This was the form in which Śiva is generally represented on Kushan coins of Vema, Takshamā and Huvishka and Vāsudeva, and also in a number of early Kushan statues from Mathura. In this form he was known as Nandikeśvara.

✓ Then there is a description of the images of Seven Mātrikās, viz. Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaishṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī and Chāmundā (M. 261. 24-28). The description tallies with the images in the Gupta period, since in the Kushan images of the Mātrikās there are no distinctive emblems or vehicles. On one side of the Mātrikā-panel there should be figure of Vināyaka or Gaṇeśa and on the other Vireśvara holding a Viṇā. Goddess Śrī is given several features which apply to her form in the Gupta period, e. g. mention of four elephants sprinkling water over her with jars held in their trunks (M. 261. 46). A new image of Yakshiṇī shown with two full vases on her sides is mentioned which does not seem to be identified so far.

In the Nāga images the upper half of the body is human and the lower half like that of Nāgas (serpent) but hoods should be shown above the head (*Adhastāt prakṛitis teśhām nābhe rūrdhvaṁ tu pauruṣhī*).

Kshetrapāla should be depicted with matted locks and a grotesque face holding a Kapāla in left hand and a spear in right.

IMAGE OF KĀMADEVA— It should be two-armed, with a horse-faced attendant holding a *Makaradhvaja* banner (*Pārśve chāśva mukhaṁ tasya makaradhvajasaṁyutam*, M. 261. 53). A figure of Kāma exactly answering to this description has been found in Mathura art of the Kushan period on a lintel depicting scenes from Buddha's life. Kāma may hold in his right hand the flower arrow and in left a flower bow. On his right side is depicted Prīti carrying articles of food (*Bhojanopaskarānvitā*) and on left Rati. Near his bedstead should be the figure of a *Sārasa* bird and the figure of the God of love should be made beautiful in every way, standing in a slightly tilted pose (*Saṁsthānam īśhaḍ vakraṁ syād*).

Chap. 262 deals with *Pīthikā-lakṣhaṇa* or details of basement. The height should be divided into 16 parts, as follows:—

1. <i>Bhūmi-pravishṭa</i>	1 part
2. <i>Jagatī</i>	4 parts
3. <i>Vṛtta-pāṭala</i>	1 part
4. <i>Kaṇṭhā</i>	3 parts
5. <i>Kaṇṭhā-paṭṭa</i>	3 parts
6. <i>Ūrdhva paṭṭa</i>	2 parts
7. <i>Paṭṭikā</i>	2 parts
Total	16 parts

These are the various mouldings of the basement (*Pīthikā*) which also included the special moulding known as *Jagatī*. The terms used here are of the early Gupta period, since altar on the mouldings become more elaborate and the names also changed. The 3 parts of *Jagatī* should be successively recessed and above them the moulding should be made projecting up to the upper most *Paṭṭikā*.

प्रविष्टभागमेकैकं जगतीं यावदेव तु ।

निर्गमस्तु पुनस्तस्य यावद्वै शेषपट्टिका ॥ (M. 262.4)

At the level of the *Paṭṭikā* there should be a channel (*Praṇāli*) for flow of water (*Vāri-nirgamanārtham*) which was often made with *Makara* spout, although that is not mentioned here. The text then mentions 10 kinds of *Pīthikās* (*Pīthikā, daśa-*

kīrtitāḥ). It is enjoined that the *Piṭhikā* should be of the same material as used for the image. The pedestal for all other images should be equal in length to that of the image but not so in the case of a *Śiva liṅga*. The 10 types of pedestal are as follows :—

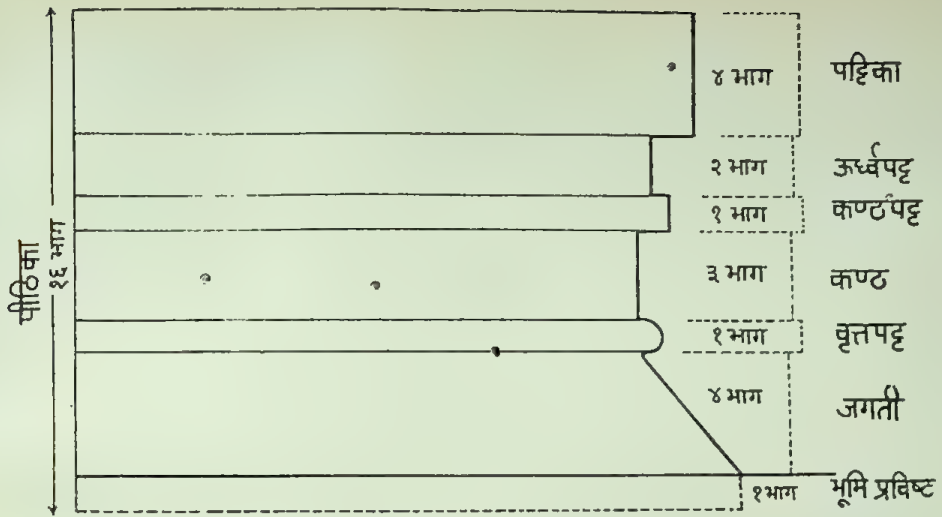
1. *Sthaṇḍila*, square in shape without any *Mekhalā* or girdle moulding.
2. *Vāpī*, with two girdle-like mouldings.
3. *Yakshī*, with three mouldings.
4. *Vedī*, rectangular in form not recommended for *Śiva liṅga*.
5. *Maṇḍala*, circular in form (*Vartula*) furnished with two or three *Mekhalās*.
6. *Pūrṇa-chandra*, with two *Mekhalās* and recessed in one portion (*rikta*) which is the reading of one manuscript.
7. *Vajrika*, hexagonal in form and having three mouldings.
8. *Padma*, 16 sides in form, and somewhat narrower at the base.
9. *Ardha-śaī*, of the form of a bow or crescent shape (*Sārdha-Chandra*).
10. *Trikona*, triangular. Its height should be one half of that of the *liṅga*; its water channel should project by 1/3rd part and its breadth also should be the same.

Chap. 263 describes *Liṅga Lakṣhaṇa* that is the characteristic features of a *Śiva liṅga* and its proper measurement (*Liṅgamāna*)

Chap. 263 deals with the making of *Śiva liṅgas* according to fixed instruction. As is well known the worship of *Śiva liṅga* became popular in the Kushan period and its importance gradually increased during the Gupta and early medieval period culminating in the building of such mighty temples as those of Virūpāksha and Ellora. In this chapter both the building of *Prāsāda* and the installation of *Liṅga* are described. One thing is stated that the *Śiva Liṅga* should be placed a little aside to the left or the Brahma Sūtra centre :—

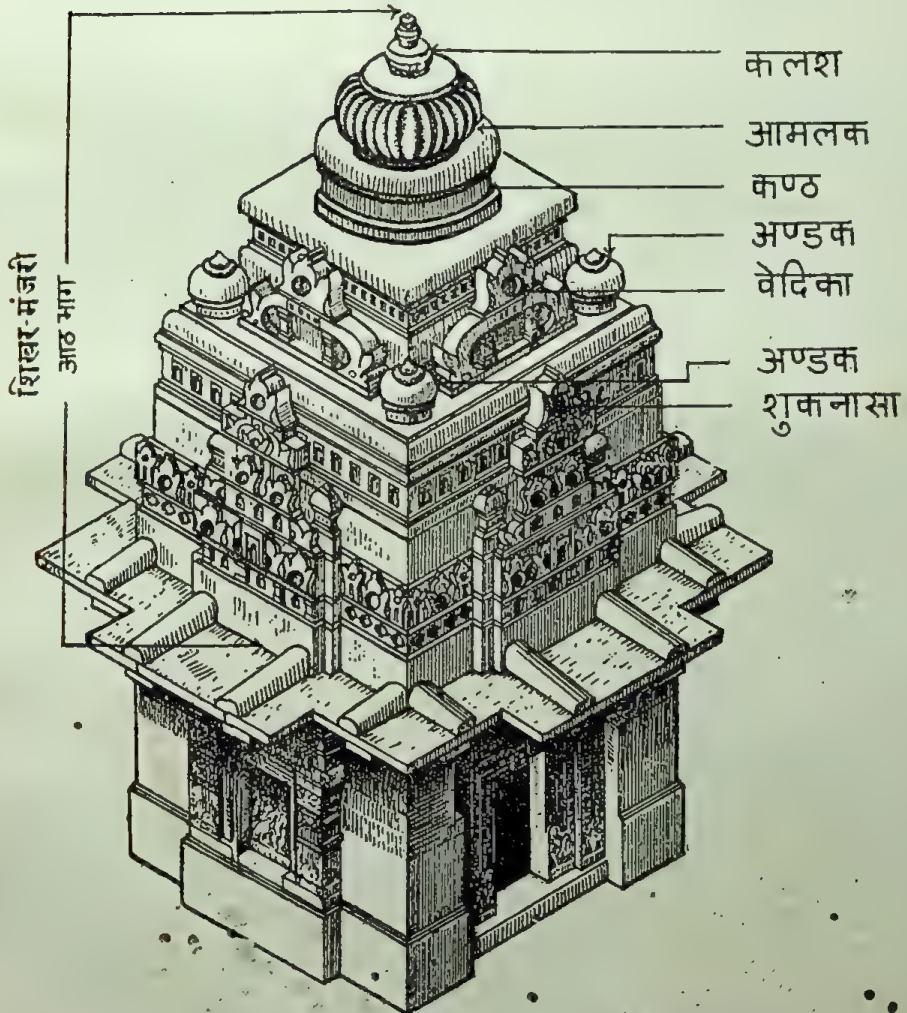
चतुरस्रे संमे गते ब्रह्मसूत्रं निपातयेत् ।

वामेन ब्रह्मसूत्रस्य अर्चयित्वा लिङ्गमेव च ॥ (M. 263. 3)



Pithikā and its parts

पीठिका के १६ भाग



Sikhara and its Parts—Daśāvatāra Temple, Deogarh

प्रासाद-शिखर

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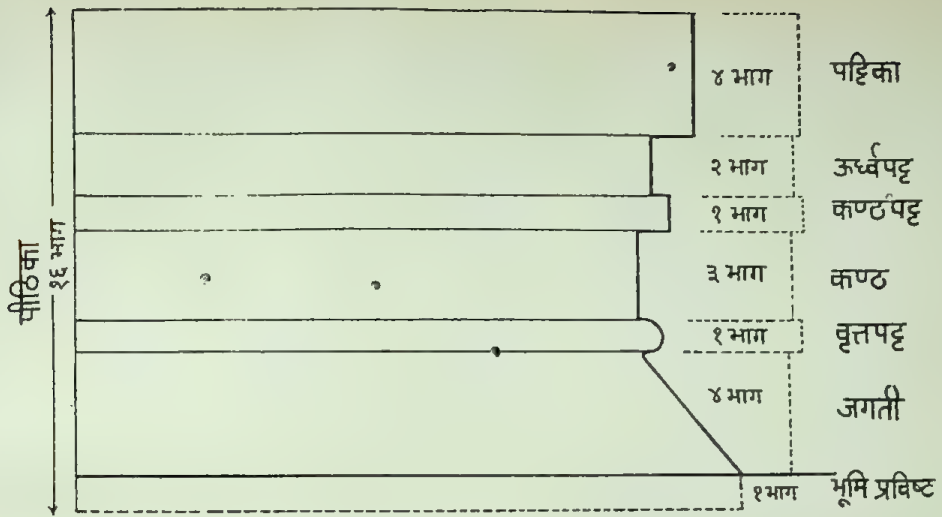
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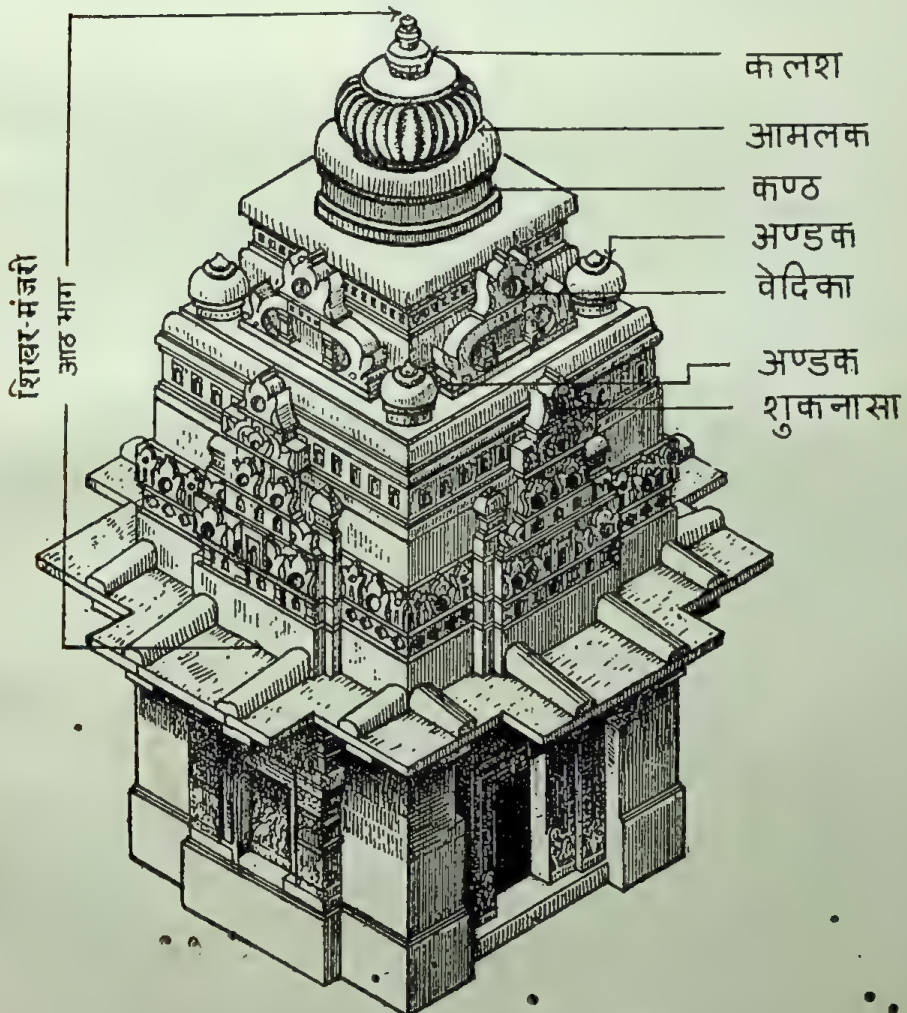
चतुरस्रे संमे गते ब्रह्मसूत्रं निपातयेत् ।

वामेन ब्रह्मसूत्रस्य अर्चया लिङ्गमेव च ॥ (M. 263. 3)



Pithikā and its parts

पठिका के १६ भाग



Sikhara and its Parts—Daśāvatāra Temple, Deogarh

प्रासाद-शिवर

The measurement of the *Linga* is determined by that of the *Garbha-griha* and there are several alternatives. It is said "that the *Linga* should be square-below, octagonal in the middle and 16 sided or round above it. The lowest part of the *Linga* is taken to Brahmā which is square ; the octagonal middle part to Vishṇu and the circular top portion to Śiva. There should be also a face carved against the *Linga* which makes it look more beautiful. This refers to the variety of *Eka Mukhī Śiva Lingas* that had become quite a common feature of cult worship in Kushan and Gupta period. The Śiva *Lingas* found in the temple at Khoh, Bhūmarā, Nachanākutharā are of the most beautiful description and in the Ekamukhī style, conforming to the description given by Kālidāsa in the *Kumāra Sambhava* of the Śiva seated in *Samādhi*.

Chap. 264 deals with the subject of the installation of images (*Deva-Pratishṭhā-vidhī*). For this purpose three things were necessary, viz. construction of a *Maṇḍapa*, a *Vedikā* in its centre and *Kuṇḍa* in the centre of the *Vedi*. The *Maṇḍapa* was to be 16 cubits 12 or 10 cubits square. The *Vedi* was to be 7, 5 or 4 cubits square in the centre of the *Maṇḍapa*. The *Maṇḍapa* was to be furnished with four *Toraṇas* on the four sides. The ceremony of *Deva Pratishṭhā* called *Adhivasana* was to continue for 10, 7, 5 or 3 days (M. 266.66). The main *Abhisheka* of the deity was to take place on the fourth place in the special *Maṇḍapa* known as *Snāna Maṇḍapa* built to the north of the main *Maṇḍapa*. A special ceremony known as *Netra-jyotiṣ* is mentioned which indicated the attaching of the eyes or the bestowing of eye-sight on the deity for which the following matra was recited :—

ओम्नमो भगवते तुभ्यं शिवाय परमात्मने ।

हिरण्यरेतसे विष्णो विश्वरूपाय ते नमः ॥ (M. 264.32).

Chap. 265 describes the science or those particular priests who were put in charge of the consecration and worship of images in the temples, they were known as *Mūrtipa* and *Sthāpaka*. The consecration ceremony was (*Adhivasotsava*) was a very compli-

cated ritual given the same dignity as a Vedic Yajña and its social side also possessed unique character. Nine *Kuṇḍas* are mentioned for the performance of *Homa Saṁstrā*. Eight of them were used for offering oblation to the eight forms of *Aṣṭamūrti* Śiva (M. 265. 38-39).

Chap. 266 describes further details about the installation of a Śiva Liṅga on a *Kūrma Śilā* below supporting a *Brahma Śilā* then a *Pinḍikā* and then the installation of a number of subsidiary Gods and Goddesses in the temple.

Chap. 267 describes the anointing ceremony of the deity (*Deva snāpana*) in which earth from a number of places and various earth were collected. The deity was bathed by holy water in a number of pots of which the total was increased in course of time to one thousand. The Śilpī who had constructed the shrine or fashioned the image and the *Sthāpaka* who had taken part in installation ceremony were duly honoured and satisfied with gifts.

PRĀSĀDA-VIDHI (Temple Architecture)— Chaps. 268-269 describe the building of temples, and chap. 270 of *Maṇḍapas*. The topic is opened with instruction to perform the passification ceremony of the *Vāstu Puruṣa* (*Vāstopaśamana*). On such occasion as repair and renovation of an old temple, planting of a garden, entering a new house, building a new temple, changing from old to a new temple, installation of doorway, the diagram of 81 squares is recommended and details of propitiating the 45 *Devatās* of the *Vāstu* with such food as may be pleasant to each one of them of which details are given.

Chap. 269 actually describes the construction of the temple. The site should be divided into 16 parts, four of which in the centre occupy the *Garbha-griha* and the 12 parts on the four sides of the *Garbha-griha* constitute the portions for the four walls round the *Garbha-griha*. The wall should be as high as the width of the *Garbha-griha* and the *Śikhara* should be twice as height rising above the vertical height of the wall.

There should be a path of circumambulation (*Pradakṣhiṇā*) round the *Garbha-griha* whose width should be $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the height of the *Śikhara*. The front *Maṇḍapa* should be as broad as the *Garbha-griha* and this is easily obtained by extending towards the front side the two extremity lines of the *Garbha-griha* (*Garbha-sūtram dvyaṁ chāgre vistaro maṇḍapastu*). The length of the front *Maṇḍapa* should be equal to that of three squares.

PRAGRĪVA— This is a new technical term which seems to signify the same as the *Anatarāla maṇḍapa* in front of the door way of the sanctum. This was an intervening stage between the *Garbha-griha* and what in later times was called the *Raṅga Maṇḍapa*. Its depth is stated to be $\frac{1}{5}$ th of the *Garbha-griha*.

MUKHA MAṆḌAPA— The *Mukha Maṇḍapa* seems to be the porch which was built in the same line as the two *Garbha-sūtras* mentioned above for the main *maṇḍapa* but the porch was vacated in the front portion (*Agrataḥ*) (M. 269.6). This is said to be the general architecture of a *Prāsāda*. In the case of a *Śiva* temple the *Pūṭhikā* was to have its measure in proportion to the *Liṅgas* and and so also the walls and the height of *Śikhara*. The width of the *Agra Maṇḍapa* or porch in a *Śiva* temples is stated to be equal to that of the shrine including the *Pradakṣhiṇā* but the depth should be one half of it.

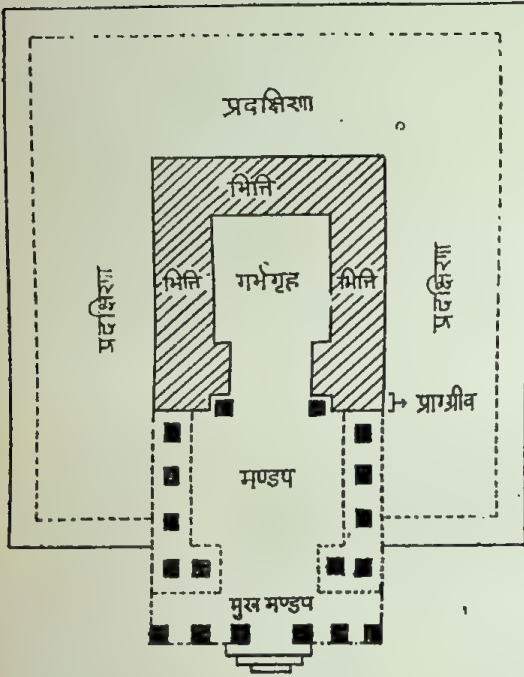
The text mentions two *Kapolas* (v. l. *Kapalas*) which should be made projecting from the vertical line of the *Prāsāda* and should be as long as the *Garbha-griha*. What actual part of temple was meant is not quite clear, but I think *Kapola* in relation to each face (*Bhadra*) of the *Prāsāda* refers to the *Ratha* and *Pratiratha* relation. In that case by projecting two *Kapolas* or "cheeks" or *Bhadrās* or *Rathas* in each face of the *Garbha-griha* the temple would be a *Pañcha-Ratha* shrine. As well known these *Ratha* and *Pratiratha* or *Bhadra* and *Pratibhadra* are made by projecting the straight lines or walls of the *Garbha-griha*

MANJARĪ— This is a technical term used in the early Purāṇic texts for a *Śikhara*. The pointed from of the *Śikhara*

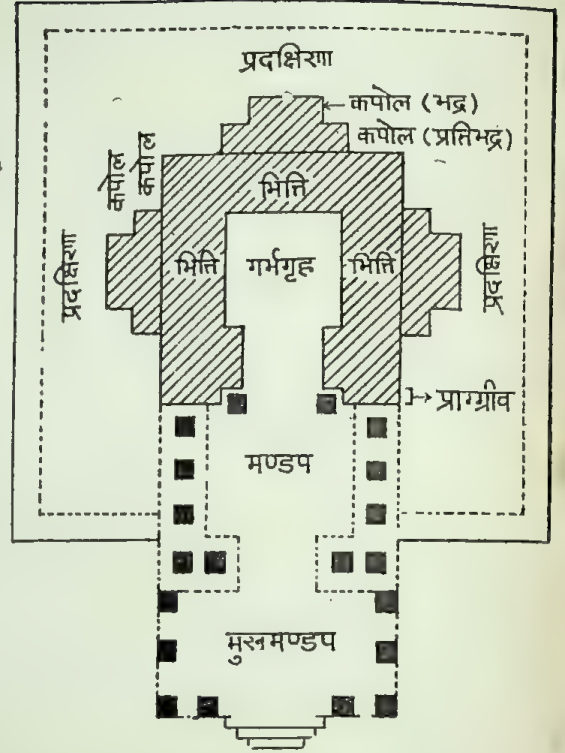
resembles very much the *Mañjarī* or flowering shoot of the mango tree. Upto the vertical height of the *Garbhagriha* a portion or shrine is called *Maṇḍovara* and the *Śikhara* was the portion rising above the cubical *Maṇḍovara*. From the top of the eve upto the upper most point of *Mañjarī* or *Śikhara* the height was divided into two portions in the centre of which was placed the moulding called *Śuka-Nāsa* i. e. the projecting back of the palace. It had two architectnral purposes, firstly the pyramidal roof over would be made only as high as the *Śuka-Nāsa*, secondly the thickness of the *Śuka-Nāsa* portion would be as much as the depth of the *Antarāla Maṇḍapa* in front of the *Garbhagriha*. It is stated in the text here that above the *Śuka-Nāsa* at a point mid way upto the height of the *Śikhara* was made another moulding called *Vedi-Bandha* and whatever portion of the *Śikhara* remained above the *Vedi* was utilised for the *Kaṇṭhā* and the *Āmalasāraka* above it. *Āmalasāraka* is the well known flattened ripped stone used on the top of the *Śikhara* above which the *Kalāśa* is placed. Between the *Āmalasāraka* and the *Skandha* or the truncated upper portion of the *Śikhara* intervened a vertical moulding named *Kaṇṭhā*.

There is a second kind of *Prāsāda* built for the installation of the *Śiva Liṅga* and its *Pūṭhikā*. Its *Garbhagriha* is divided into nine parts and the *Liṅga Pūṭhikā* is placed in the centre. The width of the wall is equal to one part and the height to five parts. The *Śikhara* is twice the height of the vertical wall. The *Śuka Nāsa* is placed in the middle of *Śikhara* and the *Vedikā* one fourth portion above it. The last quarter of the *Śikhara* is occupied by the *Kaṇṭhā* and *Āmalasāra* as before. The *Kapolas* in the case of this temple are reduced only to two, viz. *Ratha* and *Pratiratha*. The temple is decorated with foliated scroll design (*Śobhanti patra-vallibhīḥ*) probably referring to the decorations on the *Rathikās* or *Kapolas* and above the cubical portion in its *Śikhara* are a number of *Aṇḍakas*. *Aṇḍaka* also is a miniature *Śikhara* and a *Pañchāṇḍaka Prāsāda* was that type of *Śikhara* in which there was one *Śikhara* or *Mūla Mañjarī* in the centre and in the four corners four other minature *Śikharas*

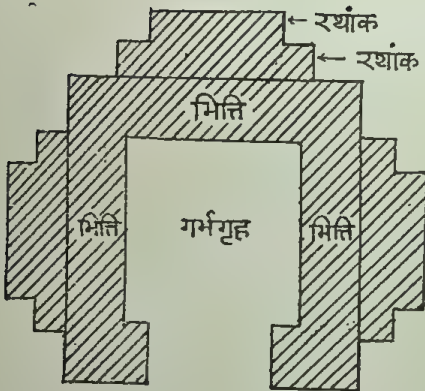
(१)



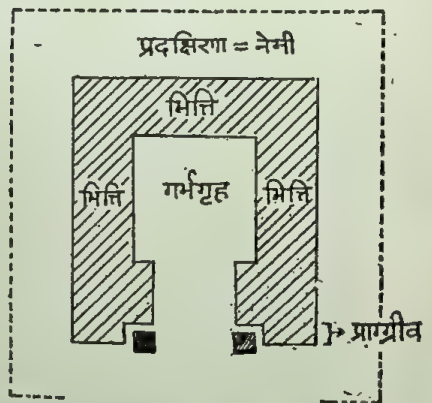
(२)



(३)



(४)



Ground Plan of Four Kinds of Temples (Matsya, Ch. 269)

चतुर्विधप्रासाद का तल-न्यास

each being called an *Anḍaka*. A *Pañchāṇḍaka Prāsāda* is compared to the five fingers of the hand brought together (*Aṅgulīputa-saṁsthānaḥ pañchāṇḍaka-vibhūṣitaḥ*, M. 269. 37).

A third kind of *Prāsāda* is also mentioned in verses 21-26. Here a clear reference is made to the *Rathāṅka* that is the image placed exteriorly on each wall of the temple which in later terminology were known as *Rathikā Bimba* (*Rathāṅkastena māne bhāhya-bhāga-vinirgataḥ*, M. 269. 22). The placing of the three deities in the three niches on the walls of the temple in the *Pradakṣhiṇāpatha* here called *Nemi* is an essential part of the temple.

These temples were designed to suit the different parts of images. From the point of view of their ground plan the temples are said to be square (*Chaturasra*), octagonal (*Aṣṭasra*), 16 sided (*Ṣoḍaśāsra*), round (*Vartula*) and *Sarvatobhadra*. The classification in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* is more to the point, viz. square, rectangular (*Āyata*), circular, hexasidal (*Vrittāyata*) and octagonal (*Aṣṭāśra*) (*Garuḍa*. 47. 20). It is also stated there that under each one of these classes there are 8 forms making a total of 45 kinds of *Prāsādas*. In the *Matsya* also there is an attempt to give the names and features of the different kinds of *Prāsādas* (M. 269. 28-45).

According to *Matsya* a *Meru Prāsāda* is furnished with 100 shrines or *Anḍakas*, four doors and 16 storeys. A *Mandara Prāsāda* with 12 storeys, *Kailāsa Prāsāda* with 9, *Vimāna-Chhandaka* with 8 and *Nandivardhana* with 7. When the same is also furnished with *Sriṅgas* it is called *Nadana*.

The measurements of the different kinds of *Prāsādas* are also described, e.g. *Meru* of 52, *Mandara* of 45, *Kailāsa* of 40, *Vimānachhandaka* of 34, *Nandivardhana* of 32, *Nandana* of 30 and so also *Sarvatobhadra*. The *Vartula* and *Padmaka* are of 20 cubits, *Gaja*, *Simha*, *Kumbha*, *Valabhi-Chhandaka* are of 12 cubits; *Garuḍa* of 8, *Haṁsa* of 10 cubit. Goddess *Gaurī* performing penances is installed in the *Valabhikā-chhandaka* shrine. *Meru*, *Mandara*, *Kailāsa*, *Kumbha*, *Simha*, and *Mṛiga* these 7 types are recommen-

ded for *Jyeshṭha* Liṅga or Liṅga of bigger size. *Srī Vṛikshaka* and other shrines numbering 8 are used for a *Madhyama Liṅga* and the five shrines named *Haṁsa*, *Vṛisha*, *Suvarṇeśa*, *Padmaka* and *Samudhyaka* are recommended for a *Kaniṣṭha Liṅga*. ७

The text of building and classifying temples as found in the Matsya seems to be earlier than that in the Garuḍa (Chap. 47). There is no corresponding text in the Vāyu. The various terms used in the Matsya, e.g. *Garbha*, *Pradakṣhiṇā*, *Maṇḍapa*, *Mukha Maṇḍapa*, *Pragrīva*, *Śikhara*, *Kapola*, *Mañjarī*, *Śulka-Nāsa*, *Vedi*, *Kaṇṭhā*, *Āmulasāraka*, *Aṇḍaka*, *Rathāṅka*, *Nemi*, testify to the fact that temple architecture had much evolved as we find it in the Daśāvatāra temple of Deogarh. It may be noted that there is no mention of *Jagatī* in connection with a *Prāsāda* although the same in connection with images and Śiva-Liṅgas. In the early Gupta period we do not find the *Śikhara* as part of the Brāhmanical temples but by the time of the Deogarh temple the complete form of the *Jagatī*, *Maṇḍovara* and *Śikhara* had been evolved. Possibly this whole chapter on *Deva-Pratimā* and *Prāsāda* floated into the corpus of the original Matsya Purāṇa in a post-Gupta version.

Chap. 270 deals with the *Maṇḍapas* which were of 27 kinds. Their distinctions mainly depend on the number of pillars. For example, the *Pushpaka Maṇḍapa* was supported on 64 pillars and then by a successive reduction of 2 pillars we get the last one by the name of *Subhadra* supported on 12 pillars. The ground plan of a *Maṇḍapa* is said to be square, triangular, circular, crescent-shaped, 8 cornered or 16 cornered. 10 kinds of doorway are prescribed with details of their width, height, door-sil, door-jambs with 3, 5, 7 or 9 Śākhās (M. 270. 18-21).

DYNASTIES OF THE KALI AGE

Chaps. 271-273 deal with future dynasties of the Kali age (भाविनृपान्वय-वर्णन) covering a period from the Bārhadhratha dynasty (circa 6 century B. C.) upto the establishment of the Gupta empire (319 A. D.). The dynasties dealt with include the Pauravas of

Hastinapur and Kauśāmbī (who have already been disposed of), Ikshvākus of Ayodhyā, Bārhadrathas of Magadha, Pradyotas of Avanti, Śaīsunāgas of Magadha, Nandas, Mauryas, Śuṅgas, Kāṇvāyanas (*Suṅga-bhṛityas*), Āndhras, various local dynasties like Ābhira, Gardabhilla, Śaka, Yavana, Tushāṇa, Muruṇḍa, Hūṇa, Mauna, dynasties of Vidiśā including the Nāga kings of Vidiśā, Purikā and Vindhyaśakti's line, and lastly dynasties of the early 4th century who were contemporaneous with the Guptas. Pargiter had made an exhaustive study of these dynasties with names of their kings and also the comparative value of the material as found in the Matsya—50. 57-89, 271-273; Vāyu—99. 250-435; Brahmāṇḍa—3. 74. 104-248; Viṣṇu—4. 20. 12-24, 44; Bhāgavata—9. 12. 9-16, 22. 34-49; 12. 1. 2-2. 36; Garuḍa—140. 40. and 141. 1-12; Bhaviṣhya—3. 1. 3. and 6. The versions of Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa present a remarkable similarity. The two latter agree so closely that they resemble as two recensions of the same text, and the Matsya, though not in such marked agreement, contains a text very similar. There can be no doubt that their versions are based upon one original compilation and this appears from four facts:—

First, they all declare they are taking from Bhaviṣhya Purāṇa; secondly where the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa differ from each other, one of them not seldom agrees with the Matsya; thirdly single manuscript of them varies so as to agree with the readings of Matsya; and fourthly one Purāṇa occasionally omits a verse which appears in one or both of the two others, yet a single Ms. (or a very few Mss.) of it had at a time preserved that verse and so testifies to their original harmony. These three versions therefore grew out of the one and the same original text. At the same time the Matsya version has a character of its own which is clearly different from those of the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa and was prior to these two.

We may now take the dynasties one by one.

IKSHVĀKU VAMŚA

This dynasty ruled in Madhya-Deśa with capital at

Ayodhyā (*Tasyaiva madhyadeśe tu Ayodhyā nagarī śubhā*, M. 271. 5). This was also known as the Mānava-Vamśa. There were 29 kings in this dynasty. It is stated in the end that as an Anu-Vamśa śloka (genealogical verse), was sung by the ancient Brāhmaṇas—'This race of the Ikshvāku will terminate with Sumitra; on reaching king Sumitra it will indeed reach its end in the Kali age'.

इक्ष्वाकुवंश

१—बृहद्बल	१६—अमित्रजित्
२—उरुक्षय	१७—बृहद्भ्राज
३—वत्सद्रोह	१८—धर्मी
४—प्रतिव्योम	१९—कृतज्ञय
५—दिवाकर	२०—रराजय
६—सहदेव	२१—सजय
७—बृहदश्व	२२—शाक्य
८—भानुरथ	२३—शुद्धोदन
९—प्रतीताश्व	२४—राहुल
१०—मुप्रतीक	२५—प्रसेनजित
११—मरुदेव	२६—क्षुद्रक
१२—सुनक्षत्र	२७—कुलक
१३—किन्नराश्व	२८—सुरथ
१४—अन्तरिक्ष	२९—सुमित्र
१५—सुपर्ण	

PAURAVA DYNASTY

The dynasty began with Abhimanyu in whose line were Parīkshita, Janamejaya, Śatānīka, Aśvamedha-Datta and Adhi-sīma Kṛishṇa whose son Nichakshu transferred his capital from Hastinapur on account of a flood in the Gaṅgā to Kauśāmbī on the Yamunā. There were 25 descendants in his line, of whom the last was Kshemaka. The name of these Paurava kings have already been enumerated in the Matsya in Chap. 50.57-80.

पूरुवंशावलि:

१—अभिमन्यु	१७—नृचक्षु
२—परीक्षित	१८—सुखीबल
३—जनमेजय	१९—परिप्लव
४—शतानीक	२०—सुनय
५—अश्वमेधदत्त	२१—मेघावी
६—अधिसीमकृष्ण	२२—नृपञ्जय
७—निचक्षु	२३—ध्रुव
८—भूरिज्येष्ठ	२४—तिग्मात्मा
९—चित्ररथ	२५—बृहद्रथ
१०—उष्ण	२६—वसुदान
११—चित्ररथ	२७—शतानीक
१२—शुचिद्रव	२८—उदयन
१३—वृष्णिमत्	२९—वहीनर
१४—सुषेण	३०—दण्डपाणि
१५—सुनीथ	३१—निरामित्र
१६—रुचः	३२—क्षेमक

THE BĀRHADRATHAS OF MAGADHA

Jarāsandha of Magadha was the king of this dynasty. His son Sahadeva was killed in the Bhārata War. After him his heir became king in Girivraja. In the case of the Bārhadraatha king their reigning period is also given. Thus there were 26 kings from Sahadeva to Ripuñjaya whose kingdom lasted full 1000 years.

बार्हद्रथाः

वर्षं		वर्षं
१—सहदेव	७—बृहत्कर्मा	२३ "
२—सोमाधि	८—सेनाजित्	२३ "
३—श्रुतश्रव	९—श्रुतञ्जय	४० "
४—अयुतायु	१०—विभुः	२८ "
५—निरामित्र	११—शुचिः	५८ "
६—सुक्षेत्र	१२—क्षेम	२८

१३—सुव्रत (अनुव्रत)	६४ ,, २०—महीनेत्र	३३ ,,
१४—सुनेत्र	३५ ,, २१—सुमति	३३ ,,
१५—धर्मनेत्र	५ ,, २२—सुचल	३२ ,,
१६—निर्वृति	५८ ,, २३—सुनेत्र	४० ,,
१७—त्रिनेत्र	२८ ,, २४—सत्यजित्	८३ ,,
१८—सुधर्म	३८ ,, २५—विश्वजित्	२५ ,,
१९—दृढसेन	४८ ,, २६—रिपुञ्जय	५० ,,

PRADYOTAS

When the Bārhadrathas, Vītihotras and Avantīs had passed away Pulaka killed his master and annointed his own son Pradyota. Pradyota had five descendants who ruled for 138 years.

प्रद्योतवंश

१—पुलिक	५—सूर्यक }	
२—प्रद्योत	२३ ६—अजक }	२१
३—पालक	२४ ७—नन्दिवर्धन	२०
४—विशाल्यूप	५०	

ŚAIŚUNĀGAS

The Śaiśunāga king placing his son in Banaras made himself master of Girivraja for 40 years. There will be ten (10) Śaiśunāga Kings who will reign for 360 years.

शिशुनागवंश

	वर्ष		वर्ष
१—शिशुनाग	४० ,,	६—अजातशत्रु	२५ ,,
२—काकवर्ण	३६ ,,	७—दर्शक	२५ ,,
३—क्षेमघर्मा	२० ,,	८—उदयो	३३ ,,
४—क्षत्रौज	४० ,,	९—नन्दिवर्धन	४० ,,
५—किम्बसार	२८ ,,	१०—महानन्दी	४३ ,,

EARLY CONTEMPORARY DYNASTIES

It is stated (M. 272 .13-17) that contemporaneous with these aforesaid kings there will be other kings ; they will endure at one and the same time, viz. 24 Aikshvākus, 27 Pañchālas, 24 kings of Kāśī, 28 Haihayas, 32 Kaliṅgas, 25 Āsmakas, 36 Kurus, 28 Maithilas, 23 Śūrasenas and 20 Vītihoṭras (*Ete sarva bhavi-
shyanti ekakālaṁ mahākṣhītaḥ*, M. 272. 16).

NANDAS

As son of Mahānandin by a Śūdra woman, will be born a king Mahāpadma (Nanda) by name who will exterminate all Kshatriyas (*Sarva kṣhatrāntakaḥ*). Thereafter kings will be of Śūdra origin. Mahāpadma will be sole monarch (*Ekarāṭ*) bringing all under his sole sway (*Eka-kṣhatra*). He will be 88 years on the earth, he will have 8 sons, of whom Sukalpa will be the first (*Bhaviṣya, Sunulya*); and they will be kings in succession to Mahāpadma for 12 years.

A Brāhmaṇa Kauṭilya will approve them all ; and, after they have enjoyed their 100 years it will pass to the Mauryas :

उद्धरिष्यति कौटिल्यः समैद्वादशाभिः सुतान् ।

भुक्त्वा महीं वर्षशतं ततौ मौर्यान्मिष्यति ॥

Kauṭilya will annoint Chandragupta on the throne. Chandragupta will be the king 24 years. Bindusāra—25 years, Aśoka 36 years. His son Kuṇāla will reign 8 years.

मौर्यवंश

	वर्ष		वर्ष
१—चन्द्रगुप्त	२४ ;	७—दशरथ	८ "
२—विन्दुसार	२५ "	८—सम्प्रति	९ "
३—अशोक	३६ "	९—शालिशुक	१३ "
४—कुणाल	८ "	१०—देवधर्मन्	७ "
५—बन्धुपालित	८ "	११—शतधन्वन्	८ "
६—दशोन	७ "	१२—बृहद्रथ	७० "

The Matsya text about Maurya kings is corrupt.

ŚUNĠAS

Pushyamitra, the Commander in chief (Senapati) will uproot Brihadratha and will make himself king for 36 years. His son Agnimitra will be king for 8 years. Then Vasujyestha for 7 years. His son Vasumitra 10 years. His son Āndhraka (Mastya, *Antaku*; Vishṇu, *Ādraka*), Pulindaka 3 years. His son Dhosha 3 years.

Vajramitra will be king for 9 years. Bhāgavata 32 years. His son Devabhūmi 10 years. These ten Śuṅga kings will enjoy the earth for 112 years.

Kāṇvāyana (Suṅga-Bhṛitya) Devabhumi the last Śuṅga king was overthrown by his minister Vāsudeva. He reigned for 9 years; his son Bhūmiṃmitra 14 years; his son Nārāyaṇa 12 years, his son Suśarman 10 years.

These are remembered as Śuṅga-Bhṛitya Kāṇvāyana kings. They are Brāhmaṇas. The four king will enjoy the earth for 45 years. In succession to them the earth will pass to Āndhras.

ĀNDHRAS

The Āndhra Śimuka with his fellow tribesmen, the servants of Suśarman, will assail the Kāṇvāyanas and him (Suśarman) and destroy the remains of the Śuṅga's power and will obtain this earth. Śimuka will be king for 23 years. His younger brother Kṛishṇa will next reign 10 years. His son Śrī Sātākarni will reign 10 years. Then Pūrṇotsaṅga will be king 18 years. Śkandhastambhi will be king 18 years. Śātākarni will reign 56 years; his son Lambodara 18 years. His son Āpilaka will reign 12 years. Meghasvāti will reign 18 years. Svāti will be king 18 years. Svāti will be king 18 years. Skandasvāti will be king 7 years. Mṛigendra Svātikarṇa will reign 3 years. Kuntala Svātikarṇa will be king 8 years. Svātikarṇa will be king one year. Pulomāvī will reign 36 years. Arishṭakarṇa will reign 25 years. Then Hāla will be king 5 years. Mantalaka will be a powerful king 5 years. Purikasena will reign 21 years.

Sundara Sātakarṇi will reign one year. Chakora Sātakarṇi will reign 6 months. Śivasvāti will reign 28 years. King Gautamī-putra will be king next 21 years. His son Pulomā will reign 28 years. (Sātakarṇi will be king 29 years). Śivaśrī Pulomā will be king 7 years. His son Śivaskandha Sātakarṇi will be king three years. Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇika will reign 29 years. After him Vijaya will be king 6 years. His son Caṇḍaśrī Śātakarṇi will reign 10 years. Another of them Pulomāvi will reign 7 years.

These 30 Andhra kings will enjoy the earth 460 years.

VARIOUS LOCAL DYNASTIES

(M. 273. 17-26).

When the kingdom of the Āndhras has come to an end there will be kings belonging to the lineage of their servants, 7 Āndhras, and 10 Ābhira kings also 7 Gardabhins, 18 Śakas. There will be 8 Yavanas, 14 Tushāras, 13 Muruṇḍas, 11 Maunas.

The Śrīpārvatīya Āndhras will endure 52 years; the 10 Ābhira kings 67 years; the 7 Gardabhins will enjoy the earth 72 years; the 18 Śakas 183 years (M. 273. 17-26). The 8 Yavanas will enjoy this earth 87 years. The earth is remembered as belonging to the Tushāras 7000 years (so Matsya, but should be 107 yrs). The 13 future Muruṇḍas along with low caste men, all of Mlechchha origin, will enjoy it half 400 years. The 11 Maunas will enjoy it 103 years. When they are overthrown by Time there will be Kailakila kings.

Then after the Kilakilas Vindhyaśakti will reign. He will enter upon the earth after it has known those kings 96 years.

DYNASTIES OF VIDISĀ

Hear also the future kings of Vidiśā. Bhogin, son of the Nāga king Śesha, will be king, conqueror of his enemy's cities, a king who will exalt the Nāga family. Sadāchandra and

Chandrāmśa who will be a second Nakhāvanta then Dhanadharmā, and Vaṅgara is remembered as the fourth. Then Bhūtinanda will reign in the Vaidīśā kingdom.

When the family of the Suṅgas ends, Śisunandi will reign. His younger brother was named Nandiyāśas. In his lineage there will be 3 kings. His daughter's son named Śīśuka was king in Purika.

Vindhyaśakti's valiant son, named Pravīra, will enjoy the city Kāñchanakā 60 years and will sacrifice with vājapeya sacrifices replete with choice largesse. His 4 sons will be kings.

The account of the Nāga dynasty of Vidiśā does not occur in the Matsya but in Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa. Similarly dynasties of the third and early 4th century A.D. are omitted in the Matsya.

Chronological indication is given that a period of 1050 years separated the dates of the coronation of Mahāpadmananda and the birth of Parikshit. Thus giving a chronology of Mahabharata War in about the 15th century B.C.

महापद्मभिषेकात्तु यावद्वज्रम परीक्षितः ।
एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चाशदुत्तरम् ॥ (M. 273.35).

Moreover the interval which elapse of the last Āndhra king Pulomāvi and Mahāpadma was 836 yrs.

SIXTEEN GREAT GIFTS

(SHODAŚA MAHĀDĀNA)

Chaps. 274-289 give an ornate description of the 16 great gifts (*Shodaśa-Mahādāna*). The high sounding names and the great amount of wealth required to perform these various ceremonies points to an age when money was overflowing. Such flamboyant devices were worked out as outlets for spending the accumulated treasures. History tells us that India enjoyed an unique favourable balance of trade with the Roman worlds on the west and the Indonesian islands in the east during the

first five centuries of the Vikrama Era. Pliny the Roman historian laments the drain of Roman gold into India because of Roman women expending lavishly for articles of fashion and fancies imported from India. Similar was the case with the Indonesian islands whose maiden wealth that fell to the share of Indian merchants, justified the islands being named as countries of gold (*Suvarṇa Bhūmi*), silver (*Rajatakara-Bhūmi*) and precious jems (*Ratna-dvīpa*). This unprecedented richness is testified in the numerous hoards of Gupta gold coins which have come to light during the last century and a half and of course must have been discovered during the preceding centuries also although no record of them has been kept. Samudragupta, in his Allahabad Pillar inscriptron, speaks of the gift of crores of gold (coins) and the same may be said of the reign of Chandragupta and Kumāragupta whose intensive development of minting activity is shown by the available types, varieties and numbers of their gold coins.

RAIN OF GOLD :— Poets also testify to this phenomenon of overflowing yellow metal in the country by referring to it as the rain of gold from heaven. Kālidāsa has an elaborate description of it in the Raghuvamśa, mentioning the wealth brought from four quarters of the earth as *Chaturdigāvarjitasambhṛitā vibhūti*, and being lavishly given away in charity and the replanished by a golden heavenly shower. Rain of Gold was conceived to be the milking of heaven (हिरण्ययी कोषगृहस्य मध्ये वृष्टिं शशंसुः पतितां नमस्तः, Raghu. 5.29). In the Māndhātāvadāna the motif of the rain of gold for a week is mentioned (वृष्टं मे सप्तहं अन्तःपुरं हिरण्यमयवर्षाम्, Divyāvadāna, pp. 213-214). Bāṇabhatta in Harsha-Charita also mentions the same motif (*Mahā-kanakavadatani vasudharama eva dyauḥ*, Harsha Charita, NS. edition, p. 134). The Mahābhārata also has kept a record of this popular belief stating that there was a rain of gold *Hiranya Vṛishti* in the kingdom of Suhotra (Śānti Parva 29.24-26, Poona edition).

It was in this background of universal prosperity and opulence during the golden age of Indian history that an idea of

the 16 Mahādānas was formulated as an actual fact of social and religious life.

It is stated that the 16 Mahādānas should be preceded by a *Tulā-Purusha Yāga* i. e. weighing of one person in gold. It was a festive occasion when such a gift was organised. Detailed description of the *Tulā* is given (M. 274. 32-34). The real secret of a Mahādāna lay in the choice of the proper recipient who was to be a pious, learned brāhmaṇa knowing the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Purāṇas and Śāstras.

THE HIRANYAGARBHA-MAHĀDĀNA—(Chap. 275) The Hiranyagarbha Mahādāna consisted in the gift of a golden Jar 72 *aṅgulas* in height (= 5' 4") and adorned with many gems and filled with milk and ghee. A golden lotus with a long golden stalk at the mouth of the jar, a sacred thread of gold should be warped round the *Vedi* of the jar, on the two sides a staff and *Kamaṇḍalu* of gold, a golden lid should cover it. The jar should be placed on a *Vedi* and be given away after due ceremony. The idea of *Hiranyagarbha* was Vedic referring to Prajāpati who is taking birth in each individual form. It was to get rid of the chain of birth and death that this gifts was made.

BRAHMĀṆḌA MAHĀDĀNA—(Chap. 276) The Brahmāṇḍa-Mahādāna consists in the gifts of gold ranging in weight from 20 palas (1 seer or 80 tolas) to 1000 palas (= 1 md. 10 seers). This should take the form of two Jara placed by the side of a Golden egg surrounded by 8 Diggajas and 8 Lokapālas and many figures of Vishṇu and other deities. The object of the gift is to invoke the grace of god Sūrya and to mingle one's prayer with a wish for universal welfare and happiness in the true Bhāgavata inspiration :—

ये दुःखितास्ते सुखिनो भवन्तु प्रयान्तु पापानि चराचराणाम् ।

त्वद्दानशक्नाहतपातकानां ब्रह्माण्डदोषाः प्रलयं व्रजन्तु ॥

(M. 276. 14)

THE KALPA-PADMA-MAHĀDĀNA (Chap. 277)—consists in making a tree inset with jewels which should range in weight

from 12 tolas to 1 md. and 10 seers according to one's capacity. The tree may have five branches with god Kāmadeva standing under it. The main tree should be made of half the quantity of gold and from the other half should be made other heavenly trees as Pārijāta, Mandara etc.

GO-SAHASRA-MAHĀDĀNA (Chap. 278)— It consisted in the gift of a 1000 cows well adorned with gold, silver and silk. In each group of 10 cows should be bull. The beautiful prayer to the cows is as follows :—

नमोस्तु विश्वमूर्तेभ्यो विश्वमातृभ्य एव च ।
 लोकाधिवासिनीभ्यश्च रोहिणीभ्यो नमो नमः ॥
 गवामङ्गेषु तिष्ठन्ति भुवानान्येकविंशतिः ।
 ब्रह्मादयस्तथा देवा रोहिण्यः पान्तु मातरः ॥
 गावो मेऽग्रतः सन्तु गावः पृष्ठतः एव च ।
 गावः शिरसि मे नित्यं गवां मध्ये वसाम्यहम् ॥
 यस्मात्त्वं वृषरूपेण घर्म एव सनातनः ॥

(M. 278. 13-16)

The person giving this gift of a thousand cows is named as *Go-sahasraprada* who should observe a milk fast for one day.

KAMADHENU-MAHĀDĀNA (Chap. 279)—consists in making a cow of the purest gold, weighing a md. and half, or half of it, or one quarter weight. The minimum weight is 12 tolas. The Wish-fulfilling Cow (*Kāmadughā Dhenu*) is praised as follows :—

लोके यथेप्सितफलार्थविधायिनीं त्वामासाद्य कोहि भवदुःखमुपेति मर्त्यः ।
 संसारदुःखशमनाय यतस्व कामं त्वां कामधेनुमिति देवगणा वदन्ति ॥

(M. 279. 12).

• HIRANYĀŚVA-MAHĀDĀNA (Chap. 280)—consisted in a gift of golden horse. A golden horse ranging in weight from 12 tolas to 4000 tolas. There is the consciousness that the golden horse represents the Sun who has the form of the three Vedas

नमस्ते सर्वदेवेश वेदाहरणलम्पट ।
 वाजिरूपेण मामस्मात्पाहि संसारसागरात् ॥

त्वमेव सप्तधा भूत्वा छन्दोरूपेण भास्कर ।

यस्माद्भासयसे लोकानतः पाहि सनातन ॥ (M. 280. 8-9).

AŚVARATHA-MAHĀDĀNA (Chap. 281)—consisted in the gift of the golden chariot yoked with eight or four or two horses having four wheels and a peaked roof. There should be a human figure with it representing the deity of one's choice.

HEMA-GAJARATHA MAHĀDĀNA (Chap. 282)—consisted in the gift of golden elephant yoked with a massive chariot. In its centre should be seated god Nārāyaṇa with Lakshmī. It should be yoked with four golden elephants adorned with diamond and pearls. The weight is to range from 20 tolas to 8000 tolas (2½mds.)

PAÑCHA-LĀṄGALAKA-MAHĀDĀNA (Chap. 283)—consisted in the gifts of agricultural land equal in measure to one hundred or 50 *Nivartanas* and also 5 strong wooden ploughs as well as golden plough ranging in weight from 20 tolas to 1 md. 10 seers of gold according to one's capacity. The gift of land should be accompanied by 10 oxen of noble breed whose horns should be decorated with gold, tail with pearls. A *Nivartana* measure was equal to 315 ft. in length, about 7 ft. in width (= 1 *gacharma* in width) × (30 *daṇḍas*, 1 *daṇḍa* = 7 *hastas* of 10½ ft.). The gift comprised one hundred such *Nivartanas* (land measuring 315 × 700 ft.).

दण्डेन सप्तहस्तेन त्रिशङ्कुं निवर्तनम् ।

त्रिभागहीनं गोचर्ममानमाह प्रजापतिः ॥

मानेनानेन यो दद्यान्नवर्तनशतं बुधः ॥

HEMA-DHARA MAHĀDĀNA— (Chap. 285) consisted of the gift of the earth in the form of Jambu-dvīpa with its nine *Varshas* and the intervening *Maryādā Parvatas*, ranging in weight of 20 tolas to 400, 800, 1200, 2000 and 4000 tolas.

VIŚVA-CHAKRA-MAHĀDĀNA— (Chap. 285) consisted of the gift of a golden wheel representing the cosmos same as *Brahmāṇḍa-Chakra* or *Bhava-Chakra* ranging in weight from 80

tolas to 4000 tolas. The wheel should have 16 spokes, 8 fellies. In its centre should be figure of Vishṇu seated in Yoga-mudrā and in the 8 concentric band should be represented the numerous gods and goddesses and auspicious signs (*Maṅgala*). The cosmic wheel is said to belong to god Vishṇu. The *Aḥirbudhnya Saṁhitā* calls it the *Ajita Mahā Chakra* and describes it in the most gloring terms.

MAHĀKALPA-LATĀ DĀNA— (Chap. 268) consisted in the gift of a golden creeper (=in size to 10 creeper) with many tandrils and crests and troughs showing figures of birds (*Vihāṅgam*), Vidyādhara, Suparṇas and bearing fruits and flowers. Lokapāla deities should also be depicted. Figure of Brāhmī holding conch and lotus, of Agnāyī holding a ladle and other goddesses like Māheśvarī also should be placed in it. Those mothers should carry children in their arms. The gold is to weigh from 20 tolas to 1 md. and 10 seers. These 8 female guardians of space are given the name *Diyāṅganā* of *Kalpa-latā-Vadhū*. The Mahākalpa-latā motif is partly preserved at Dhamek Stūpa at Sarnath in which meandering creepers are shown with birds, Suparṇas and human figures.

SAPTASĀGARA MAHĀDĀNA— (Chap. 287) consisted on the gift of 7 golden *Kuṇḍas* representing the 7 oceans, measuring one *Vitasti* (12 *āṅgulas* = 9 inches) or one *Aratni* (24 *āṅgulas*) in diameter and ranging in weight from 28 tolas to 1 md. and 10 seers. In 7 *Kuṇḍas* were to be filled salt, milk, ghee, molasses, curd, sugar and water. The 7 deities to be installed in them are Brahmā, Keśava, Maheśvara, Bhāskara, Chandramā, Lakshmī and Pārvatī. The following mantra was recited in praise of the ocean :—

नमो चः सर्वसिध्दानामाधारेभ्यः सनातनाः ।

जन्तूनां प्राणदेभ्यश्च समुद्रेभ्यो नमो नमः ॥ (M. 287.11)

We have already explained the cultural significance of the *Sapta-Sāgara-Mahādāna* showing that Tīrthas of this name exist this day in the five great centres of Gupta civilization, viz. at

Mathura, Prayāga, Vārāṇasī, Pātaliputra and Ujjain. Rich merchants who returned from commercial sea voyages after undergoing great risks made the *Saptasāgara-Mahādāna* gift at these spots. It was an event of greatest happiness and considered by all family members to be a new birth of the person concerned.

RATNA-DHENU-MAHĀDĀNA— (Chap. 288) consisted of the gift of a cow whose body was made by insetting precious jewels of many kinds in all her limbs. The number of jewels to be inset is also given. The figure of her calf was to be 1/4 in value of the mother cow. The following mantra was recited in honour of the cow :—

त्वां सर्वदेवगणधाम यतः पठन्ति रुदेन्द्रसूर्यकमलासनवासुदेवाः ।

तस्मात्समस्तभुवनत्रयदेहयुक्ता मां पाहि देवि भवसागरपीड्यमानम् ॥ (288. 15)

MAHĀBHŪTAGHAṬA-MAHĀDĀNA—(Chap. 289) consisted of the gift of a golden Jar inset with costly jems measuring from 12 aṅgulas to 100 aṅgulas and accompanied by a Kalpavṛksha. Inside the Jar should be placed the golden figures of Varuṇa on Makara, Agni on Mesha, Kubera, Gaṇesa on mouse and also figures of five Vedas. Rīgveda should hold a rosary, Yajurveda a lotus, Sāmaveda a Vīṇā and a Veṇu, Atharva Veda a Sruka and a Sruvā, the fifth one named Purāṇa Veda should hold a Kamaṇḍalu and Akshamālā :—

पुराणवेदो वरदः साक्षसूत्रकमण्डलुः । (289.9)

This is one of the most important references regarding the exalted rank of Purāṇa literature which were clearly considered as equal to the four Vedas.

The Jar was considered to be the symbol of the material cosmos comprised of the five gross elements of matter (*Pañcha Mahābhūtas*) which are present in all organism where life or Prāṇa is manifested.

These 16 Mahādānas are also found in the Liṅga Purāṇa 2, 28, 43. There is some difference in their list.

Chap. 290 gives the names of 30 Kalpas which constitute the period of one month in the life of Brahmā. It is said that the names like Śveta Kalpa, Nīla-Lohita Kalpa are derived from the deity who is predominantly praised in a particular period of time. The three Guṇas Sattva, Rajas and Tamas severally and jointly wield influence in the various Kalpas. One hundred years of Brahmā are equal to 1 day of Śiva and one hundred years of Śiva are equal to one moment (*nimesha*) of Viṣṇu. When lord Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa awakes from sleep then the world is united to activity. When the Great Nārāyaṇa goes to sleep as *Sāntātmā* who has withdrawn everything into his own centre and suspended the dynamic process of Time, then the creation comes to a stand-still. Having thus spoken the Great Divine Fish vanished from view. Vaivasvata Manu, Arch—Ancestor of the Mānava race descended from the Sun, protects the creatures in the Time duration over which he presides.

15 Tithis of Śuklapaksha

15 Tithis of Kṛṣṇapaksha

1. Śvetavārāha Kalpa
2. Nīllohita
3. Vāmadeva
4. Rāthantara
5. Raurava (Rāvaṇa)
6. Prāṇa (= Deva)
7. Bṛihat
8. Kandarpa
9. Sadya (Satya)
10. Īśāna
11. Vyāna
12. Sārasvata
13. Udāna
14. Garuḍa
15. Kūrmma (Pūrṇimā)

1. Narasiṃha Kalpa
2. Samāna
3. Āgneya
4. Soma
5. Mānava
6. Tatpurusha
7. Vaikuṇṭha
8. Lakshmī
9. Sāvitrī
10. Ghora
11. Vārāha
12. Vairāja
13. Gaurī
14. Māheśvara
15. Pitrī-kalpa (Amāvāsyā)

PURĀṆĀNUKRAMANĪ

Chap. 291 is an enumeration of the contents of the Matsya Purāṇa (*Granthānukramanī*) which is recited by Sūta to his listeners as follows :—

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Discourse between Sūta and | Planting of trees (Ch. 59) |
| Ṛishis (Ch. 1) | Saubhāgya-Śayana (Ch. 60) |
| Story of Brahmāṇḍa or the birth | Agastya Vrata (Ch. 61) |
| of Brahmāṇḍa (Ch. 2) | Ananta Tṛitīyā (Ch. 62) |
| Sāṅkhya Metaphysics | Rasa-Kalyāṇī (Ch. 63) |
| Birth of Brahmā (Ch. 3) | Ādrānandakarī Tṛitīyā Vrata |
| Birth of the Marut hosts (Ch. 7) | (Chs. 64-65) |
| Madana-Dvādasī Vrata (Ch. 7) | Sārasvata Vrata (Ch. 66) |
| Worship of the Lokapālas | Chandra-Sūrya Snāna (Uparāgā- |
| Story of the Manvantaras (Ch. 9) | bhisheka) (Ch. 67) |
| Story of king Vainya Pṛithu | Saptamī-Snāna (Ch. 68) |
| (Chs. 8-10) | Bhīma Dvādaśī (Ch. 69) |
| Birth of Sūrya and Vaivasvata | Anaṅga-Śayana (Ch. 70) |
| Manu (Ch. 11) | Aśūnya-Śayana (Ch. 71) |
| Love of Budha and Tārā | Āṅgāraka Vrata (Ch. 72) |
| (Chs. 11-12) | Saptamī Vrata (Ch. 74-80) |
| Pitṛi-Vamśa (Chs. 13-15) | Viśoka Dvādaśī (Ch. 81-82) |
| Srāddha-Kāla (Ch. 22) | 10 kinds of Meru Dāna (Chs. 83-92) |
| Pitṛi-Tīrthas (Ch. 22) | Graha-Śānti (Ch. 93) |
| Birth of Soma (Ch. 23) | Graha-Svarūpa (Ch. 94) |
| Yayāti-Charita (Ch. 24-42) | Sarvaphala-tyāga (Ch. 96) |
| Kārttavīrya-Charita (Ch. 44) | Sūryavāru (Ch. 97) |
| Vṛishṇi-Vamśa (Ch. 45-46) | Saṅkrānti Snāna (Ch. 98) |
| Bhṛigu's curse to Viṣṇu (Ch. 47) | Vibhūti Dvādaśī (Chs. 99-100) |
| Śukra's curse to Asuras (Ch. 47) | Shashthī Vrata Māhātmya |
| Glorification of Rudra (Ch. 47) | (Ch. 101) |
| Agni Vamśa (Ch. 51) | Shashthī-Snāna Vidhi (Ch. 102) |
| Purāṇa Kīrtana (Ch. 53) | Prayāga Māhātmya (Chs. 103-112) |
| Kriyā-Yoga (Ch. 52) | Sarva Tīrtha |
| Nakshatra Vrata (Ch. 54) | Pailāśrama |
| Mārtanḍa-Śayana (Ch. 55) | Dvīpalokānukīrtana (Chs. 113- |
| Kṛishṇāshṭamī (Ch. 56) | 123) |
| Rohiṇi-Chandra Vrata (Ch. 57) | Antariksha-Chāra (Chs. 124-125) |
| Tadāga-Vidhi (Ch. 58) | |

Ġraha-Māhātmya (Ch. 126-128)	Narmadā Māhātmya (Ch.186-194)
Story of Tripura (Chs. 129-140)	Gotra-Pravara (Chs. 195-202)
Pitṛi-piṇḍa (Ch. 141)	Pitṛi Gāthā
Manvantara (Chs. 142-145)	Ubhayamukhī Dāna
Story of Tāraka (Ch. 146-160)	Kṛishṇa
Birth of Pārvatī (Ch. 154)	Story of Sāvitrī (Chs. 208-214)
Tapaścharyā of Śiva (Ch. 154)	Rājadharmā (Chs. 215-229)
Burning of Kāmādeva (Ch. 154)	Yātrā-Kāla (Chs. 240-244)
Lamentation of Rati (Ch. 154)	Story of Vāmana (Chs. 245-246)
Pārvatī's Tapaścharyā (Ch. 154)	Story of Varāha (Chs. 247-248)
Pleasing of Śiva (Ch. 154)	Samudra Manthana Chs.249-251)
Conversation between Pārvatī and Saptarshis (Ch. 154)	Kālakūṭa
Birth of Kumāra (Ch. 158)	Prāsāda-Lakshṇa (Ch. 252-270)
Death of Tāraka (Ch. 160)	Maṇḍapa (Ch. 270)
Story of Narasiṃha (Chs.161-163)	Dynasties of Kali Age (Bhavi- shya-Rāja ; Chs. 271-273)
Padmodbhava Brahmāṇḍa (Chs. 164-178)	Sixteen Mahādānas (Chs.274-289)
Story of Andhaka (Ch. 179)	Kalpānukīrtana (Ch. 290)
Vārāṇasī-Māhātmya (Chs.180-185)	Granthānukramanī (Contents of the Purāṇa) (Ch. 291)

This detailed compilation of the contents of the Matsya Purāṇa comprising 14,000 śloka is quite precise and was formulated at a time when the text as now available had reached its final shape.

The Matsya Purāṇa is full of very ancient material of Purāṇic subjects and legends and stands in its claim to antiquity and originality equal with two other Purāṇas, viz. Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu. We have seen in the course of this study that many of its subjects have gone to other Purāṇas, e.g. the *Gotra-Pravara* chapters in the body of Vishṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa. At many places the material of Matsya is original, e. g. the list of 92 Ṛishis who were the seers of Mantras (*Mantra kṛitah Ṛishayah*). It is, however, surprising that a list of Vedic Śākhās based on the Charaṇa-Vyūha material is missing in the Matsya. We have also seen how at several places the author was working on actual historical material which was the product of the civilization of the period in which he was writing. One such conspicuous

example is the very precise and explicit reference to the achievements of Chandragupta Vikramāditya described under the pseudonym of Pramati. The havoc caused by the Mlechchha fire to the city of Tripurī also is part of a historical pen-picture. We also have seen how the material of this Purāṇa with reference to the Bhuvanakośa and the dynasties of Kali has its own value, in a comparative study with other Purāṇas. Another characteristic of this Purāṇa is the repetition of certain topics under the influence of the Bhāgavata teachers, e. g. the Ekāṇava doctrine in which Mārkaṇḍeya is introduced to glorify Nārāyaṇa. We have seen throughout how the great deity Mahā-Nārāyaṇa Viṣṇu is at the centre of many legends and *stotras*. The Purāṇa is like a mirror to the kaleidoscopic religious and spiritual movements that had flooded the country during the first five or six centuries of the Vikrama Era specially under the patronage of the Gupta emperors amongst whom Mahā-Bhāgavata Mahārājā-dhirāja Chandragupta Vikramāditya held the most pre-eminent position. No doubt is left that when that emperor had completed his reign of 32 years, the Matsya Purāṇa was given a second revision of its original contents which also by judicious scrutiny can be separated.

As regards the language and the metres the style of Matsya is of exceptional power, variety and nobility. The felicity of expression is full of aroma and makes an aesthetic appeal to those who love exalted Sanskrit style. The lyrical song sung by Pārvatī in addressing Vīraka is full of buoyant charm.

So far as temple architecture is concerned we should accept that this was still in its early stages and had not advanced beyond the Gupta period or the time of its second revision. The various images of gods described with their Lakṣhaṇas correspond to those found in the Śiva temple of Bhumra or in the Daśāvatāra temple of Deogarh. It also appears that in certain places there are lacuna in the subject-matter. For example, one of the four questions in the beginning relates to Śiva becoming Bhairava but the theme does not seem to have been specially taken up.

The material about the worship of goddesses of a local character seems to have received much greater attention in the Matsya Purāṇa as shown by the list of about 200 goddesses which is unique to this text. One fact also makes a deep impression on the mind, viz. the point of view of synthesis and understanding between the different religious movements specially the Pañcha-Rātra Bhāgavatas and Māheśvara Śaivas, both of whom have contributed sufficient material to the religious and philosophical contents of this Purāṇa without the least acrimony appearing anywhere. Indeed the several *Namah Stotras* dedicated to Śiva are in a superb style fired by the *Śata-Rudriya* ideology of the Yajurveda but cast in the mould of the choicest epithets of classical Sanskrit. The impression is delineated on the mind that the Matsya Purāṇa is a very powerful and comprehensive mirror of Sanskrit language and ideas as they had developed during the millennium from Pāṇini to Kālidāsa.

MAY NĀRĀYAṆA-VISHṆU BE PROPITIATED.

शुभं भूयात्

APPENDIX I

THE SEVEN JEWELS OF A CHAKRAVARTĪ— While describing a Chakravartī Emperor the Matsya gives a list of Seven Jewels with which a Chakravartī sovereign is always associated—

चक्रं रथो मणिर्भर्या निधिरश्चो गजस्तथा ।

प्रोक्तानि सप्त रत्नानि पूर्वं स्वायम्भुवेऽन्तरे ॥ (M. 142.63)

As stated here this ideal of a Chakravartī sovereign was handed down from the remotest antiquity. The Seven Treasures include the *Chakra*, royal chariot, jewel, queen, treasure, horse and elephant. The list is a little different in Pāli literature where in place of *Ratha* and *Nidhi* are substituted the *Pariṇāyaka Ratna* (Wise Councillor) and *Gahapati* (the Treasurer).

We get an elaborate description of an ideal Chakravartī in the Sudassana-sutta of the Dīgha-Nikāya and also in the Māndhātā Avadāna of the Divyāvadāna. It is the "Shower of Wealth (*Vasor-dhārā*), the limitless, inexhaustible food of the God," that falls from the Sky as Rain and is returned from the Earth to the Sky, thus making a complete circulation of Yajña. There is representation of the Chakravartī emperor at Amarāvati and Jagayyapetta (2nd century B.C.). A shower of gold coins is depicted coming down from the clouds in the sky which the Chakravartī is touching with his raised right hand. The Chakravartī is the symbol of *Dharma* or *Chakra*, the order of morality piety spirituality, and social and economic prosperity. The happiness and the welfare of the people depend on the sovereignty of the Chakravartī ruler and his birth from time to time is hailed by universal joy (see Coomaraswamy, *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government*, p. 68 and note 50).



Chakravartī and the Seven Treasures,
From a sculpture of Jagayyapetta Stūpa. 2nd cent. B. C.

APPENDIX II

Gotra-Pravara Lists in the Matsya Purāṇa

In brackets are recorded variant forms of the names from other sources.

संकेताः—

बौ = बौधायनः

आ = आपस्तम्बः

का = कात्यायनः

आश्व = आश्वलायनः

वि = विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणम्

I भृगुवंशः

भृगुवंशान्तर्गता एते द्वादश देवयाज्ञिकाः—

१. भुवनः; २. भौवनः; (वि. भावनः); ३. सुजन्यः; ४. सुजनः;
५. शुचिः; ६. मूर्धाः; ७. याज्यः; ८. वसुदः; ९. प्रभवः; १०. अव्ययः;
११. क्रतुः; १२. दक्षः।

भृगु-अयवन-आप्नवान-और्व-जमदग्नि एते पञ्च प्रवराषेयाः।

गोत्रनामानि—

- १ भृगुः २ अयवनः; ३ आप्रवान; ४ और्वः; ५ जमदग्निः
(वि. जामदग्निवत्सः); ६ वात्स्यः; ७ दण्डिः; ८ नडायनः;
९ वैगायनः; १० वीतिहव्यः (वि. वहेतिः); ११ पैलः (वि० पेलुः);
१२ शौनकः (बौ. आ. आश्व. शुनकः); १३ शौनकायनः; १४ जीवन्तिः;
१५ आवेदः; १६ कार्ष्णिः; १७ वैहीनरिः (का. वैहानरी); १८ विरूपाक्षः
(का. वैरूपाक्षः); १९ रौहितायनिः; (वि. रौहिण्यायनिः); २० वैश्वानरिः;
२१ नीलः; २२ लुब्धः; २३ सार्वर्णिकः (बौ. आ. आश्व. सार्वणिः); २४ विष्णुः;
२५ पौरः (वि. पौरेयः; २६ वालाकिः (वि. वालाकितः); २७ ऐलिकः;
२८ अनन्तभागिनः; २९ भृतः; ३० भार्गवः (वि. भागेयः); ३१ मार्कण्डः
(बौ. का. मार्कण्डेयः); ३२ जीविनः; ३३ वीतिनः; ३४ मण्डः (बौ. मण्डवा, वि.

मण्डः); ३५. माण्डुयः; ३६. माण्डूकः (बौ. का. माण्डूकेयः); ३७. फेनपाः (वि. फेनः); ३८. स्थलपिण्डः (बौ. सापिण्डः, वि. स्थलिपिण्डः); ३९. शिखावर्णः; ४०. शार्कराक्षः; ४१. जालधिः; ४२. सौधिकः (बौ. सौद्धकः); ४३. क्षुभ्यः; ४४. कुत्सन्यः; ४५. मौद्गलायनः; ४६. कर्मायनः; ४७. देवपतिः (का. वि. देवमतिः); ४८. पाण्डुरोचिः; ४९. सगालवः (वि. सिगालवः); ५०. सांकृत्यः (वि. सांकृतिः); ५१. चातकिः; ५२. सार्षिः (आश्व. सार्षिः); ५३. यज्ञः; ५४. पिण्डायनः; ५५. गार्ग्यायनः (वि. गार्ग्यायणः); ५६. गायनः (वि. ह्वायनः); ५७. गार्हायनः (वि. गेहायनः); ५८. गोष्ठायनः (का. वि. गोष्ठ्यायनः); ५९. वात्यायनः; ६०. वैशम्पायनः; ६१. वैकणिनिः (बौ. वैकर्ण्यः, वि. वैकर्ण्यः); ६२. शाङ्करवः (वि. शाङ्करवः, का. सार्भरवः); ६३. याज्ञेयिः (बौ. याज्ञीयः, का. याज्ञेयः); ६४. आष्टकायनिः (का. आष्टेयः); ६५. लालाटिः; ६६. नाकुलिः (वि. लकुटिः); ६७. लौक्ष्ण्यः (का. लाक्षेयः, वि. लाक्ष्म्यायः); ६८. उपरिमण्डलः; ६९. आलुकिः; ७०. सौचकिः; ७१. कौत्सः; ७२. पैङ्गलायनिः; ७३. सात्यायनिः (का. सात्यकायनः); ७४. मालायनिः (बौ. का. मालायनः); ७५. कौटिलिः (बौ. कौटिल्यः, वि. कोटालिः); ७६. कौचहस्तिकः (का. कौचहस्तिः); ७७. सौहसोक्तिः; ७८. सकौवाक्षिः; ७९. कौसिः; ८०. चान्द्रमसिः (बौ. का. चान्द्रमसः); ८१. नैकजिह्वः (का. जैकजिह्वः, वि. जैकजिह्वः); ८२. जिह्वकः; ८३. व्यधाद्यः; ८४. लोहवैरिः; ८५. शारद्वतिकः (बौ. शारद्वतायनः); ८६. नैतिष्यः; ८७. लोलाक्षिः (वि. लोष्टाक्षिः); ८८. चलकुण्डलः; ८९. वागायनिः (वि. नागायनिः); ९०. आनुमतिः (वि. अनुमतिः); ९१. पूर्णिमागतिकः; (वि. पौर्णमागतिकः);

एते पञ्चाषेयाः भार्गवः, च्यवनः, और्वः, जमदग्निरिति, परस्परमवैवाह्याश्च ।

९२. जमदग्निः; ९३. विदः; ९४. पौलस्त्यः (बौ. पुलस्त्यः); ९५. वैजभृतः (बौ. वैतभृतः, का. वेदभृतः); ९६. उभयजातः (बौ. अभवदातः, का. अभयजातः); ९७. कायनिः (वि. कायिः); ९८. शाकटायनः; ९९. और्वेयाः; १००. मारुताः

उपरिनिर्दिष्टानां ऋषीणां त्रयः प्रवराः, १. भार्गवः २. च्यवनः, ३. आप्नवा न इति ;

१०१. भृगुदासः; १०२. मार्गपथः; १०३. ग्राम्यायनिः (वि. ग्राम्यायणिः); १०४. कटायनिः; १०५. आपस्तम्बिः; १०६. वित्तिवः (वि. ताल्विः); १०७. नैकशिः (का. अश्वनैकशिः, वि. नैकटिः); १०८. कपिः (वि. कण्ठिः); १०९. आर्षिषेणः; ११०. गार्दभिः; १११. कर्दमायनिः (का. कर्दमायनः); ११२. आश्वायनिः (का. आश्वलायनः); ११३. अरुपिः

एते पञ्चाषेयाः १ भृगुः २ च्यवनः ३ आप्नवानः ४ आर्षिपेणः ५ अरुपिरिति ।

११४. यास्कः; ११५. वीतिहव्यः (का. वि. वीतिहव्यः); ११६. मथितः; ११७. दमः; ११८. जैवन्त्यायनिः (आश्व. जीवन्त्यायनः, वि. जीवन्त्यायनिः); ११९. मौञ्ज्यः; १२०. पिलिः (वि. विलिः); १२१. चलिः; १२२. भागिलः (का. भालिः, वि. भाविलिः); १२३. भागवित्तिः (का. भागविज्ञेयः); १२४. कौशापिः; १२५. काश्यपिः (बौ. कांसयः); १२६. बालपिः; १२७. श्रमदागेपिः; १२८. सौरः; १२९. तिथिः; १३०. गार्गीयः; १३१. जाबालिः; १३२. पौष्ण्यायनः १३३. ग्रामदः ।

एतेषां चत्वारः प्रवरास्सन्ति—१. भृगुः २. वीतिहव्यः ३. रैवतः ४. वैवशश्चेति ।

१३४. शालायनिः (आश्व. शालङ्कायनः); १३५. शाकटान्तः; १३६. मैत्रेयः; १३७. खाण्डवः (बौ. खण्डवः); १३८. द्रौणायनः (बौ. द्रौणिजिह्वयः); १३९. रौक्मायनः; १४०. पिशली; १४१. कायनिः ।

एषां ऋषीणां त्रयः प्रवराः, १. भृगुः २. वध्राश्वः ३. दिवोदासश्चेति । १४२. एकायनः (का. त्रैकायनः); १४३. याज्ञपतिः (का. याजपयः); १४४. मत्स्यगंधः (का. मांसगंधः); १४५. प्रत्यूहः (का. प्रत्युषः); १४६. सौरिः; १४७. औक्षिः (वि. अक्षिः) १४८. कार्दमायनिः; १४९. गृत्समदः १५०. सनकः ।

एते द्विप्रवरान्विताः—१. भृगुः २. गृत्समदश्चेति, परस्परमवैवाह्याश्च ।

बौधायनमतेऽतिरिक्तनामानि—

१. आलेखनाः; २. दार्भायणाः; ३. दैवतायनाः; ४. माधूकेयाः; ५. पार्विकः; ६. सांकाः; ७. प्रतायनाः; ८. दाध्रेषकः; ९. बाह्यकः; १०. विरोहितः; ११. बाह्यः; १२. गौञ्जायनः; १३. छैकयः; १४. कासकृत्स्नः; १५. ऋतभागः; १६. वाङ्मूतकः; १७. ऐतिशायनः; १८. जानायनः; १९. पाणिनिः; २०. बाल्मीकिः; २१. सैषातवा; २२. स्थौलपिण्डयः; २३. जीहीतयः; २४. वाकायनः; २५. बालायनः; २६. सौकृतिः; २७. सौविष्टः; २८. हस्ताग्निः; २९. अरसयः; ३०. काम्बरोदरयः; ३१. काम्बोरकृतः; ३२. वैहलिः; ३३. वृकाश्वः; ३४. उच्चैर्मन्यवः; ३५. वैमतिः; ३६. आर्कायणाः; ३७. मार्कायणाः; ३८. काह्वयनाः; ३९. वायवाः; ४०. वयनीनः; ४१. गाङ्गेयः; ४२. नौपेयः; ४३. बाहुमित्रायणाः; ४४. आपिशलः; ४५. वैष्टपुरेयः; ४६. लोहितायनः; ४७. उष्टाक्षः; ४८. राजतवाहाः; ४९. वासाः; ५०. वात्स्यानाः; ५१. शैलः; ५२. अवटशैलः; ५३. प्राचीनयोगः; ५४. काण्डरथः; ५५. आर्कायणः; ५६. ताम्रायणः; ५७. क्रौञ्चायनः; ५८. लामलः; (एते पञ्चाषेयप्रवराः)

५६. नैरथः; ६०. याम्यायनयः; ६१. काणायनः; ६२. गौराम्बी; ६३. मौनः;
 ६४. मूकः; ६५. वाधूलः; ६६. वर्षपुष्यः; ६७. मातलयः; ६८. राजिततायिनः;
 ६९. दुर्दिनः; ७०. भास्करः; ७१. दैवतायनः; ७२. वाकलयः; ७३. माध्यमेयः;
 ७४. वासयः; ७५. कौशाम्बेयः; ७६. सत्यकः; ७७. चित्रसेनः; ७८. मित्रयुवः;
 ७९. रौष्ट्रायनः; ८०. पुराभिनायाः; ८१. माल्याः; ८२. बाल्याः; ८३. महा-
 बाल्याः; ८४. तार्क्ष्यणः; ८५. उच्चायणाः; ८६. ओजायनाः; ८७. मांजाधयः;
 ८८. कैतवायनः; ८९. वैन्यः; ९०. पार्थः; ९१. बाष्कलः; ९२. सौगन्धयः;
 ९३. खार्दमायनः; ९४. गार्भायनः।

आपस्तम्बमतेऽतिरिक्तनामानि—

१. वैरोहित्यः; २. ऐतिशायनः; ३. अवटः; ४. प्राचीनयोग्यः;
 ५. वाधूलः; ६. मौनः; ७. मौकः; ८. मित्रयुवाः; ९. वैन्यः; १०. पार्थः।

कात्यायनमतेऽतिरिक्तनामानि—

१. साकिताक्षः; २. भृगवेदियः; ३. उषस्यंदिनः; ४. आष्मक्रमणिः;
 ५. ससारध्वजिः; ६. अत्यकर्णिः; ७. औलकेशी; ८. आर्तभागः; ९. अजिहा-
 तिथिः; १०. स्थौलसौखवहिः; ११. गौलवः; १२. चारूकेयः; १३. रैकणिः;
 १४. भ्रास्त्रेयः; १५. लाकुञ्चिः; १६. पारिमाण्डली; १७. अतिगौविः;
 १८. सौष्मिकी; १९. आनुलौमिः; २०. दार्भिलायनः; २१. मोदायनः; २२.
 २३. वैरोहित्यः; २४. गोह्यायनः; २५. कासकृत्स्नः; २६. ऋतभागः; २७. ऐति-
 शायनः; २८. पाणिलिः; २९. जैह्यतिः; ३०. सौकरः; ३१. काम्बलोदरिः;
 ३२. वृकाश्वकः; ३३. उच्चयमानसः; ३४. आर्कायणः; ३५. आह्वायनः;
 ३६. श्रीक्षाः; ३७. अपिशलाः; ३८. वैष्टपुरेयिः; ३९. उष्ट्राक्षिः; ४०. रेखा-
 यनिः; ४१. कौटचक्षुः; ४२. वाद्यापलेयः; ४३. अवटः; ४४. प्राचीनयोग्यः;
 ४५. विमदः; ४६. कौञ्चायनः; ४७. कौञ्चाक्षिकः; ४८. भ्राजः; ४९. सौगोलिः;
 ५०. हासजिह्वः; ५१. माधूलः; ५२. स्थोमागौरी; ५३. भागलेयः;
 ५४. वासिमादनः; ५५. कटेरणिः; ५६. लवेरणिः; ५७. माध्योदः; ५८. कौशा-
 म्बेयः; ५९. नैवर्षिः; ६०. पार्वेतिः; ६१. वैह्याष्मनिः; ६२. निराणिः; ६३. वधूलः;
 ६४. बालकितः; ६५. अन्त्यायनः; ६६. दैर्घ्यचितः; ६७. पंचालवः;
 ६८. पौष्मावरः; ६९. गार्भ्यायनः; ७०. पाकानुमतिः; ७१. श्रोत्रियः।

आश्वलायनमतेऽतिरिक्तनामानि—

१. जैमिनिः; २. वाधूलः; ३. मौनः; ४. मौकः; ५. मित्रयुवः;
 ६. शैतानिः।

विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणेऽतिरिक्तनामानि ।

१. आशिषिः; २. परिमण्डलः; ३. बाह्यायनः; ४. जिहितः;
५. वटायनः; ६. वृकास्वकः; ७. होमजिह्विः; ८. शैलुकिः; ९. प्राचीन-
योग्यः; १३. सातयः; ११. क्रौञ्चायनः; १२. क्रौचाक्षिः; १३. शक्रायनः;
१४. गौरक्षितिः; १५. वैरिणः; १६. शुनकः; १७. सुवः; १८. पूगः;
१९. व्याजः; २०. व्यश्नुजः; २१. प्रसवः; २२. ऐरानुशातिकः; २३. कौयोधः;
२४. पार्षतिः; २५. उपारीरुः; २६. वशावर्णिः; २७. तौलिः; २८. दीधिनः;
२९. शिलापत्तिः; ३०. मृकायणः; ३१. पाण्डरायिः; ३२. सकृत्वः; ३३. दार्भिः;
३४. त्रिलायनिः; ३५. उलुम्बिः; ३६. पैप्पलायनिः; ३७. शौकिः; ३८. शौक्तिः;
३९. कोष्टिः; ४०. जिह्वशून्यः; ४१. आज्यलेढिकः; ४२. अशिकृतः; ४३. ऋषि-
भयः; ४४. अजातः; ४५. पिकायनिः; ४६. आत्रेयः; ४७. योविराधः;
४८. नासाथः; ४९. चण्डभः; ५०. मौद्गः; ५१. खलिः; ५२. रोमादः;
५३. कौशाम्बेयिः; ५४. वृकाधकिः; ५५. समदाः; ५६. ज्ञेयिः; ५७. गौः;
५८. गजिः; ५९. सर्वंशालः; ६०. मुनिः; ६१. चलवैरिणः; ६२. प्रौढ्यक्षः;
६३. एकादशायनिः ।

II. आङ्गिरसाः

मत्स्यपुराण

एते दश आङ्गिरसाः सोमपायिनः—

१. आत्माः; २. आयुः; ३. दमनः (वि० मनः); ४. दत्तः; ५. सदः
(वि० मदः); ६. प्राणः; ७. हविष्मान्; ८. गविष्ठः (वि० आगविष्ठः);
९. ऋतः; १०. सत्यः (बौ० सत्यकयः) ।

एते ऋषयः गोत्रकराः—

१. बृहस्पतिः; २. गौतमः; ३. संवर्तः; ४. उत्तथ्यः; ५. वामदेवः;
६. अजस्यः (वि० अजस्यः); ७. उशिजः ।

गोत्रनामानि

१. उत्तथ्यः (बौ. आ. का. औचथ्याः); २. गौतमः; ३. तौलेयः (का०
तालेयः, वि० तैलजः); ४. अभिजितः; ५. सार्धनेमिः (वि० बौद्धनैषिः); ६. सलौ-
गाक्षिः; ७. क्षीरः (बौ० क्षीरकारम्भाः, का० क्षीरकटः, वि० क्षीरोजः); ८. कौष्टिकिः
(वि. टांकिः); ९. राहुकणिः (बौ० आश्व० राहुगणाः, राहोहकिः); १०. सौपुरिः;
११. कैरातिः; १२. सामलोमकिः (आश्व० सौमराजकिः, वि० श्यारिलोमकिः);
१३. पौषजितिः (वि. पौष्यजिः); १४. भार्गवतः (वि० भानुभावः); १५. ऐरी-
डवः (वि० बडौबडः); १६. कारोटकः; १७. सजीवी; १८. उपविन्दुः; १९.

सुरैषिणः (वि० रथैषिणिः) ; २०. वाहिनीपतिः ; २१. वैशालिः २२. क्रोष्टा ;
 २३. आरुणायनिः (का० अरुणिः) ; २४. सोमः ; २५. अत्राय निकासोरुः ;
 २६. कीशल्यः (वि० कौटिल्यः) ; २७. रोहिण्यायनिः (बौ० रौहिण्याः, का०
 रोहितायनः) ; २८. रेवाग्निः ; २९. मूलपः (वि० मूलयोवांशुः) ; ३०. पाण्डुः ;
 ३१. क्षपाविश्वकरः (का० क्षपावीरषिः, वि० क्षपादिः) ; ३२. अरिः (वि० करेरिः) ;
 ३३. पारिकारिः ।

एते त्रिप्रवरान्विता ऋषयः अंगिराः, सुवचोतथ्यः उशिजश्चेति,
 परस्परमवैवाह्याः ।

३४. आत्रेयायनिः ; ३५. सौवेष्ट्यः (का० सौषिष्ट्यः) ; ३६. अग्निवेश्यः ;
 ३७. शिलास्थलिः (का० शालास्थलः) । ३८. बालिशायनिः ; ३९. वाराहिः ;
 ४०. ; बाणकलिः ; ४१. सोटिः (वि० शाटिः) ; ४२. त्रिणर्गिः ; ४३. प्रावहिः
 (बौ० का० प्रावाहणेयाः वि० प्रावाहिः) ; ४४. आश्वलायनिः ; ४५. वाराहिः ;
 ४६. बर्हिसादी ; ४७. शिखामेविः (बौ० का० खारिगोवयः, वि० खारिगोविः) ;
 ४८. कारिकिः (वि० कावाकिः) ; ४९. महाकापिः ; ५०. उडुपतिः ; ५१. कौचकिः ;
 ५२. धूमितः ; ५३. पुष्पान्वेविः ; ५४. सोमतन्विः (बौ० सोमस्तम्भाः, का०
 सोमस्तम्बिः वि० सौमस्तम्भिः) ; ५५. ब्रह्मतन्विः (वि० वितम्भिः का० ब्रह्मस्तम्बिः) ;
 ५६. सालडिः (वि० सालुभिः का० सालुटिः) ; ५७. बालडिः (वि० बालुभिः का०
 बालुटिः) ; ५८. देवरारिः (वि० देवचारिः) ; ५९. देवस्थानिः ; ६०. हारिकर्गिः (वि०
 हरिकर्णिः) ; ६१. सरिद्धविः (वि० सभ्राङ्गिकः) ; ६२. प्रावेपिः ; ६३. साद्य-
 सुग्रीविः (वि० साभिगुप्तिः) ; ६४. गोमेदगन्धिकः (वि० गोमदगन्धिकः बौ०, का०
 कौमुदगन्धिः) ; ६५. मत्स्याच्छाद्यः (का० मात्स्यक्षोषः, वि० मात्स्यक्वाथः) ;
 ६६. मूलहरः (का० मालोहरः, वि० सालहरः) ; ६७. फलाहारः (का० हालोहारः,
 वि० ह्यलोहारः) ; ६८. गाङ्गोदधिः (का० गाङ्गोदकिः, वि० गागौदयिः) ;
 ६९. कोरुपतिः (वि० कौतपतिः) ; ७०. कौरुक्षेत्रिः ; ७१. नायकिः (वि०
 ताटाकिः) ; ७२. जैत्यद्रौणिः (वि० जैत्यद्रोणिः) ; ७३. जैह्वलायनिः (का०
 जैत्वलायनः वि० जैवालायनिः) ; ७४. आपस्तम्बिः ; ७५. मौञ्जवृष्टिः (वि० धर्मो-
 जवृष्टिः) ; ७६. मार्ष्टपिङ्गलिः (वि० कार्ष्णपिङ्गलिः) ; ७७. पैलः (बौ० पौलेयः,
 वि० पौलः) ; ७८. शालङ्कायनिः (वि० शङ्कलायनिः) ; ७९. मारुतः ।

एतेषां त्रिप्रवरो भवति यथा—१—अङ्गिराः, २—बृहस्पतिः ३—भरद्वाज-
 श्चेति । परस्परमवैवाह्याश्च ।

८०. काण्वायनः (वि० काणायनाः) ; ८१. कोपचयः (वि० कौपयवाः) ;
 ८२. वात्स्यतरायणः (वि० वात्स्यपरायणाः) ; ८३. भ्राष्टकृत् ; ८४. सष्टपिण्डिः

(वि० भ्राष्ट्रविन्दी) ; ८५ लैन्द्राणिः (वि० नेन्द्रालिः) ; ८६ सायकायनिः ; ८७ क्रोष्टाक्षिः (वि० क्रोडिः) ; ८८ बहुवीती ; ८९ तालकृत् ; ९० मधु-
रावहः (वि० माधुरावतः) ; ९१ लावकृद् (वि० लापकृतः) ; ९२ गालविद् ;
९३ गाथिः ; ९४ मार्कटिः (वि० मर्कटः) ; ९५ पौलकायनिः (वि० पैलु-
कायनः) ; ९६ स्कन्दसः (का० इकादः) ; ९७ चक्री ; ९८ गार्ग्यः ;
९९ श्यामायनिः ; १०० बालाकिः (वि० बाललिः) ; १०१ साहरिः ।

एतेषां पञ्चाषेयप्रवरो भवति यथा—१. अंगिराः, २. बृहस्पतिः, ३. भरद्वाजः,
४. गर्गः, ५. सैन्यश्चेति परस्परमवैवाह्याः ।

१०२. कपोतरः ; १०३. स्वस्तितरः ; १०४. दाक्षिः (वि० दभः) ;
१०५. शक्तिः ; १०६. पतञ्जलिः ; १०७. भूयसिः ; १०८. जलसंधिः ;
१०९. विन्दुः (वि० विन्दु दण्डिः) ; ११०. मादिः ; १११. कुसीदकिः
(वि० कुशोतकिः) ; ११२. ऊर्बः ; ११३. राजकेशी ; ११४. वौपडिः ;
११५. शंसपिः (वि० शांशिबिः) ; ११६. शालिः ; ११७. कलशकण्टः ;
११८. कारीरयः (वि० केरीरयिः) ; ११९. काट्यः (वि० काट्यः) ; १२०. धान्या-
यनिः (वि० वाघ्यायनिः) ; १२१. भावास्यायनिः (वि० सावस्यायनिः) ; १२२.
भारद्वाजिः ; १२३. सौबुधिः (बौ० सुबुध्याः) ; १२४. लघ्वी ; १२५. देवमतिः ;
१२६. अङ्गिराः (आ० आङ्गिरसाः) ; १२७. दमवाह्याः ; १२८. उरुक्षयः ;
१२९. परस्परायणः ; १३०. अपर्णिः (आर्षभिः) ; १३१. लौक्षिः (लौगाक्षिः) ;
१३२. गार्ग्यः ; १३३. हरिः (वि० हलः) ; १३४. गालविः ।

एतेषां त्र्याषेयप्रवरः यथा—१. अङ्गिराः ; २. संकृतिः, ३. गौरवोतिश्चेति एते
सर्वे परस्परमवैवाह्याः ।

१३५. बृहदुक्थः ; १३६. वामदेवः ; १३७. अङ्गिराः ; १३८. बृहदुक्थः
(का० बाहुदुक्थः) ; १३९. वामदेवः ; १४०. कुत्सः ; १४१. अकुत्सः ; १४२. अङ्गिराः ;
१४३. विरूपः ; १४४. रथीतरः ; (वि० रथेतराः ; रथीतरै रथीतरा अवैवाह्याः) ;
१४५. विष्णुवृद्धिः ; १४६. शिवमतिः (वि० शगेमद्रिः) ; १४७. जतृणः ;
१४८. कत्तृणः ; १४९. पुत्रवः ; १५०. वैरपरायणः (वि० चैवपरायणाः) ।

एते त्रिप्रवरान्विताः यथा—१—अङ्गिराः ; २—मत्स्यदग्धः ३—मुद्गलः,
परस्परमवैवाह्याश्च ।

१५१. हंसजिह्वः ; १५२. देवजिह्वः ; १५३. अग्निजिह्वः ; १५४.
विराडपः ; १५५. अपाग्नेयः (वि० अपानेयः) ; १५६. अश्वयुः ; १५७. परण्य-
स्ताविः ; १५८. मौद्गलः ।

एते त्र्यार्षेयाः यथा १—अङ्गिराः २—तारिणः ३—मौदगल्यः, परस्परमवैवाह्याः ।

१५९. अपाण्डुः ; १६०. गुरुः ; १६१. शाकटायनः १६२. प्रागथमानारी (वि० प्रागधमः नारी) ; १६३. मार्कण्डः (वि० मर्कटः) ; १६४. मरणः (वि० रमणः) ; १६५. शिवः (वि० शणः) ; १६६. कटुमर्कटपः (वि० काण्वमार्कटयः) १६७. नाडायनः ; १६८. श्यामायनः ।

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेय प्रवरो भवति यथाः—१—अङ्गिराः, २—आजमीढः, ३—कट्वश्चेति, परस्परमवैवाह्याः ।

१६९. अङ्गिराः ; १७०. आजमीढः ; १७१. कट्वः ; १७२. तित्तिरिः ; १७३. कपिभूः ; १७४. गार्ग्यः ।

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरः ; अङ्गिराः, तित्तिरिः, कपिभूश्चेति । एते परस्परमवैवाह्याः ।

१७५. ऋक्षः ; १७६. भरद्वाजः ; १७७. ऋषिवान् ; १७८. मानवः ; १७९. मैत्रवरः (वि० मैत्रवाचाः) ।

एतेषां पञ्चार्षेयप्रवरो भवति यथा १—अङ्गिराः (सभरद्वाजः) २—बृहस्पतिः ३—मित्रवरः ४—ऋषिवान् ५—मानवश्चेति एते परस्परमवैवाह्याः ।

१८०. भारद्वाजः ; १८१. हुतः ; १८२. शौङ्ग (वि० कटाशुङ्गः) ; १८३. शौशिरैयः (वि० शैशिरैयः) ।

एते द्व्यामुष्यायणगोत्रजाः पञ्चप्रवरान्विताः, यथा—१—अङ्गिराः, २—भरद्वाजः, ३—बृहस्पतिः, ४—मौदगल्यः, ५—शैशिरश्चेति । एते सर्वे आङ्गिरसऋषिगोत्रकराः ।

बौधायनमतेऽतिरिक्तनामानि—

आयास्यः ; आणिकेयः ; काचाक्षः ; मूढरथाः ; स्वैदाहः ; कौमारवत्यः ; तौण्डिः ; दार्भिः ; दैवकिः ; बाह्याः ; बौभ्याः ; तैषिकिः ; सात्यकः ; नैकऋषिः ; किलालयः ; कारुणिः ; काठोरिः ; कासिकाक्षिः ।

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति यथा—१. आङ्गिरसः ; २. आयास्यः ; ३. गौतमश्चेति ।

बौधायनः ; शरद्वन्ताः ; अभिजिताः ; सौमुचयः ; सौम्यायनाः ; औपबिन्दवः ; गुणयः ; माषण्यः ।

एते त्र्यार्षेयाः ; आङ्गिरसः, गौतमः, शरद्वन्तेति ।

कौमण्डाः ; मन्धरेषणाः ; मासुराक्षाः ; काष्ठरेषयः ; अञ्जायनाः ; वाजायनाः ।

एतेषां पञ्चार्षेयप्रवरो भवति ; आङ्गिरसः ; औचथ्यः ; काक्षीवतः ;
गौतमः ; कौमण्डश्चेति ।

दीर्घतमसः पञ्चार्षेयाः ; आङ्गिरसः ; औचथ्यः ; काक्षीवतः ; गौतमः ;
दीर्घतमसश्चेति ।

औशनसाः ; दिश्याः ; प्रशस्ताः ; स्वरूपास्याः ; महोदराः ; विकहताः ;
निहुताः ; औशनसः ।

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति—आङ्गिरसः ; गौतमः , औशनसश्चेति ।

कारेणपालयः ; वास्तव्याः ; श्वेतीयाः ; पौञ्जिष्ठाः ; औदजायनाः ;
मधुक्षराः ; अञ्जगन्धः ।

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति आङ्गिरसः , गौतमः , कारेणपालश्चेति ।

क्षाम्यायणाः ; मागण्डाः ; देवाश्वाः ; उद्वहव्याः ; प्राग्वंशयः ; वाहलवाः ;
बाध्योगाः ; वासिनायनाः ; तौदेहाः ; आत्राः ; औक्षाः ; भूरयः ; परिणद्धेधाः ;
केशस्वेयाः ; सौद्वयः ; उरुढाः ; औसयः ; वयोक्षिभेदाः ; अग्निवेशाः ;
वेश्याशठाः ; गौरिवायनाः ; श्वेलकाः ; तनकर्णाः ; ऋक्षाः ; माणभिद्याः ;
काष्ठोदंकाः ; ज्वलयः ; वैलाः ; खारुणादयः ; भरुण्डेयः ; भद्राधयः ; सौरभराः ;
शुगाः ; देवमतयः ; इपुमताः ; वौदोदमेधयः ; कल्माश्वराजः ; तम्भिंसद्यः ;
उपकृतः ; पराहरयः ; बलभीकयः ; रुद्राङ्गपथः ; शालाहलयः ; वेदवेलाः ;
नृत्तायनाः ; शलालयः ; शार्दूलयः ; काक्षलाः ; वाष्कलाः ; सध्यकधाः ;
कौण्डायनाः ; कौण्डिल्याः ; ब्रह्मस्तम्भाः ; राजस्तम्भाः ; अग्निस्तम्भाः ;
वायुस्तम्भाः ; सूर्यस्तम्भाः ; विष्णुस्तम्भाः ; यमस्तम्भाः ; इन्द्रस्तम्भाः ;
आपस्तम्भाः ; (ये चान्ये स्तम्भशब्दान्ताः) ; आरणसिन्धुः ; शिखायनाः ;
भामाण्यः ; कुक्षाः ; कौकाक्षयः ; नैतुतयः ; दार्भयः ; श्यामेयाः ; मत्सकायाः ;
कारुणायनाः ; कारुपथयः ; कारिषायणाः ; कावल्याः ।

इत्येते भरद्वाजाः ; तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति आङ्गिरसः , बार्हस्पत्यः ,
भारद्वाजश्चेति ।

रौक्षायणाः ; कपिलाः ; शपिलाः ; शैपिलाः ; वैपिण्डिः ; कौथुमः ;
अग्निजिह्वाः ; कण्ठी , सूतः ।

एतेरौक्षायणाः तेषां पंचार्षेयः ; प्रवरो भवति आङ्गिरसः ; बार्हस्पत्यः ;
भारद्वाजः ; वान्दनः ; मातवचसश्चेति ।

नर्गाः ; सांभरायणाः ; सखीनायः ; गन्धरायणाः ; बाहुलकयः ;
भ्रष्टयः ; भृष्टुभिन्दयः ; क्रोष्टकयः ; सौयामुनिः ; भाजिताक्षयः ; होत्रपचयः ;

सत्यपचयः ; जायावंताः ; वाटाः ; शाखायनयः ; सांग्रहवान्, तुल्यः ; वेणु-
हानिः ; सोहर्ताकारी ; पौचकः ; वाभ्याराजवतः ।

इत्येते गर्गाः ; तेषां पंचार्षेयः ; त्र्यार्षेयो वा प्रवरो भवति यथा
आङ्गिरसः ; बार्हस्पत्यः ; भारद्वाजः ; गार्ग्यः ; सैन्येति । आङ्गिरसः, सैन्यः,
गार्ग्यश्चेति वा ।

हरिताः ; साख्याः ; उदभ्यः ; सौभगाः ; भैरवाः ; ममनायुः ;
लावादरः ; महोदरः ; नैमिश्रयः ; मिश्रोदराः ; कौतपाः ; कारीषयः ; कौलयः ;
पौलयः ; पौडलः ; माधूयः ; मान्धातुः ; मण्डिकारिः ।

इत्येते हरिताः ; तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति आङ्गिरसाम्बरीष-
यौवनाश्वश्चेति ।

कण्वाः ; औपमर्कट्यायकाः ; कलाः ; पौलहलिनः ; माञ्जिमाजयः ;
मौञ्जिगन्धाः ; विजवाजयाः ; वाजश्रवसः ।

इत्येते कण्वाः ; तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति आङ्गिरसजमीढकाण्वश्चेति ।

रथीतराः ; हस्तिदासिः ; काह्वायनाः ; नैतिरक्षयः ; शैलालयः भैलिः ;
भिलीभायनाः ; सावह्वाः ; भैक्षवाहाः ; हैमगवाः ।

इत्येते रथीतराः ; तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति आङ्गिरसः, वैरूपः,
राथीतरश्चेति ।

मुद्गलाः ; हिरण्याक्षाः ; ऋषभमिताः ; गयोविश्वायनाः ; दीर्घजङ्घाः ;
जंघास्तरणविन्दवः ।

इत्येते मुद्गलाः ; तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति आङ्गिरसभार्म्याश्व-
मौद्गल्यश्चेति ।

विष्णुवृद्धाः ; शठमर्षणाः ; भद्रणाः ; मद्रणाः ; बादरायणाः ; मत्स-
प्रायणाः ; सात्यकिः ; सत्यङ्कायनः, नैतुद्याः ; तुत्याभरण्याः ; वैमाडाः ;
देवस्थातयः ।

इत्येते विष्णुवृद्धाः ; तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति आङ्गिरसः पौरुकुत्सः,
त्रासदस्यवश्चेति ।

संकृतयः ; मलकाः ; पौलः ; तण्डिः ; शम्बुः ; शैम्भवयः ; परिभावाः ;
तारकाद्याः, हारिग्रीवाः, पैणायाः, श्रौतायनाः, आग्रायणाः, आध्रापयः, पूतिमाषाः ।

इत्येते संकृतयः ; एते त्र्यार्षेयाः ; आङ्गिरसः सांकृत्यः गौरवीतश्चेति ।

कपयः ; वैतलाः ; ऐतिशायनाः ; पतञ्जलाः ; तरस्विनाः ; तांडिनाः ;
भोजसिनः ; कासवराः ; करसिखण्डाः ; मौषीतकिः ; सागर्सखः, पौष्पयः ।

एते कपयस्तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति आङ्गिरसः, आमहय्यः, औरुक्षयश्चेति ।

आपस्तम्बमतेऽतिरिक्तनामानि—

भारद्वाजानां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति—आङ्गिरसः, बार्हस्पत्यः, भारद्वाजश्चेति । एष एवाविकृतः कुक्राग्निवेद्योर्जायनानां सर्वेषां च स्तम्भस्तम्ब-शब्दान्तानाम् । अथ द्व्यामुष्यायणानां कुलानां यथा शुंगशैशिरयः ; भरद्वाजशुंगः ; कताशैशिरयः ।

तेषां पञ्चार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति—आङ्गिरसः, बार्हस्पत्यः, भारद्वाजः, कात्यः ; आत्कीलश्चेति ।

ऋक्षाणां पञ्चार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति—आङ्गिरसः ; बार्हस्पत्यः ; भारद्वाजः ; वान्दनः ; मातवचसश्चेति ।

अथ कपीनां त्र्यार्षेयः आङ्गिरसः ; आमहीयवः औरुक्षयश्चेति ।

अथ गर्गाणां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति—आङ्गिरसः ; गार्ग्यः ; शैन्यश्चेति ; भरद्वाजमुहैके अंगिरसस्थाने भारद्वाजगार्ग्यशैन्यश्चेति ।

हरितानां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति—आङ्गिरसः ; आम्बरीषः ; यौवनाश्वश्चेति ।

मान्धातारमुहैकेङ्गिरस स्थाने—मान्धात्राम्बरीष यौवनाश्वश्चेति ।

कुत्सानां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति—आङ्गिरसमान्धात्रकौत्साश्चेति ।

आजमीढाः ; काण्वाः । तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति—आङ्गिरसाजमीढ-काण्वाश्चेति ।

विरूपा रथीतराः—तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरः—आङ्गिरस-वैरूप-पार्षदश्वाश्चेति ।

अष्टादंष्ट्रमुहैकेङ्गिरसस्थाने ब्रुवते—आष्टादंष्ट्रवैरूपपार्षदश्वाश्चेति ।

मुद्गलानां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरः—आङ्गिरसभार्म्यश्वमौद्गल्यश्चेति ।

विष्णुवृद्धानां—त्र्यार्षेयः—आङ्गिरसपौरुक्त्सत्रासदस्यवाश्चेति । एष एवाविकृतः शठमन्द्रणभद्रणमन्द्रबादरायणापमित्यौपगविसात्यकिसात्यकाम्या-रुणिनितुंदादीनामिति ।

आश्वलायनमतेऽतिरिक्तनामानि—

भरद्वाजग्निवेद्यानाम्—आङ्गिरसः ; बार्हस्पत्यः ; भारद्वाजश्चेति । मुद्गलानाम्—आङ्गिरसभार्म्यश्वमौद्गल्यश्चेति ; विष्णुवृद्धानाम्—आङ्गिरसपौरुक्त्सत्रासदस्यवश्चेति । गर्गाणाम्—आङ्गिरसबार्हस्पत्यभारद्वाजगार्ग्य-शैन्यश्चेति, आङ्गिरसशैन्यगार्ग्यश्चेति वा ।

हरितः ; कुत्सः ; पिङ्गः ; शङ्खः ; दर्भः भैमगवः । तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति—आङ्गिरसाम्बरीषयौवनाश्वश्चेति ।

मान्धातारं हैके ब्रुवतेऽतीत्यांगिरसं—मान्धात्राम्बरीषयौवनाश्वश्चेति ।

संक्रुतिः, पूतिमाषः, शाम्बुः, शैवगवाः—तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति—आङ्गिरसगौरिवीतसांकृत्यश्चेति । शक्तिर्वा मूलं—शाकृत्यगौरिवीतसांकृत्यश्चेति ।

काणवानाम्—आङ्गिरसाजमीढकाण्वश्चेति ।

घोरमुहैके ब्रुवते—अवकृष्याजमीढमाङ्गिरसघौरकाण्वश्चेति ।

कपीनां—आङ्गिरसामहयवौरुक्षसाश्चेति । अथ य एते द्विप्रवचना यथैतच्छ्रौंगशैशिरयः ; भरद्वाजाशौङ्गाः कताशैशिरयस्तेषामुभयतः प्रवृणी-
तैकमितरतो द्वावितरतः द्वौ वेतरस्त्रीनितरतो न हि चतुर्णां प्रवरोऽस्ति न पंचाना-
मतिप्रवरणम् । आङ्गिरसबार्हस्पत्यभारद्वाजकात्याकीलश्चेति ।

कात्यायनमतेऽतिरिक्तनामानि—

कांचाक्षिः ; तौष्टिः ; नैषकिः ; उपबिन्दुः ; मान्धर्यः ; दैर्घतमाः ।

एषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरः आङ्गिरसः ; औतथ्यः ; दीर्घतमसश्चेति ।

कटूकरः ; सैधवः ; साङ्करः ; सौमिनी ; यौपिण्डिः ; भागलः ; तुण्डः ;
कुण्डवः ; अङ्गायनकः ; पार्थिवः ; मौदहायनः ; सरावाः ; काटिल्यः ; कौटिल्यः ;
नरोहित्यः ; नीचयः ; वसिमूल्यः ; वासपुष्पयः ; वासस्तेवयः ; वासधूपयः ;
करेलः ; कराली ;

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति—आङ्गिरसः ; औतथ्यः ; गौतमश्चेति ।

श्रौशिजः ; करसोगिण्यः ; मार्कण्डिः ; सौगेयः ; शौङ्गिः ; वावाश्रौगिरधिः ;
ऐषुमतिः ; साज्यङ्किः ; काञ्चकिः ; कायनाः ; नैतुण्डिः ; धौवकिः ; तौत्वलिः ;
वैषुगद्वेषिणः ; सौबुद्धिकाः ; भारद्वाजः ; औदमेघिः ; देवमतिः ; देवागारिः ;
घ्राङ्गविः ; धौगेयः ; सात्यमुग्रिः ; जैत्वलायनाः ; काण्यविजलिः ;
सौजपृश्निः ; पौलिः ; खाङ्गलायनाः ।

इत्येषां अविवाहः । तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति—यथा आङ्गिरसः,
बार्हस्पत्यः, भारद्वाजश्चेति ।

कालायनाः ; केशमथः ; वस्ततरायणाः ; भ्राष्ट्रविन्दवः ; शालङ्कायनाः ;
कौलास्त्रः ; क्रियाश्वाः ; क्रीवः ; कालकृत् ; मातुलः ; यावकृत् ; भाल्लविः ; औप-
मर्कटः ; प्रत्संगाः ; पैगलायनाः ; श्यामाः ; साम्परिवाराः ।

तेषामविवाहः । एषां पञ्चार्षेयप्रवरो भवति—आङ्गिरसः, बार्हस्पत्यः, भारद्वाजः, शैब्यः, गार्ग्येति ।

तित्तिरिः ; कपिभूमिः ; खन्दिनः ; गर्गाः ; इत्येतेषामविवाहः ; तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति—आङ्गिरससैन्यगार्ग्याश्चेति ।

कपिस्तरिः ; स्वस्तिरः ; विन्दुः ; दण्डिः ; शक्तिः ; पतञ्जलिः ; भोजसी ; तैवरंधिः ; चैतकिः ; उर्ध्वास्तः ; राजकेशिः ; कलानिकः ; टङ्कोरीरिः ; वान्यायनः ; कात्यायनः ।

इत्येतेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति—आङ्गिरसामहय्यौरुक्षयश्चेति ।

संकृतिः ; पूतिमाषः ; तारिण्डः ; शम्बुः ; सैवगवः ; जानकिः ; तैराधारतव्यः ; आर्षभिः ; चारायणिः ; साहिगाणिः ; लौक्षिः ; तालानाः ।

इत्येतेषामविवाहः ; तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति यथा—आङ्गिरससांकृत्य-गौरवीताश्चेति ।

लोमायनाः ; हरितः ; कौत्सः ; पैगः ; दार्भ्यः ; शांखः ; भैमगवः ; हात्यदासिः ; वात्स्यपाणिः ; माद्रिकाः ; लावेरणायः ।

इत्येतेषामविवाहः ; एषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति—आङ्गिरसः ; आम्बरीषः ; यौवनाश्वश्चेति ।

अथ विष्णुवृद्धाः ; शतपत्रिणः ; पुत्रिणिः ; बादरायणाः ।

इत्येतेषामविवाहः ; तेषां त्र्यार्षेय प्रवरो भवति—आङ्गिरस पार्षदश्च ; राथीतरेति । राथीतराणां त्र्यार्षेय प्रवरो भवति । आङ्गिरसः ; वैरुप ; राथीतरेति । पुरुकुत्सानां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति । आङ्गिरस पौरुकुत्सः त्रासदस्यवेति ।

बृहदुक्थवामदेवः ; इत्येतेषामविवाहस्तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति आङ्गिरसबार्हदुकथवामदेवेति ।

हिरण्यस्तम्बिः ; सात्यमुग्रिः ; मौद्गलाः ।

इत्येतेषामविवाहः तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति आङ्गिरसः ; भार्ग्यश्च ; मौद्गल्य इति ।

• भरण्डाः ; हिरण्डाः ; शाकटायनाः ; प्रागदसौनारीः ; मर्कटः ; रमणः ; शणः ; कण्वाः ; मार्कटयाः ; रमणाः ; शाणायणाः ।

इत्येतेषामविवाहः तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति आङ्गिरसाजमीढकाण्वेति ।

अथेमानि द्वयामुष्यायणकुलानि भवन्ति ।

भरद्वाजाः ; कताः ; शौङ्गाः ; शैशिराः ।

इत्येतेषामविवाहः तेषां पञ्चार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति आङ्गिरसः ; बार्हस्पत्यः ;
भास्त्राजः ; शौङ्गः ; शैशिर इति ।

कपिलाः ; शवराः ; विभिण्डः ; कौथुमः ; अग्निजिह्वी ; कर्णः ; सूतः ;
बृहद्भरद्वाजाः ।

इत्येतेषामविवाहः । तेषां पञ्चार्षेयप्रवरो भवति—आङ्गिरसः ; बार्हस्पत्यः ;
भरद्वाजः ; वान्दनः ; मातवचसश्चेति ।

विष्णुधर्मोत्तरेऽतिरिक्तनामानि—

माचीयः ; जागालिः ; डायनिकशेकः ; वायुः ; अंशुः ; गुल्मयोवांशुः ;
स्त्वयोषांशुः ; क्षीरकारण्डिः ; उष्ट्राजिष्टः ; कक्षीवान् ; उपाजिः ; सालुभिः ;
ऋषिवर्णः ; सभाकायिः ; अंशुमतिः ; भार्वाकैयूरिः ; नैमुल्विः ; पुषाधयः ; वाध्यः ;
शाटीकिः ; धौवायिः ; शाक्री ; कर्षा ; भालविप्रेशः ; मृत्संशः ; भृगुः ; शौम्वाटिः ;
शकलः ; काण्वः ; संकृतिः ; त्रिमाष्टिः ; शेधूः ; शैपविः ; तण्डिः ; जानकिः ;
तैलकाद्रव्यः ; नारायणिः ; हरीतकः ; कौत्स्यः ; पौग्यः ; हस्तिदमः ; वात्स्यमालिः ;
मान्द्रिः ; गालिः ; गवेरणः ; भीमवेशः ; शांख्यदर्भिः ; प्रडिवः ; सान्त्यमुग्धिः ;
हिरण्यस्तम्भिः ; मोहजिह्वः ; त्र्यग्रयः ; उरुण्डः ; भुरुण्डः ; रामवणः ।

III. अत्रिवंशः

१. कर्दमायनिः (बौ. का. कामर्यायनयः ; वि. कर्पूरायणः) ; २. शास्त्रेयाः (का.
शास्त्रलयः) ; ३. शरायणाः (वि. शाराहणाः) ; ४. उद्दालकिः (वि. शैवालकिः) ;
५. शौणकर्णिः (वि. शौनवर्णिः) ; ६. शौकतवः ७. गौरग्रीवाः (का. कौरग्रीविः) ;
८. गौरजिनः ; ९. चैत्रायणः (का. जैत्रायणः ; वि. मैत्रायणाः) ; १०. अर्द्धपण्याः ;
११. वामरथ्याः (बौ. वामरथिनः) ; १२. गोपनाः (बौ. गोपवनाः) ;
१३. ताकिबिन्दवः (बौ. तृणविन्दवः) ; १४. काणजिह्वः ; १५. हरग्रीतिः ; १६. नैद्राणिः ;
१७. शाकलायनिः (वि. शाकटायनः) ; १८. तैलपः (का. तौलेयः वि. तैलेयः) ;
१९. वैलेयः (का. वि. वौलेयः) ; २०. अत्रिः ; २१. गोणीपतिः (बौ. गाणिपटयः ;
वि. गौणीमतिः) ; २२. जलदः ; २३. भगपादः (बौ. भागपथः ; का. भागमाद-
यनः) ; २४. सौपुष्पिः २५. छान्दोगेयः (का. छान्दोगिः) ।

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेय प्रवरो भवति—श्यावाश्वः ; अत्रिः ; आर्चनानसश्चेति, एते
परस्परमवैवाह्याः ।

२६. दाक्षिर्वलिः (बौ. दाक्षिः ; वि. दाक्षर्वलिः ; का. दक्षव्यालिः) ; २७.
पर्णविः ; २८. उर्णनाभिः (का. अर्णनाभिः ; वि. और्णनाभिः) ; २९. शिलार्दनिः

(वि. सिलिर्मिलिः) ; ३०. वीजवापी (का. वैजवापिः) ; ३१. शिरीषः ; ३२. मौञ्जकेशः ; ३३. गविष्ठिरः ; ३४. भलन्दनः ।

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति अत्रिः ; गविष्ठिरः ; पूर्वातिथिश्चेति ।

३५. कालेयः (वि. हालेयः) ; ३६. सत्तालेयः (का. वावेयः) ; ३७. वामरथ्यः (वि. वाममथ्यः) ; ३८. धात्रेयः (वि. गोत्रेयः) ; ३९. मैत्रेयः

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति यथा—अत्रिः ; वामरथ्यः, पौत्रिकश्चेति ; परस्परमचैवाह्याश्च ।

बौधायनमतेऽतिरिक्तनामानि—

भूरयः ; थादिः (छांदिः) ; थान्दोगिः (छांदोगिः) ; पौष्टिकाः ; मौद्गलयः (माङ्गलयः) ; सैवाः ; छगलाः ; छागलाः ; मालरुचः ; व्यालयः ; सांवच्यानयः (शाम्बव्यायनाः) ; तैदेहाः ; द्रोणभावाः ; शिशुपालाः ; कृष्णात्रेयाः ; गौरात्रेयाः ; रक्तात्रेयाः ; नीलात्रेयाः ; श्वेतात्रेयाः ; श्यामात्रेयाः ; महात्रेयाः ; हलात्रेयाः ; सौभ्रेयाः ; वैतभावाः (वैतभावयः) ; शौद्रेयाः ; कौण्डेयाः (कौद्रेयाः) ; आनीलायनाः ; आनङ्गिः ; मानङ्गिः ; गौरङ्गिः (दौरङ्गिः) ; औरङ्गिः ; सौरङ्गिः ; पुष्पयः (सौपुष्पयः) ; सैष्पयः (शाङ्खयेयाः) ; साकेतायनाः ; भारद्वाजनयः (भारद्वाजायनाः) ; इन्द्रातिथिः ।

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति यथा—आत्रेयः ; अर्चनानसः ; श्यावाश्च इति ।

वाग्भूतकाः ; एतेषां आत्रेयः ; आर्चनानसः ; वाग्भूतकेति (वाद्भूतकः) ; त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति ।

मुद्गलाः ; व्याधिसंधिः (व्यालिसंधयः) ; स्वर्णावाः (क्षौर्णवापयः) ; बौधाक्षाः ; गविष्ठिराः ; वैतवाहाः (वैजवापाः) ; सिरीषयः ; शालिमनः (शालिमतः) ; गौरित्रः ; गौरकयः ; वायवयाः ;

एतेषां ; आत्रेयः, आर्चनानसः, पूर्वातिथिश्चेति त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति ।

आपस्तम्बः—

अथात्रोणां त्र्यार्षेयः आत्रेयार्चनानसश्चावाश्यश्चेति । अथ गविष्ठिराणां त्र्यार्षेयः आत्रेयार्चनानसगाविष्ठिरेति ।

अथातिथीनां त्र्यार्षेयः आत्रेयार्चनानसातिथेति । एष एवाविकृतो वामरथ्य-सुमंगलवीजवापीनाम् ।

• कात्यायनमतेऽतिरिक्तनामानि—

आर्षसाहरयः ; भौदगलाकिः ; आहायनाः ; कौण्यः ; पयनाः (गोपवनाः) ; शाकिः ; दिविकिः ; शौनकर्णिः ; सौश्रुतयः ; विवादुः ; तन्त्रवाहाः ; मित्रस्वः ; आजानकी ; पतञ्जलः ; खदार्णकृतः ; भालवनाः ; वैवेयः ; श्रीमिश्रः ; हृदियः (हालेयः) ; वामरथ्यः ।

आश्वलायनः—

अत्रीणाम्—आत्रेयः ; आर्चनानसः ; गाविष्ठिरश्चेति त्रिप्रवरो भवति । पूर्वातिथयः—
आत्रेयः ; आर्चनानसः ; पौर्वतित्तिथिश्चेति त्रिप्रवरान्विताः ।

IV. कुशिकवंशः

मत्स्यपुराणम्

१. सोमः ; २. विश्वामित्रः ; ३. देवरातः ; ४. वैकुण्ठिगालवः (का० चैकितिः ; आ० चिकितः ; वि० चैकितः) ; ५. वतण्डः (का० वर्त्तण्डः) ; ६. सलङ्कः (का० शलङ्कुवाघः) ; ७. अभयः ; ८. आयतायनः (वि० का० आश्वतायनाः) ; ९. श्यामायनाः ; १०. याज्ञवल्क्याः ; ११. जाब्रालाः ; १२. सैन्धवायनाः (का० सेन्धुवायनाः ; वि० सैन्धनायनः) ; १३. बाभ्रव्याः (वि० दाभ्रव्याः) ; १४. करीषाः ; १५. संश्रुत्याः (का० सौश्रुताः ; वि० सौश्रुत्याः) ; १६. संश्रुताः ; १७. उलूपाः (का० आलोप्याः वि० औलूपाः) ; १८. औपगह्याः (बौ० औपदहनयः का० अपगहनयः वि० औपगवयः) ; १९. पयोदजनपादपाः (पायोदरयः) ; २०. खरवाचः (वि० खरवाघाः) ; २१. हलयमाः ; २२. साधिताः २३. वास्तुकौशिकाः ।

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरः यथा—विश्वामित्रः, देवरातः, उद्दालश्चेति । एते परस्परमवैवाह्याः ।

२४. देवश्रवाः ; २५. सुजातेयाः ; २६. सौसुकाः ; २७. कारुकायनाः ; २८. वैदेहराताः ; २९. कुशिकाः ।

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति यथा देवश्रवसः, देवरातः, विश्वामित्रश्चेति एते परस्परमवैवाह्याः ।

३०. धनञ्जयः ; ३१. कपर्देयः ; ३२. परिकूटः (वि० परिकुष्टः) ; ३३. पाणिनिः ; ३४. विश्वामित्रः (मार्गमित्राः) ; ३५. आद्यः ; ३६. मधुच्छन्दसः ;

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति यथा विश्वामित्रः, मधुच्छन्दसः ; अथमर्षणश्चेति ।
एते परस्परमवैवाह्याः ।

३७. कमलायजिनः ; ३८. अश्मरथ्यः ; ३९. चञ्चुलिः ।

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरः विश्वामित्रः ; आश्मरथ्यः ; वन्धुलश्चेति । एते परस्परमवैवाह्याः ।

४०. विश्वामित्रः ; ४१. लोहिताः ४२. अष्टकः ; ४३. एतयोर्द्वौ प्रवरौ स्मृतौ विश्वामित्रः पूरणश्च ।

४३. उदरेणुः (वि० उदरेणुः) ; ४४. कथकः (व० कथकः) ; ४५. उदावहिः (औदवाहिः) ; ४६. शाट्यायनिः ; ४७. कारीराशी (वि० करीरामिः) ; ४८. शालङ्कायनिः ; ४९. लावकिः ; ५०. मौञ्जायनिः ।
एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरौ भवति—खिलखिलो, विद्यः, विश्वामित्रश्चेति । एते परस्परमवैवाह्याश्च ।

बौधायनमतेऽतिरिक्तनामानि—

पार्णजङ्घाः ; वारक्याः ; औदलिः ; माणिः ; बृहदग्निः ; आलर्विः ;
आघट्टिः ; आपद्यपाः ; कामन्तकाः ; वद्धकयः ; चिकिताः ; लामकायनाः ;
साङ्कायनाः ; रौकागौराः ; सौगन्तयः ; यमह्वताः (यमह्वताः) ; आनभिन्नाः ;
तारकायखाः ; औवलाः ; वितण्डानुवलयः ; सौश्रयः ; उदपरिः ; भाष्टेयाः
(भ्राष्ट्रकयः) ; श्यामेयाः ; चैत्रेयाः ; तालावताः (शालावताः) ; मयूराः ; सौमित्यः ;
अश्विवन्तवयः ; स्येतन्तायनाः (श्वेतन्तवः) ; अनूतन्तवः (मनुतन्तवः) ; बाभ्रव्याः ;
कालायाः (कापिलेयाः) ; उत्सरयः ।

एते कुशिकाः तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरौ भवति ; वैश्वामित्रः ; दैवरातः ;
औदलेश्चेति ।

अण्डकयः (वाण्डकयः) ; चात्रवर्णायिनाः (चाक्रवर्मायिनाः) ; वाञ्जायनाः ;
वासयः ।

एते लोहिताः, तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरौ भवति ; वैश्वामित्रः ; अष्टकः ;
लौहितश्चेति ।

रौक्षकाः ; रोहहलाः ; रेवणाः (रैणवाः) ।

तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरौ भवति वैश्वामित्ररौक्षरैवणेति ।

वैश्वामित्रः ; दैवश्रवसः ; दैवतरसः ; मतिज्योतिः ; ज्यामकायनः
कालकायनिनः ।

तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरः यथा वैश्वामित्रः ; दैवश्रवसः ; दैवतरसश्चेति ।

कताः ; सैरिन्धाः ; करभाः ; जायनाः (त्राजायनाः) ; शिशिराः (शैशिर्याः) ;
कौकृत्यः ; पिण्डग्रीवाः ; नारायणाः ; राट्याः (नाराट्याः) ।

इत्येते कतास्तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति वैश्वामित्रकात्याक्तीलेति ।

आश्वयतायनाः ; कौख्याः ; पुष्टाक्षाः ; महाक्षाः ।

एते धनञ्जयाः तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति वैश्वामित्रमाधुच्छन्दस-
धनञ्जयेति ।

अजायनास्तेषां त्र्यार्षेय प्रवरो भवति । वैश्वामित्रमाधुच्छन्दसाजेति ।
अघमर्षणाः ; कौशिकाः ;

तेषां त्र्यार्षेय प्रवरः वैश्वामित्राघमर्षणकौशिकेति ।

इन्द्रकौशिकाः तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरः वैश्वामित्रैन्द्रकौशिकेति ।

आपस्तम्बमतेऽतिरिक्तनामानि—

दैवराताः ; चिकितः ; मनुतन्त्वः ; आलकिः ; आरकिः ; औलुकः ;
बृहदग्निः ; श्यालावतः ; कालभवः ।

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति वैश्वामित्रदैवरातौदलेति ।

श्रोतस्कामकयनाः ; एषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति वैश्वामित्रः ; दैवश्रवसः ;
दैवतरसश्चेति ।

कात्यायनाः एषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरः वैश्वामित्रकात्याक्षीलेति ।

अघमर्षणाः कुशिकास्तेषां त्र्यार्षेय प्रवरः—वैश्वामित्राघमर्षणकौशिकेति ।

कात्यायनमतेऽतिरिक्तनामानि—

तान्तकः ; अयश्रकाषिः ; (करीषिः) सम्मत्याः (सांकृत्याः) ; पार्णयः ; क्षरयः ;
पापदोलिः ; एतेषामेवाविवाहः । तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति वैश्वामित्रदैवरातौ-
दलेति ।

देवरातः ; देवश्रवसः ; देवतरसः ; सौमुकः ; कौमुहायनाः ।

एते कुशिकास्तेषामविवाहः । तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति वैश्वामित्र-
दैवतरसदेवतरसेति ।

अजाः ; मार्गमित्ययः ; माधुच्छन्दसः ।

तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति । वैश्वामित्रमाधुच्छन्दज्योतिरिति ।

कमदकः ; पार्थिवः ।

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति । वैश्वामित्रमाधुच्छन्दसधनञ्जयेति ।

कामुकायनिः ; बन्धुलाः ; कुशिकाः ।

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेय प्रवरो भवति वैश्वामित्रः ; आशमरथ्यः ; बाधूलश्चेति ।

अघमर्षणाः कौशिकाः,

तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति वैश्वामित्राघमर्षणकौशिकेति ।

औदुम्बरिः ; शैशिः ; टैकायनिः ; तैयनिः ; कायनिः ; तार्क्षायणिः ;
तारुण्यायणिः ; कात्यायनिः कारित्तादिः ।

इतिक्ताः एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति वैश्वामित्रकात्यात्कीलेति ।

त्रीणि रैवणकुलानि भवन्ति काश्वः ऐतरत्यनखोद्वहयश्चेति ।

इत्येषामविवाहः । एषां त्र्यार्षेय प्रवरो भवति वैश्वामित्रगाधिनरैवणेति ।

आश्वलायनमतेऽतिरिक्तनामानि—

चिकितः ; गालवः ; कालववः ; मवस्तः (मनुतन्तु) ; कुशिकाः ।

एषां वैश्वामित्रदैवरातौदलेति त्रिप्रवरो भवति ।

श्रौमतः ; कामकायनः—

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति वैश्वामित्रदैवश्रवसदैवतरसेति ।

धनञ्जयानां वैश्वामित्रमाधुच्छन्दसधानञ्जयेति त्रिप्रवरो भवति ।

अजानां वैश्वामित्रमाधुच्छन्दसाज्येति त्रिप्रवरो भवति ।

अष्टकानां वैश्वामित्रमाधुच्छन्दसाष्टकेति त्रिप्रवरो भवति ।

पूरणपरिधापयन्तानां वैश्वामित्रदैवरातपौरणेति त्रिप्रवरो भवति ।

रोहिणानां वैश्वामित्रमाधुच्छन्दसरौहिणेति त्रिप्रवरो भवति ।

क्तानां वैश्वामित्रकात्यात्कीलेति त्रिप्रवरो भवति ।

अघमर्षणानां वैश्वामित्राघमर्षणकौशिकेति त्रिप्रवरो भवति ।

रेणूनां—वैश्वामित्रगाधिनरैवणेति त्रिप्रवरो भवति ।

शालङ्कायनः ; शालाक्षः ; लोहिताक्षः ; लोहितः ; जहुः ।

एषां वैश्वामित्रशालङ्कायनकौसिकेति त्रिप्रवरो भवति ।

V. कश्यपवंशः

मत्स्यपुराणम्

१. आश्रायणिः (का० आलायणाः, वि० आग्रायणाः) ; २. ऋषिगणः
(बौ० विषागणः, का० विषगणाः, वि० भूषगणाः) ; ३. मेषकीः (का० मौषकः, वि०

मेषकः) ; ४. इटिकायनाः (बौ० ऐतिशायनाः का० अतिकायनाः) ; ५. उदग्रजाः ;
 ६. माठराः (बौ० मठराः का० मासराः) ; ७. भोजाः (का० वि० गोजाः) ; ८. विनय-
 लक्षणाः (वि० विरथलक्षणाः) ; ९. शालाहलेयाः ; १०. कौरिष्ठाः (का०
 कैरंजाः वि० कोरिज्याः) ; ११. कन्यकाः (वि० त्रौकन्याः) ; १२. आसुरायणाः
 १३. मृगयाः (वि० मृगयनः) ; १४. श्रुतयाः (वि० श्रोतसः) ; १५.
 भोजयापनाः (वि० भौसतायनाः) ; १६. देवयानाः (का० देवपाताः वि० देवयाताः) ;
 १७. गोमयाना (बौ० गौरोवायनाः वि० गोपयाताः) ; १८. अधश्छायाः ; १९.
 कात्ययनाः (वि० ताकयानाः) ; २०. शाक्रयाणाः ; २१. बर्हियोगः (वि०
 अभियोगाः) ; २२. गदायनाः ; २३. भवनन्दिः ; २४. महाचक्रिः (का०
 महाचक्रधर्मी) ; २५. दाक्षपायनः (बौ० दाक्षमाणयः का० दक्षपाणयः वि० दाक्ष-
 पाणयः) ; २६. योधयानाः ; २७. कार्तिवयः ; २८. हस्तिदानाः (का० हस्तिदासिः
 वि० हास्तिदासाः) ; २९. वात्स्यायनानिः (का० वात्स्यपाणिः वि० वात्स्याः) ;
 ३०. कृतजाः (वि० कृतः) ; ३१. आश्वलायनिनः (वि० हास्तलायनिसः) ; ३२.
 प्रागायणाः (बौ० रामायणाः वि० आप्रायणः) ; ३३. पौलमौलिः (वि० पेलुमूली) ;
 ३४. आश्ववातायनः (वि० आश्वतातायनः) ; ३५. कौवेरकाः (का० कौसीदकाः
 वि० कौशीतकाः) ; ३६. श्याकाराः ; ३७. अग्निशर्मायणः (का० आग्निशर्मा-
 यणाः) ; ३८. मेपपाः ; ३९. कैकरसपाः (का० कैकसयः वि० कैवमेयाः) ; ४०.
 वभ्रवः (वि० सुवभ्रवः) ; ४१. प्राचेयः (वि० प्राचीययः) ; ४२. ज्ञानसंज्ञेयाः
 (वि० ज्ञानगयाः) ; ४३. आग्नेयाः (वि० आग्नावः) ; ४४. प्रासेव्यः ; ४५.
 श्यामोदराः (वि० श्यामोचराः) ; ४६. वैवशपाः ; ४७. उद्वलायनाः (वि०
 शाद्वलायनाः) ; ४८. काष्ठहारिणः (वि० काष्ठहायननाः) ; ४९. मारीचाः ; ५०.
 आजहायनः (वि० डौजहायनाः) ; ५१. हास्तिकाः ; ५२. वैकर्णेयाः ; ५३.
 काश्यपेयाः (आ० कश्यपाः, आश्व० काश्यपाः, वि० काश्यपाः) ; ५४. सासिसाः (वि०
 शामिशाः) ; ५५. हारितायनाः (का० हरितायनः) ; ५६. मान्तगिनः (वि०
 मातङ्गिनः) ; ५७. भृगवः ।

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरः—वत्सरः, कश्यपः, निधुवश्चेति, एते परस्परम-
 वैवाह्याश्च ।

५८. अनसूयः ; ५९. नाकुरयः (वि० भाक्तुरयः) ; ६०. स्नातपः
 (वि० स्वातयः) ; ६१. राजवर्तपः (वि० राजवल्लयः) ; ६२. शैशिः (वि०
 शैरेशिः) ; ६३. ओदवर्हिः (वि० अदेवहिः) ; ६४. सैरन्धिः (बौ० चैरन्धिः,
 वि० सैरन्धिः) ; ६५. ओपसेवकिः (वि० औपसीवकिः) ; ६६. काद्रुपिङ्गाक्षिः (बौ०
 पिङ्गाक्षयः वि० काद्रुपिङ्गाक्षी) ; ६७. सजातम्बिः (वि० शतशम्भिः) ; ६८.
 दिवावष्टाधः (वि० दिवावसिष्ठाः) ।

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरः—कश्यपः, वत्सरः, वसिष्ठश्चेति ; परस्परम-
वैवाह्याश्च ।

६६. संयातिः ; ७०. नभः ; ७१. पिप्पल्यः ; ७२. जलन्धरः (वि.
जलत्वरः) ; ७३. भुजातपूरः (वि. मुञ्जामयूरः) ; ७४. पूर्यः (बौ. प्रावर्याः ; का.
पर्याः ; वि. पर्यः) ; ७५. कर्दमः ; ७६. गर्दभीमुखः (बौ. खार्दतीमुखाः
का. गर्दबीमुखः) ; ७७. हिरण्यवाहुः ; ७८. कैरातः ; ७९. काश्यपः ;
८०. गोभिलः ; ८१. कुलहः (वि. आहलह) ; ८२. वृषकण्डः ; ८३. मृगकेतुः
(वि. सुकेतुः) ; ८४. निदाघः ; ८५. मसृणः ८६. भत्स्याः ; ८७. महान्तः ;
८८. शाण्डिल्यः (बौ. शण्डिलाः ; आ. शणिलाः ; वि. शाडीलः) ; ८९. दानवः
(का. सुदानुः वि. द्रावः) ; ९०. देवजातयः (का. देवजातपाः वि. लेवलयातवः) ;
९१. पैपलादिः ।

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति—असितः ; देवलः ; कश्यपश्चेति, एते
परस्परमवैवाह्याः ।

बौधायनमतेऽतिरिक्तनामानि—

कश्यपाः ; आङ्गिरयः (छागलयः) ; आभूत्याः ; वैशिप्राः ;
धूम्रायणाः ; सौम्याः (धौम्याः) ; स्रौववृक्षाः ; पैन्धुक्यः (वैम्बक्यः) ;
हृद्रोगाः ; श्राम्भयाः (काश्यायनाः) ; पाञ्चायनिकाः ; मेषान्तकिः (मौषोतकिः) ;
सामसयः ; मागसरापयः (माषशरावयः) ; स्सौधवयः ; सायस्याः ; छागव्याः ;
सौनद्याः ; स्थूलकेशयः ; वार्धक्यः ; औपव्याः ; लाक्षणाः ; क्रौष्टा ;
जीवनयः ; स्वाद्रायणाः (खार्दायणाः) ; रोहितायनाः ; मितकुम्भाः ;
औढलयः (औदलयः) ; मारयणाः ; कौशितक्याः ; धूमलहायणः ; सुराः ;
महावक्रेयाः ; पैठीनस्याः ; पानस्याः ; भालदन्ताः (भालन्दानाः) ; शाश्वमित्रेयाः ;
हरित्याः ; जारमात्स्यः (जारमाणयः) ; रमाणिः (वार्षगाणिः) ; साविश्रवसः ;
वैशम्पायनाः ; स्वैरङ्किः ; कासलयः ; उच्छ्रायनिः ; मार्जलायनाः ; कांसलायनाः ;
देवः ; होता ; सुचयः ; खरेभाः ; अयस्थूणाः ; भागुरयः ; पाथिकायाः ;
गोमायावाः ; अग्निदेविः ; आसौर्याः ; सुसलाः (मुसलाः) ; आविश्रेण्याः ;
उत्तरतोमण्डेमादलाः (उत्तरतोमण्डमाना, खण्डमाना, गर्भमानाः) ; मंत्रिताः ;
वैकर्ण्यः ; स्थूलभिदवः (स्थूलबिन्दवः) ।

इत्येते निध्रुवाः कश्यपास्तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति—कश्यपावत्सारनैध्रुवेति ।

रेभाणां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति—कश्यपावत्सारनैभेति ।

कौहलाः ; फायकाः (पावकाः) ; पायिकाः ; औदमेघाः ; सौदनवाः
(सौदानवाः) ; सार्वचसः ; कारेयः ; कौकण्ठ्यः ; स्तैक्षिः ; महाकायः ;

महोदकयः ; कोषयः ; मौञ्जयनाः ; जाणवंशः (जाणवत्साः) ; खार्दमानयाः
(खार्दमायनाः) ; बहूदरयः ; भागुरिः ; हिरण्यवाहुः ; तैदेहाः ; गोमूत्राः ;
वाक्यशठाः ; जानन्धरिः ; जालंधरिः ; धन्वंतरिः ।

इत्येते शण्डिलास्तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति ; काश्यपावत्सारणाण्डित्येति ।

लौगाक्षयः ; दार्भायणाः ; मैत्रवादिः ; वेहः ; कालेयाः (वैदेहाः) ; कापुटिः ;
कलयः ; कंसपात्रः ; भालकायनिः ; परस्ताः ; विरोदकिः ; कौनामिः ; सौतयः ;
सैतिकिः ; अष्टिभेरः ; आनिष्टिः ; ष्टैसिकिः ; सौसुकिः ; चोप्याणः (चौष्यणः) ;
योधकालकः ; कलः ; लौगाक्षयः ; वाचयाः ; जयाः ।

इत्येते लौगाक्षयः ; अहर्वसिष्टा नक्तं कश्यपाः । तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो-
भवति—काश्यपः ; आवत्सारः ; वासिष्ठश्चेति ।

आपस्तम्बः—

कश्यपाः त्र्यार्षेयाः ; काश्यपावत्सारनैध्रुवेति ।

रेभाणां त्र्यार्षेयः ; काश्यपावत्साररैभेति ।

शण्डिलाः द्व्यार्षेयाः ; देवलासितेति । त्र्यार्षेयमुहैके काश्यपदैवलासितेति ।

कात्यायनमतेऽन्यर्षयः—

औषप्रतिः (औद्व्रजिः) ; गोजाः ; वीरधराः ; वृषिसाराः ; हरेयाः ; शवैतेताः ;
मातृत्याः (मात्रेयाः) ; वैवक्यः ; प्रैक्यः (त्रैक्यः) ; भौवनाः ; पैठीनसाः ; सधवाः
(सैधवाः) ; प्रगाधाह्वायकाः ; सोमयागाः ; अथोपश्वायाः (अथोपश्वायवयः) ; गव्या-
यनाः ; शत्रुहयः ; ह्योगाः ; काचायनाः ; चक्रधर्माः ; श्रैययणाः ; हार्करथः
(हार्करयः) ; हास्तलायनः ; अन्यकृतः ; वौमूलः ; धूम्रायणाः ; स्वभृत्स्वाथः ;
खगादाः ; मौहूज्याः ; काश्चहायनः ; द्विवायनः ; हस्त्यकश्यपः ; सानुश्रुतः ;
माङ्गः (मातङ्गः) ; सोमभुवाः ।

इत्येतेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरः—काश्यपः ; आवत्सारः ; नैध्रुवश्चेति ।

शाश्वमित्रयः ; रैभाः ; एषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरः—काश्यपावत्साररैभेति ।

सम्पवाः ; चलुभिः ; उपलोधः ; जलम्बः ; बहुविडः ; हैर्युरः (हैपुरः) ;
मौजीमः ; ऐरनाभः ; कोशीलः ; कोकिलः ; कुहलः ; वृकखण्डः ; इत्येते
देवजातपाः ।

उदमेघः ; वृणविन्दुः ; कौवलयः ; सदानुः ; सुकेतुः ;

इत्येते कौरडजाः । शकिलाः (शण्डिलाः) ; वैदानवाः ; सौदानवः ;
पैत्यंलायूः (पैलादिः) ; परिवारिः ।

इत्येतेषामविवाहः । तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति—काश्यपासितदैवलेति ।
 आनष्टयः ; अप्यकुलयः ; शाकलयः ; आवपालयः ; सैकिः ; राजवाहिः ;
 सैरन्त्रिः ; राजसेवकिः ; सासुचिः ; कापुटिः ; पिङ्गाक्षिः ; लौगाक्षिः ;
 सरतव (शारद्वत) ।

इत्येते प्रातर्वसिष्ठा नक्तं कश्यपास्तेषामविवाहस्तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति—
 काश्यपः ; आवत्सारः ; वासिष्ठश्चेति ।

आश्वलायनः—

काश्यपानां—काश्यपावत्सारसितेति त्रिप्रवरो भवति ; नैधुवाणाम्—
 काश्यपावत्सारनैधुवेति ; रेभाणां—काश्यपावत्साररैभेति ; शण्डिलानाम्—
 शण्डिलासितदैवलेति ; काश्यपासितदैवलेति वा ; त्रिप्रवरो भवति ।

विष्णुधर्मोत्तरेऽतिरिक्तनामानि—

मन्दान्याः ; हर्किरयः ; वालिन्यः ; पाकाताः ; रैहाः ; सांख्यमिताः ;
 एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरः—वत्सारः ; कश्यपः ; रौहाश्चेति ।

सालुलिः ; सामानाः ; बलिपुत्रः ; भौप्यलः ; उत्तरः ; उदकेभिः ;
 तृणवत्स्यः ; महाकेरलयः ; वैशानवसः ; पूर्ववरिः ; वरिविस्थाः ; वरीनिकः ;
 गुरुव्रजी, उच्छ्रयतयः ; चित्रहयाः ; कातुविन्दः ; ग्रीवायणाः ; हार्किरयः ;
 वभ्रसवः ; आनुष्टुभः ; नैमिषयः ; सोष्टमः ।

VI. वसिष्ठवंशः

मत्स्य पुराणम्

१. व्याघ्रपादाः ; २. औपगवाः ; ३. वैक्त्वाः (का० वेगलाः) ; ४.
 शाद्वलायनाः ; ५. कपिष्ठलाः ; ६. औपलोमाः (का० औदलोमाः) ; ७.
 अलब्धाः ; ८. षठाः ; ९. कठाः ; १०. गौपयानाः ; ११. बोधपाः (का०
 बौधायनाः) ; १२. दाकव्याः (वि० द्वाकल्पाः) ; १३. वाह्यकाः ; १४. वालिशयाः ;
 १५. पालिशयाः (का० पलाशयः वि० पालिशय्याः) ; १६. वाग्ग्रन्थयः ; १७.
 आपस्थूणाः (का० आयस्थूलाः ; वि० आयस्थूणाः) (आयःस्थूणाः) ; १८. शीतवृत्ताः
 (का० शितवृक्षाः ; वि० शीतवृक्षाः) ; (शुचिवृक्षाः) ; १९. ब्राह्मपुरेयकाः (का० ब्रह्मपुरेयाः
 वि० ब्रह्मपुरोहिताः) ; २०. लोमायनाः (बौ० लोमन्याः, का० लोमायन्याः, वि०
 लोमात्याः) ; २१. स्वस्तिकराः (बौ० स्वत्याः) ; २२. शाण्डिलिः (वि० माण्डलिः) ;

२३. गौडिनिः (वि० गौलिः); २४. वाडोहलिः; २५. सुमनाः; २६. उपावृद्धिः;
 २७. चौलिः (वि० शौलिः); २८. वौलिः (का० वौविविः); २९. ब्रह्मबलः
 (का० ब्रह्मबलिः); ३०. पौलिश्रवसः (बौ० गौरोश्रवसः, पौरोश्रवसः); ३१.
 पौडवः (वि० मौण्डवः); ३२. याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

एतेषां एकार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति—यथा, वसिष्ठः ।

३३. शैलालयः; महाकर्णः (बौ० महाकर्णयिनाः; का० महाकर्णिः); ३४.
 कौरव्यः; ३५. क्रोधिनिः; ३७. कपिश्रलः; ३८. बालखिल्याः (बौ० बालशिखाः,
 वि० बालशिखिः); ३९. भागवित्तायनाः (बौ० भागुरिस्थायनाः); ४०. कीलायनः
 (बौ० कोलायनाः); ४१. कालशिखः; ४२. कोरकृष्णाः; ४३. सुरायणाः
 (का० वि० भागुरायणाः); ४४. शाकाहार्याः (वि० शाकहव्याः); ४५.
 शाकधियः; ४६. काण्वाः; ४७. उपलयाः (का० औलपयः वि० उत्त्वपयाः); ४८.
 शाकायनाः (शाङ्खायनाः); ४९. तुहाकाः; ५०. माषशरावयः (का० माषसरावयः
 वि० माषशिरावयः); ५१. दाकायनाः (का० दानकायनाः; वि० दामकायनाः); ५२.
 बालवयः (बौ० बाहवः, का० बालवायनाः, वि० बाहवः); ५३. वाकयः (का०
 बाह्यवाक्यः; वि० वाक्ययः); ५४. गोरथाः; ५५. लम्बायनाः (बि० आबायनाः)
 ५६. श्यामवयः; ५७. कोडोदरायणः (वि० क्रोडादनायवाः); ५८. प्रलम्बायनाः
 (का० प्रालवायनाः); ५९. औपमन्यवः (बौ० उपमन्यवः); ६०. साङ्ख्यायनाः;
 ६१. वेदशेरकाः (का० वि० दसेरकाः); ६२. पालङ्कायनः (बौ० पार्णकायनाः
 का० पादकायनाः वि० पादकायनः); ६३. उद्गाहाः (का० औद्गाहमतयः वि०
 औद्गाहाः); ६४. बलेक्षवः; ६५. मातेयाः (बौ० मोलायः वि० मालेयाः); ६६.
 ब्रह्मबलिनः (का० ब्राह्मवल्यः, वि० ब्रह्मवल्यः); ६७. पर्णागारिः (का० पार्णगारिः वि०
 पूर्णागारिः) ।

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति—भिगीवसुः (आभरद्वसुः), वसिष्ठः, इन्द्रप्रमदिः,
 एते परस्परमवैवाह्याश्च ।

६८. औपस्थलाः (का० वि० औपस्वस्थाः); ६९. स्वस्थलयः (का० स्वस्थयः);
 ७०. पालोहालः (वि० बालः हालः); ७१. हलाः (वि० हयाः); ७२. माध्यन्दिनः
 (बौ० माध्यन्दिनिः वि० मध्यन्दिनाः); ७३. माक्षतयः (वि० अक्षतयः);
 ७४. पैप्पलादिः (वि० पैप्पलाः); ७५. विचक्षुषः; ७६. त्रैश्रङ्गायनः (बौ० वि०
 त्रैश्रङ्गाः); ७७. सैवल्काः; ७८. कुण्डिनः ।

एतेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति यथा—वसिष्ठः; मित्रावरुणौ, कुण्डिनश्चेति ।
 एते परस्परमवैवाह्याः ।

७९. शिवकर्णः (का० जातूकर्ण्याः; वि० जातूकर्णाः); ८०. वृषीः (वि०
 यवः); ८१. पादपः ।

एते त्र्यार्षेयाः—जातूकर्ण्यः; वसिष्ठः; अत्रिश्चेति। एते परस्परमवैवाह्याः।
 ८२. शक्तिः; ८३. पराशरः; ८४. द्वैपायनः; ८५. काण्डवपः (का० काण्डवः) ;
 ८६. वाहनपः (का० वाहरमः ; वि० वाहयानः) ; ८७. जैह्वपः (का० जेमयः ; वि०
 जैमयः) ; ८८. भौमतापनः (का० भैमयनाः ; वि० भैमतायनः) ; ८९. गोपालिः
 (का० गोपालिः) ।

एतेगौराः पराशराः ।

९०. प्रपोहयः ९१. अवाह्यः (का० वाहयः ; वि० वाह्यतपाः) ; ९२. कौतुजातयः
 (का० कोकंचादयः) ९३. यमः ९४. हर्यश्चिः (वि० हार्यश्चिः) ।

एते नीलाः पराशराः ।

९५. काष्णायनाः (का० कृष्णाजिनाः) ; ९६. कपिसुखाः (का० कपि-
 ग्रोथाः वि० कपिसौधाः) ; ९७. काकेयस्थाः (वि० कोकेयस्याः) ; ९८. अजपातयः ;
 ९९. पुष्करः ।

एते कृष्णाः पराशराः ।

१००. आविष्टायनः (वि० अविष्टायनाः) ; १०१. वालेयाः (वि०
 वाष्ण्याः) ; १०२. स्वायष्टाः १०३. उपयाः (बौ० स्वेतयूपयः) ; १०४. इषीकहस्ताः ।

एते श्वेताः पराशराः ।

१०५. पाटिकः (का० पाठिकाः ; वि० वटिकाः) ; १०६. बादरिः (बौ०
 वादरः ; वि० वादराः) ; १०७. स्तम्बाः (का० स्कौम्बिन्याः ; वि० स्कम्बिन्याः) ;
 १०८. क्रोधनायनाः १०९. क्षैमिः (वि० क्षामिः) ।

एते श्यामाः पराशराः ।

११०. खाल्यायनः (वि० खल्वायनो) ; १११. वाष्णायनाः (बौ०
 वाष्णायनिः, वि० वाष्णायनी) ; ११२. तैलेयः (वि० तिल्वणः) ; ११३. यूथपः (का०
 यूपयः वि० वैल्वयूपयः) ; ११४. तन्तिः (वि० तामिः) ।

एते धूम्राः पराशराः ।

बौधायनमतेऽतिरिक्तनामानि ।

वैतलकिः ; वाठरकिः ; साश्वलः ; आश्वलायनाः ; वपिस्वान् ; सौवि-
 वृक्षाः ; वाह्यकायनिः ; गायनिः ; नयाप्ताः ; अध्रोमिः ; कोभोजिः ; सुन्द-
 हरिताः ; काण्डेवृद्धिः ; सोपवत्साजः ; आलम्भायनाः ; कर्षिताः ; पार्णवल्कः ;
 देवनः ; विश्वावनाः ; वाहकथयः ; आविकृतयः ; वस्वपाजयाः ; पृतिमाषाः ;
 सप्तवेलाः ; वसिष्ठाः ।

एतेषां एकार्षेयप्रवरः—वासिष्ठेति ।

परोकर्त्तृः ; स्वादयः ; प्रागुदातयः ; हर्यश्च ; वैमतायनः ; वाजयः ;
प्रावाविः ; कृष्णाजिनाः ; लोहायनाः ; गुग्गुलिः ; अश्वत्थः ; वैकर्णयः ;
आविश्वः ; बदरः ; आश्वत्थः ; क्रौकिल्यः (क्रौड्कोल्यः) ; सांगलिनः ; कापटवः ;
पैठकाः ; नवग्रामाः ; हिरण्याक्षयाः ; भाज्यकिः ; शान्तिः ; सौपक्षिः ।

इत्येते कुण्डिनाः । तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति—वासिष्ठः ; मैत्रावरुणः ;
कौण्डिन्यश्चेति ।

भालुक्याः ; मण्डवेखयः (मण्डलेखयः) ; जालागतः ; जयलोकाः ;
त्रैवणोः ; पास्तगिरिः (पाणगिरिः) ; साराक्षराः ; औदाहमानयः ; बलायनाः ;
कुण्डोदरायणाः ; लक्ष्मणेयाः ; कावान्धयः ; वार्कडवयः ; आसक्षरयः ; आलवयः ;
कपिकेशः ।

इत्येते उपमन्यवः । तेषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति । वासिष्ठः ; इन्द्रप्रमदाः ;
आभरद्वसन्यश्चेति ।

क्राव्यनाः ; वाजरिः ; क्रौकुलयः ; कुहुशयः ; वाजिमंतयः ; कतिमुखाः ;
स्वास्यापनयः ; श्लोक्याः ; पौष्करसादिः ; गार्ग्यायनयः ; वार्णयः ; श्यामेयाः ;
श्लोनुहिः ; सहवौलिः ; पुल्यः ; वैरिणेयः ; अयनयः ; गोपयः ; श्यातवः ;
वारुणिः ।

आपस्तम्बः—

एकार्षेया वसिष्ठा अन्यत्र पराशरेभ्यः—वासिष्ठेति । त्र्यार्षेयमुहैके
वासिष्ठेन्द्रप्रमदावरद्वसन्येति । अथ पराशराणां त्र्यार्षेयो वासिष्ठशाक्त्य-
पाराशर्येति । अथ कुण्डिनानां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति—वासिष्ठमैत्रावरुण-
कौण्डिन्येति । संकृतिपूतिमाषाणां त्र्यार्षेयः शाक्त्यः ; सांकृत्यः ; गौरिवीतश्चेति ।

कात्यायनमतेऽन्यर्षयः—

औपवनाः ; आश्वलायनाः ; वौवयः ; वाकव्यः ; किलीव्ययः ; हरितयः ;
वाकुरयः ; माण्डुलिः ; गौधिलिः ; मालोहधिः ; सौमनसायनः ; पार्ण्यवल्क्याः ;

तेषां एकार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति वासिष्ठेति ।

हयश्रीः ; वार्षिः ; अत्रैवणाः ; एकोमारायणाः ; सावेषाः ; तदुहितरथो ;
चौण्डावरयः ; नद्यायन्यः ; स्वलोकाः ; लोहयः ; अक्षतयः ; मौद्गलः ;
लुलायः ; मित्रावरुणौ, पाटलयः ।

एषां त्र्यार्षेयप्रवरो भवति वासिष्ठान्निजातूकर्णेति ।

औपलेख्यः ; विधक्कपिः ; प्रारोह्यः ; क्रौमतिः ; शातपाः ; आकर्ष्यः ;
शामेयाः ; कौक्वादयः ; तरणिः ; वैल्वः ; साववाहकृत् ।

आश्वलायनः—

वसिष्ठानां वसिष्ठेति । उपमन्यूनां वासिष्ठानां भरद्वास्विन्द्रप्रमदेति । परा-
शराणां वासिष्ठशाक्त्यपाराशर्येति । कुण्डिनानां वासिष्ठमेत्रावरुणकौण्डिन्येति
त्रिप्रवरो भवति ।

विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणेऽन्यर्षयः—

लेख्यः ; देविचङ्कपी ; आलवाः ; कार्द्रमयः ; प्रारोह्यः ; पार्श्वयः ;
पौष्करसादिः ; तथास्तपाः ; दासेयाः ; श्लोकजाः ; क्रोशकातयः ; अपवाहकृत् ;
लौलिः ; क्रैवणिः ; आश्वलाः ; सर्वटाकराः ; माङ्कुरवः ; श्वपादिः ; कौरयणाः ;
लागह्यः ; लाकह्याः ; कौरकृतः ; कौलकृतः ; कशापेयाः ; अनडुहाः ।

VII. अगस्त्यवंशः

१. अगस्त्यः (बौ० अगस्त्यः, वि० आगस्त्यः) ; २. कर्मभः (का० कर्मभयः) ;
३. कौशल्यः (वि० कौसल्याकुलजाः) ; ४. कर्टः ; ५. सुमेधसः (का० खमेवसः
वि० स्वमेधसः) ; ६. मयोभुवः ; ७. गान्धारकायणाः (का० गान्धारायणाः) ;
८. पौलस्त्याः ; ९. पौलहाः (का० ; वि० पुलहः) ; १०. क्रतुवंशभवाः ।

एते त्र्यार्षेयाः १. अगस्त्यः ; २. महेन्द्रः ; ३. मयोभुवश्चेति ।

११. पौर्णमासाः ; १२. पारणाः (का० पौरणाः) ; त्र्यार्षेयाः ; १. अगस्त्यः ;
२. पौर्णमासः ; ३. पारणश्चेति ।

१३. क्रतुः ; १४. इध्मवाहः ; १५. दृढास्यः ; सगोत्रत्वादिमे परस्पर-
मवैवाह्याः ।

बौधायनमतेऽन्यर्षयः—

अगस्त्यः ; विशालाद्याः ; कालायनाः ; औपदहन्यः ; कल्माषदण्डिः ;
लावर्णीः ; लाप्यः ; ववदयः ; वैरणयः ; बुधोदयः ; सैवपथ्यः ; शैशाल्वा-
तपाः ; मौजकयः ; पाथोहृताः ; द्वारिग्रीवाः ; रोहिण्याः ; मौशल्यः ।

इत्येते अगस्त्यः । तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति—आगस्त्यदार्ढ्यच्युतै-
ध्मवाहेति ।

सम्भूतानां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति—आगस्त्यदार्ढ्यच्युतसाम्भवहेति ।

सोमवाहानां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति—आगस्त्यदार्ढ्यच्युतसौमवाहेति ।

यज्ञवाहानां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति—आगस्त्यदार्ढ्यच्युतयाज्ञवाहेति ।

आपस्तम्बः—

अगस्तीनां एकार्षेयप्रवरो भवति—आगस्त्येति । त्र्यार्षेयमुहैके आगस्त्य-
दार्ढ्यच्युतैध्मवाहेति ।

कात्यायनमतेऽन्यार्षेयः—

उपकुलः ; सुकलापः ; कारिणिः ; धारिणी ; मोक्षति (मौञ्जकिः) ; वैरिणिः ;
कल्माषदण्डिः ; तापायनाः ; सौरिभागः ; गोव्याधिः ; हैभवहः ; अमुर्दाः ;
कुनाडाः ; मेदिनीपञ्चपाः ; दावताः ; अगदाद्यः ; हारिप्रोवाः ; सैरिश्वाः ;
वित्तमयः ; रवताः ।

इत्येतेषामविवाहः तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति—आगस्त्यदार्ढ्यच्युतै-
ध्मवाहेति ।

आश्वलायनः—

अगस्तीनाम्—आगस्त्यदार्ढ्यच्युतैध्मवाहेति ।

सोमवाहोवोत्तमः । आगस्त्यदार्ढ्यच्युतसोमवाहेति ।

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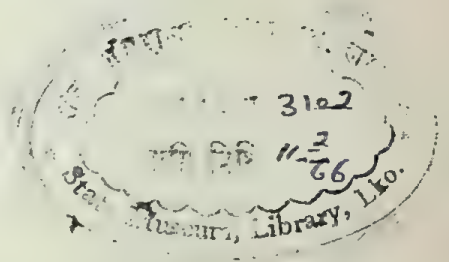
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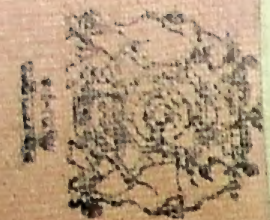
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